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THE IMPERIAL HISTORIE:

OR
THE LIVES OF
THE EMPEROVS. FROM
IVLIVS CESAR, THE FIRST FOVN-
DER OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY,
VNTO THIS PRESENT
YEERE:

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Containing their Liues and Actions,

with the Rising and Declining of that Empire; the Originall
and Successe, of all those barbarous Nations that haue
inuaded it, and ruined it by peece-meale: With an
ample Relation of all the memorable Accidents
that haue happened during these
last Centuries.

First written in Spanish by PEDRO MEXIA: And
since continued by some others, to the death of MAXIMILIAN
the Second; Translated into English by W. T. And
now Corrected, amplified and continued to these times by
EDWARD GRIMSTON Sergeant
at Carms.

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LONDON,
Printed by H. L. for MATHEW LOVNES, dwelling
at the signe of the Bishoppes head in PAVLES Church-
yard. 1623.

A *q*

But

But in these degenerate yeeres of ours; As many other excellent and ornamentall Merits; so these, especially, are left utterly prayselesse and excolete. For since men cease to doe praise-worthy deeds; To be praysed, likewise they thinke thriftlesse and idle. Notwithstanding, what Presents more precious can possibly bee giuen to Men, then Prayse, Glorie, and Eternitie? All which I intentionally and effectually present and ascribe with all Worthinesse to your Lordshippe, in entitling them to you, in these supremest Personages. For, Who soeuer protects and maintaines Vertue and Nobilitie, must necessarily be himselfe both Vertuous and Noble. To the Protection therefore of all the Vertue and Nobility herein made sacred to Eternitie, I only select and inuoke your Honour, in these my humble Dedications; Abiding euër

Your good Lordshippes most


humbly vowed, in all true Duty

and Seruice,

Ed. GRIMSTON.

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THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CAESAR. FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.



VLIVS Caesar was of a Noble Family, and, returning to Rome from the Pretorship in Spain with great renown, entered into friendship with Marcus Crassus & Gnaeus Pompey, who were the mightiest Citizens in Rome: And, pacifying the controversy between them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such gravity and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but retired. Afterwards giving his daughter Iulia in marriage to Pompey, he went into France; which he subdued, and overcame the Germans. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force subdued it to the Roman Empire. Iulia afterwards dying, and Marcus Crassus being slain by the Parthians, mutual discord grew between Caesar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second five years of Caesars government of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeys faction, that a successor should be sent him: and Caesar desired, that his command in the French Wars might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship: which being denied him, he made another proposition, that he would give over his army in France, upon condition that Pompey should do the like by his in Spain. Which being also denied, and being enjoined to leave his army, he passed the River Rubicon (limit assigned him which he was not to pass) and, taking the city of Ariminum, he went with such fury directly to Rome, as Pompey abandoned Italie, and he, following him, in the end overthrew him in Pharsalia. Whereupon Pompey, for refuge repairing to Ptoleme King of Egypt, was in a small Bark, by that Kings direction, slain by the hands of Septimius and Achilla: whose head being (by Ptolemy's command) presented to Caesar, he wept. Afterwards, bending his force against Ptolemy, and overcoming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of Pompeys faction, and which he overcame: and Cato being in Utica, committing to fall into Caesars hands, slew himself. Caesar, returning to Rome, triumphed: and afterwards going into Spain (after a most cruel battell, wherein he was in danger to have been lost) he overthrew Sextus Pompeius, eldest son of the great Pompey: and, returning to Rome, he took upon him the Dictatorship. Where, finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Calpa, Atilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romans, conspiring against him, he was slain in the Senat, being of the age of 55 years, upon the fiftenth day of March, with 23 wounds; many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards: which hindered his passage against the Parthians, and many other high designs, which he resolved to have undertaken.



Being to write the lives of the Roman Emperours, which held the Monarchie of the world; or, to speak more properly, to reduce them into a brief Compendium (a work in truth of waight and troublesome, requiring an active spirit, and a more eloquent pen than mine) I should it no small difficulty to begin with IVLIVS CAESAR, of whom I am first to treat. Who although he were but Dictator, and not stiled Emperour, in that sense of Lord and Sovereign, as his Successors afterwards held it; yet he was the fore-runner, and made the way to this Monarchie: and all succeeding Emperours have held it a glory to be called CAESARS after his name. His exploits were such and so many, and Histories are so fraught with them, that I should it as great a difficulty to relate them briefly, as to write them confusedly. Wherefore, out of so large and copious a field, I will only collect that which I shall hold fittest

All Emperours took the surname of Caesar.

fitteft for the Subject of this Work; yet handling it with convenient breuity: notwithstanding (he being the *huff* and foundation of this ftately Building) it will be needfull I fhould extend my felf much more in this, than in the reft which fhall follow. As for his other braue achievements, I will refer the Reader to thofe many books which make honourable mention of C Æ S A R, and to the content which is generally conceiv'd of his virtues and worthy endeavours.

Among all the glorious actions of I V L I V S C Æ S A R, the greateft in my opinion, and which breeds moft admiration, is, how he durft project, then put it in practice, and laftly bring it to effect, to make himfelf Lord of the Roman State (the which was Lady and Miftrefle of the greateft and moft habitable part of the world) and of all that *thee* had lubdu'd during the fpace of 700 years: for, fo long it was from the firft foundation of *Rome*, vntill that I V L I V S C Æ S A R

feiz'd vpon the government of the Common-weal: whereof there were 240 years vnder the abfolute command of Kings, and the reft vnder the government of Confuls, who were choſen by the people, except ſome few years, in which the Tribunes and Decemviri bare the ſway. Doubtleffe, a ſhort time to raiſe and get ſo great an Empire as the Romans had obtained; when as C Æ S A R, of a ſingle State, made it ſubject to the command of One; whoſe Empire without

doubt exceeded all others both for continuance, extent and power: the which is confirmed by many approved Writers. Wherefore, omitting all other Kingdoms and Common-weals, which are not to be parallel'd with this, I will make mention only of the greateft and moſt famous which at the firſt were call'd Monarchies; namely, the *Aſſyrians*, *Perſians* and *Macedonians*: all which the Roman Empire did far exceed. As for the *Aſſyrians* and *Babylonians*, which is the moſt antient of all Monarchies, during the ſpace of 1240 years (for, ſo long it continued, according to the computation of Saint A V O Y S T I N E) it never extended it ſelf out of the bounds of *Aſia*, nor had any footing in *Affrick* or *Europe*. Neither were the *Medes* more

powerfull: of which Kingdome A R B A T Y S was the firſt Founder; by the ruine and death of S A R D A N A P A L Y S King of the *Aſſyrians*, overthrowing the firſt Monarchie. Then the *Perſians* extinguish'd the *Medes* by the powerfull hand of C Y R U S; and this ſhall be accounted the ſecond Monarchie: who although they made ſome incuſion into *Europe* (as that of X E R X E S and others) and in *Aſia* grew more powerfull than thoſe which had gone before, yet it continued not above 200 and odd years; and they were ruin'd, with D A R I U S their King, by A L E X A N D E R, the Great, King of *Macedon*. We cannot deny, but that his Empire was of a greater extent than any of the above-named: for, he had vnder his obedience a great part of *Europe*, and he ſubdu'd in a manner all *Aſia*; and this is held for the third Monarchie; but it was like a flaſh of lightning, burning all it encounters, and is ſoon extinct: for, with the death of A L E X A N D E R, his power decay'd. Then grew factions, and diuerſe Kingdoms were erected; ſo as it is apparant, that the Roman Empire exceeded them all both in time, greatnes and power.

In time, being not much leſſe than 1300 years ſince *Rome* was built, and yet the name of the Roman Empire continueth vnto this day. For the ſpace of 1300 years it ſtill increas'd, and hath ever ſince been held the moſt predominant power of all others. In extent of dominions & power; for, it is moſt certain, that, uniting whatſoever the others held, it will ſcarce equall the one half of the Roman Empire. For, laying aſide whatſoever the Emperours did adde vnto it, before that I V L I V S C Æ S A R did ſeize vpon the State, they had ſubdu'd the beſt part of the world.

In *Europe* they were Maſters of all *Italie*, and *Gallia Ciſalpina* or *Lombardie*, *Auſtria* and *Illyricum*, now call'd *Sclauonia*; and they extended themſelves as farre as the riuer of *Danubius*: they had ſubdu'd all *Greece* (ſome yeelding voluntarily; others, by force) the States of *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and all *Peloponeſus*, now call'd *Morea*, with their Territories; the Kingdoms of *Macedon*, & *Epirus* now *Albania*, and in like manner *Thracia*. They held the Ilands of *Sicilie*, *Sardaynia*, *Crete* or *Candie*, *Cypres*, *Rhodes*, *Eubœa*, now *Negropont*, with many other Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They alſo ſubdu'd *Spain* (but with more difficulty and oppoſition than any of the reſt) and in like manner all *France*, with that part of *Germanie* which lies on this ſide the *Rhine*, call'd the *Lower*; or *Gallia Belgica*, which was the work of C Æ S A R himſelf; and in like manner that of *Britannie*, vnder which are comprehended *England* and *Scotland*. They were Maſters of all *Affrick* (which is the third part of the world) that is to ſay, of the fruitfulleft and moſt habitable parts, having ruin'd proud *Carthage*. In *Aſia* they had ſubdu'd the greateſt and beſt Prouinces, and made them their Subjects and Tributaries: among the which were *Syria* call'd *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Paleſtina*, *Iudea*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, and *Bitinia* by the laſt will and teſtament of King N I C O M E D E S. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their Friends and confederates; and they had a commanding power in *Armenia*, *Colechis*, and other Prouinces. *Albania*, *Iberia*,

and ſome other Countries, did them homage, and paid them tribute: which Countries had been vanquiſhed by them, and many Kings and valiant Captains ſlain. Finally, they were Lords of ſo many Cities and Prouinces, as it were an endleſſe labour to ſet them down in particular; and their power was ſo great, as no forces but their owne were able to annoy them. But afterwards, diſcord and ambition creeping into this State which was ſo free and powerfull, what former force could not effect, they wrought with their owne Arms, and triumphed over themſelves. The cauſe of all this grew through the diſcord between P O M P E Y and I V L I V S C Æ S A R, which two were at that time the moſt eminent and powerfull men in *Rome*; and yet at the ſame Inſtant there were other Citizens of great eſteem. But, the root of this hatred grew from a further cauſe, that is, from the factions and ciuill war between S C I L L A and M A R I V S: in which, M A R I V S being ſlain, S C I L L A made himſelf Dictator, and ſeiz'd vpon *Rome*; yet before his death hee gaue it ouer, and left the City at liberty. P O M P E Y had followed S C I L L A's faction, and done braue exploits for him: but C Æ S A R had ſided with M A R I V S, being his kinfman, and at that time very young. This was the ſeed from whence ſprung the ciuill war between them. But, it ſhall be needfull to relate ſome former matters, for the better vnderſtanding of the occaſions which went before, and the ſucceſſes which followed; the which wee will deſcribe briefly after this manner: The warre and power of S C I L L A being ended, G N E Y S P O M P E Y S and M A R C V S C R A S S V S (who had alſo followed that partie) remaining in great reputation, the one ſought to ſupplant the other, ſo as there grew ſome jars between them, which began during the life of S C I L L A. C R A S S V S grew very powerfull: for, beſides his Wildome, Nobility and Eloquence, he was very rich beyond all the other Citizens of his time. P O M P E Y alſo became famous and much eſteemed, beſides the ſucceſſion he had by S C I L L A, for his great victories and valiant exploits in Arms performed in S C I L L A's time and ſince, both by ſea and land, in *Affrick*, *Spain* and *Aſia*, the which are ſo many and ſo great, as I dare not relate them. The deeds of theſe two eminent Perſons being growne to this height, and their quarrels increaſing daily as the heads of factions (and yet at the ſame time there were others of great note within the City, as C A T O, C I C E R O, L E N T V L V S, and others) during theſe alterations, I V L I V S C Æ S A R returned to *Rome* from his Pretorſhip in *Spain* with great reputation, yet his ambitious thoughts aimed at greater matters, both in regard of the greatnes of his houſe (for, by the fathers ſide, hee was of a Noble and very antient Family; and by the mother hee deſcended from the Kings of *Rome*, who were extract'd from Æ N E A S of *Troy*) and for his many allies and friends; being alſo very witty and eloquent. He had alſo purchas'd great credit and authority in the managing of thoſe charges which had been committed vnto him. He had bin Queſtor in *Spain*, Tribune of the ſouldiers, *Adile*, high-prieſt and Pretor; having gotten victories in *Spain* againſt the Inhabitants of *Gallia* and *Portugal*; adding to all this, his merits and vertues, being bountifull, wife and learned in all good Arts, moſt active in the managing of Arms both on foot and horſe-back; very valiant and ſtrong, whereof he made great proofs before hee had any command in the wars of *Aſia*, vnder the Pretor M A R C V S T E R M O, and S E R V I L I V S the Proconſul; where hee obtained a Ciuicall Crowne. He was, moreover, of a good conſtitution of body, tall of ſtature, fair, ſtrong of his members, and very patient of labour. For all which conſiderations and many others, hee was in great eſteem; but neither by his authority nor place able to equall M A R C V S C R A S S V S or P O M P E Y, for that the roots of their greatnes had been of long continuance.

C Æ S A R being com to *Rome*, with a ſecret intent to make himſelf greater than either of them; C R A S S V S and P O M P E Y affected his friendſhip, by whoſe help they might ſupplant one another. But C Æ S A R, being diſcreet and wife, would not follow any party, nor tie himſelf to defend their actions; but, carrying himſelf indifferently, he labour'd to reconcile them, having a conceit, that, if he carried himſelf as a Neuter, they would both yeeld vnto his will: and this his cunning practice (as P L Y T A R C H reports) was onely diſcover'd by M. C A T O. In the end, by his endeavours a peace was concluded between them, being both bound vnto him: yet, being ſtill jealous one of another, and fearing to loſe C Æ S A R, they both ſought to gratifie him: and in this ſort he made himſelf equal to either of them; and that power which Pompey two had formerly vſurp'd, was now diuided between three; and in the end wee ſhall ſee who got the ſole command. This league and atonement being made, C Æ S A R demanded the Conſulſhip, which is the greateſt ordinary dignity. He carried himſelf in this charge with ſuch reputation, as his fellow Conſul B I B V L V S neuer accompani'd him, but kept himſelf retired during his Conſulſhip. C Æ S A R, the better to maintain the credit and authority which he had got,

The Romans vanquiſhed themſelves.

conceit by le. ruiſe Pompey and Crallus. the reaſons of their greatnes.

Cæſars familie and vertues.

Alcæus brother Cæſar, Crallus and Pompey.

Cæſar made conſul.

Cæsar and Pompey's marriage.

Cæsar goes with an army into France.

Cæsar's conquests.

He holds the policy of Cæsar.

Pompey grows jealous of Cæsar.

Heir forces in the civil war.

He causes of the civil war.

and to attain to the greatness whereunto he aspired, he himself took to wife CALPURNIA, the daughter of LVEIVS PRISO, who was to succeed him in the Consulate; and hee gave IVLIA his daughter in marriage to POMPEY, rejecting her former spouse SERVILIUS CÆPIO, by whose help he had a little before crost his Colleague BIBVLVS. CÆSARS consullship being ended, these three Confederates being equally greedy of honour, they easily made a march to invade the Common-weal. CÆSAR made choise of *Gaul or France* for his Prouince; CRASSVS, of *Asia*; and POMPEY, of *Spain*: whither they went with three puissant Armies. And thus the whole world was to be held by three Princes in partnership. The exploits of CÆSAR in his Prouince, what battels he fought, what victories he won, what cities and people he subdued, what stratagems, policy and valour he used (this warre continuing little lesse than ten yeeres) I cannot relate, my meaning being to obseure breuitie. He left excellent Commentaries of his owne deeds, and full of truth: the which were approved by his very enemies, and much commended by CICERO. Yet ASINIVS POLLIO (enuying CÆSARS vertues) doth in some things tax him. They are also written by PLVTARCH, SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, ALEXANDRINVS, LVCAN, PAVLVS OROSIVS, LVCIVS FLORVS, EYTRIOVS, and many other: to whom I refer the Reader. CÆSAR got such reputation in this war, as he was held the greatest Captain of his time, yea, or of those that were in former Ages. He subdued all *France*, from the *Pyrene* Mountains vnto the *Alps*, and all the remainder vnto the riuer of *Rhine*. Hee first vanquished the *Suiffers* and *Tigurins*, who (as PLVTARCH affirms) were 300000 men, whereof 190000 were well trained vp in Arms. He conquered the *Germaines*, with ARIOVISTVS their Leader, who had invaded *France*, from whence he expelled them. He subdued the *Belgii*, the *Ambiani* and *Nervi*, with other warlike people of *France*, and he spilt more blood than euer was in any wars in the world. Then, passing the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of wood which he built, he subdued the *Germaines* to the Roman Empire; and, finding no more opposition there, hee past with his Army into *Brittanie*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation, not till that time knowne by any traffick or commerce: these hee forced to subject themselves to the Roman State. During the continuance of these warres, in which CÆSAR got great spoils and wealth, he neuer left to purchase to himself friends, both in *Rome* and in all other places, both by letters and gifts, and in like manner with the Kings and Cities of *Asia*, *Greece*, and other Countries; sending them aids of men, without any leaue or authority from the Senate: the which he might lawfully do, as long as the league continued betwixt him, POMPEY and CRASSVS. He won men vnto him, and was much beloued of his souldiers, giuing these double pay, and bestowing honours vpon others: by which means (POMPEY not foreseeing it) he grew to such power and reputation, as he began to fear him when he was not able to suppress him. But now that strict league of friendship, which had been betwixt these two, began to dissolve, for that the pawn which maintained it was taken away; so as there grew a mutual fear & ialousie betwixt them, first, by the death of IVLIA, CÆSARS daughter, who marrying to POMPEY entertained concord between the son and the father-in-law, by the league of nuptiall loue; secondly, by the death of MARCVS CRASSVS, the third man in this company, who was slain by the *Parthians* in *Asia*, whither he went to make war (as some write) more to heap vp riches, than to win honour; whose reputation notwithstanding was a support to their good agreement. So as the chief causes, wherupon their friendship was grounded, being taken away, their emulation presently brake forth. POMPEY was ialous of CÆSARS greatness; and CÆSAR hardly endured POMPEY'S supereminency: the one brook no equal, the other, no superiour. Whereupon they fell to warre, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was: for, in it there were engaged the Senate, all the Roman Legions, all their friends and subjects, Kings and Cities, for the one or the other partie. On the one side were eleuen Legions, on the other eighteen; all Roman and Italian souldiers, with all the forces of *Rome*, besides the aids of their confederates. This war was managed in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Epirus*, *Thessalie*, *Egypt*, *Asia* and *Affrick*, by themselves or their Lieutenants; and in the end, after five yeeres, it died in *Spain*. Some Authors set down the causes of this ciuill war, although they vary in some points: but the truth is, the chief reasons were enuy, ambition, and desire of command, wherewith they were both infected: and the one ialous of the others greatness (as if the Roman Empire had not been sufficient for them two) the one sought to ruine the other. That POMPEY had any intent to vsurp the State, and become a Tyrant, it doth not appear: but it is apparant, he would not haue CÆSAR attain to that dignity wherein he was. Of CÆSAR some write, that being forced through fear he came to Arms, lest he should see himself called in

que-

question, and condemned: for, CATO had threatned to accuse him whensoever hee should giue-over his Prouince. Others object, that he had alwaies a desire to vsurp the State; and therefore, balancing his power with POMPEY'S, he thought it behoouefull to entertain friendship and contract an alliance with him. CICERO saith, that he had alwaies in his mouth that verse of *EVRIPIDES*, that If it were lawful to infringe the lawes, it was for a Kingdome; and that CÆSAR, being greedy of command, could not endure to be without an Army: but, in my opinion, the reasons were such as haue been related; and these, the occasions.

This being the last of the second five yeers of CÆSARS government in *France*, LENTYLVS and MARCELLVS being Consuls, and of POMPEY'S faction; it was propounded in the Senate, to send a Successor to CÆSAR, and that hee should giue-over his government and the Army; and if he would (as he had written) demand the Consullship, he should com to *Rome* in person. CÆSAR demanded, that his command in the war might be prolonged, and the government which he had, and that he might demand the Consulate being absent, before he giue-over his Army; which honor ten Tribunes had formerly granted him, with POMPEY'S good liking. But now POMPEY would not yeeld vnto it, as being against the lawes, which did not allow any man to demand the Consullship but present; forgetting, that he had been made Consul before he came to lawfull age, and had attained to other dignities, contrary to the ordinarie course of law. But it is the common condition of men, To blame that in another which they allow in themselves.

This being denied to CÆSAR, he made another proposition, that hee would leaue his Army, and come to *Rome* as a priuate man, so as POMPEY would giue-over his which he held in *Spain*. This was put to the question, and did cause a great distraction in the Senate. CICERO interposed himself, labouring to reconcile them, and to conclude their jars with peace. POMPEY would haue been tractable, had not those of his faction, being of the prime men of *Rome*, stood proudly vpon tearms; who (notwithstanding any iust and reasonable conditions propounded by CÆSAR) were inflexible. It was therefore decreed in Senate, that CÆSAR, by a certain time prefixed, should leaue his Army, and that hee should not passe it ouer the riuer of *Rubicon*, which did bound-in his Prouince; declaring him an enemy to the Roman State if he did otherwise. LVCIVS ANTONIVS and QVINTVS CVRIO, Tribunes of the people, fauouring CÆSAR, opposed themselves to this decree: but they were disgraced, ill-treated, and thrust out of the Senate. Whereupon, they fled out of *Rome*, and went to CÆSAR: the which was a great help to him to win the hearts of his souldiers, for that the office of the Tribunes was held sacred and inuolable.

CÆSAR hearing how matters had past, seeing himself deprived of all future hope of peace, he marcht speedily from *Ranenna*, onely with 5000 foot, and 300 horse, commanding his Legions to follow presently after, and to ioyne with him. Comming afterwards to *Rubicon* (which if he should passe, there would be no hope of peace remaining) some say that he said thence a good space; considering with himself, of what importance this passage was, and what miseries would ensue. PLVTARCH writes, that he discomfited thereof with ASINIVS POLLIO, and other his friends which did accompany him. APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS reports, that hee vfed these words, Doubleste, if I forbear to passe this riuer, it will be the beginning of my ruine; if I passe it, the ruine will be generall. And SVETONIVS writes, that turning towards the riuer, he said, It is yet in our power to turn back; but, passing theriuer, wee must make our way with our weapons. He writes, moreover, that CÆSAR standing thus doubtfull and irresolute, he was animated by the apparition of a man of an extraordinary stature & shape, sitting neer vnto his Army, piping vpon a reed. Besides the shepheards and herdsmen, many souldiers left their guards, and went down to hear him, and with them some Trumpeters; so as hee caught hold of one of their trumpets, and leapt forth to the riuer, beginning with a mighty blast to sound the battell, and so went on his paste to the bank on the other side. Then, with a furious resolution, CÆSAR cried out, Let vs go whither the gods, and the injurious dealings of our enemies, do call vs: The dice are cast. I haue set vp my Rest, come what will of it. After which words, he set spurs to his horse, and past the riuer, the whole Army following him. In this manner he resolved: which was the beginning of the ciuill wars, and of *Romes* seruitude, and the first step to a Monarchy and the soueraigne command of one, as I will briefly set it down.

Who desires to haue a full view of this History, let him read APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS, SVETONIVS, PLVTARCH in the liues of CÆSAR, CATO, and CICERO; Saint AVGVSTINE lib. 3. de ciuit. Dei, IULIUS CÆSAR himself in his Commentaries, LVCIVS

B 3.

Flo.

Letters for des manding the consullship.

Cicero seeks to reconcile Cæsar & Pompey.

A decree of the Senate against Cæsar.

Cæsar's words when he past Rubicon.

FLORVS, *lib. 4.* TITVS LIVIUS his Abbreviators, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, 6. *lib. 1.* LYCAN, PLINIE *de viris illustribus*, VALERIUS MAXIMVS, with diuerse others.

CÆSAR hauing past the riuer, and drawne his whole Army together, where (as SVETONIUS writes) the Tribunes of the Commons came vnto him, in bale and dishonourable garments, with the which they had fledde from Rome, there hee made an excellent Oration to his souldiers, shedding some tears, and tearing his garment down the brest, laying before them the equity of his cause, and crauing their helps and assistance. To whom hauing with a generall applause and consent made answer, that they were ready to obey his will, he parted presently, and the next day came to *Ariminum*, whereon he seized: the like hee did to all the Towns and Castles where he past. DOMITIUS, who in a factious tumult had been nominated his Successour in *Gaul*, held *Corfinium* with a garrison of 30 Cohorts: which being taken, he pardoned the souldiers and inhabitants, and intreated DOMITIUS kindly, giuing him leaue to depart (who went presently to POMPEY) which was an act of a Noble and generous minde: the which, CÆSAR obserued in all his victories during the ciuill war; by which clemency he purchased to himself as great honour, as by his victories.

CÆSARS resolution being knowne at Rome, it troubled POMPEY, amazed the Senat, and terrified the common people; and it would be tedious to relate what prouisions they made. POMPEY was much deceived, for that hee could not beleue that CÆSAR would thrust himself into so great a danger, or that hee should be able to raise sufficient forces to resist him: but the success proued otherwise. For, notwithstanding that he had authority from the Consuls and Senate to leaue souldiers, to call home the legions, and to send Captains for the defence of diuerse cities of *Italie* whereas CÆSAR should passe, yet all this was not sufficient to resist CÆSARS fury, and the power he brought with him. The fame of his coming increasing daily, POMPEY with the whole Senat abandoned Rome, going to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundisium*, a sea-town vpon the confines of *Italie*, seated at the mouth of the gulf of *Venice*: where he gaue order, the Consuls should passe to *Durrachium*, now called *Durrazzo*, a sea-town of *Macedonie* (whereof a great part is now called *Albania*) to write all their forces; being out of hope to be able to resist CÆSAR in *Italie*, who had already taken *Corfinium*, as I haue formerly said: where, hauing drawne DOMITIUS Cohorts to serue him, hee marcht on; and, hearing that POMPEY and the Consuls were together at *Brundisium*, he went towards them with his Legions with all the speed hee could. But POMPEY had fortified himself sufficiently to make defence; yet vpon CÆSARS approach, beginning to inuest the Town, he imbarke himself in the night time, and so past ouer to *Durrachium*, where the Consuls attended him. And thus CÆSAR remained in *Italie* without resistance; being very doubtfull what to resolve: for, although he would gladly haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouision of ships: and, by reason that it was winter, shipping could not come so soon as was requisite; and considering withall, how much it importet, not to leaue any enemy behinde him, which might cause any alteration in *France* or *Italie* by his absence, he resolved to deferre the pursuit of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spain*, which held for POMPEY: where he had his best legions, and two captains, PETREIUS and AFRANIUS. SVETONIUS TRANQVILLVS saith, that when hee had thus resolved, he said to his friends, Let vs first go against an Army which is without a Captain; and afterwards let vs return against the Captain that hath neuer an Army: for, the souldiers that POMPEY had in *Spain* were valiant, and had been long trained vp in Arms; but their Commanders, PETREIUS and AFRANIUS, were not held for politick or expert in the wars. And, on the contrary, POMPEY was most wise, and a very valiant Captain: but the souldiers which he had with him were newly leaied, and of small experience.

Returning from *Brundisium*, in sixty daies, without bloudshed or battell, CÆSAR became Lord of all *Italie*; and coming to Rome, they were in very great fear, remembering the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CÆSAR, vsing his accustomed clemency, did hurt no man of any degree, high or low; but called to the Senate those Senators which remained, and which came with him, comforting euery one with milde and good words, and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, in accusing him of all things which had hapned, and of this discord. He fought by all means to iustifie his owne cause, and declared how much hee did then and euer had desired peace, and therewith requested that Embassadors might be sent to POMPEY to procure the same; and, causing himself to be presently chosen Consul, he opened the Roman Treasury, notwithstanding that METELLVS, one of the Tribunes of the people, was desirous and went about to hinder the same. The treasure which he took from thence he diuided among his

his souldiers: which, as PLINIE in his three and thirtieth Book reports, was very great; the which LVCAN also affirmeth. These things being ended, and CÆSAR desirous to go from Rome into *Spain* (like a wife and discreet Captain) first took order aswell for the ciuill government, as for the wars; and, making choice of the legions which were to go with him, hee left part of his troops in *Brundisium* and *Ostia*, and in other strong places vpon the Sea side, to keep POMPEY from landing if he fought to return into *Italie*. He also nominated HORTENSIVS and DOLABELLA for his Captains, to make prouision of shipping to be brought to the port of *Brundisium*, there to bee in a readinesse against his return from his journey. QVINTVS VALERIUS hee sent with a legion to *Sardinia* against MARCVS COTTA, which held the same for POMPEY. To *Sicilia* hee sent CVRIVS against MARCVS CATO, with direction, that hauing taken the same, hee should passe ouer into *Africa*. LEPIDVS hee left in Rome, as Prefect thereof; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, for Governor of all *Italie*: and, determining to leaue LICINIUS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accustomed celerity he went on his journey, and found no resistance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but only at *Marselles*, which held for POMPEY: who (in my opinion) more like bould and aduenturous friends, than wise men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their city, but put themselves in Arms against him for their defence. CÆSAR coming thither besieged the City; and, to auoid losse of time, left DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIUS with sufficient forces, who continued the siege, and endured much: he himself followed his way into *Spain*, where his coming was already knowne; and AFRANIUS and PETREIUS attended him, with the aid of their friends, and foure Roman legions; between which and CÆSAR the warres continued many daies, and chiefly neer the city of *Lerida*. In the beginning, CÆSAR was in great danger and much distressed, aswell through want of victuals, as by reason of the winter being come, which annoyed him with the swelling of riuers: before and after which, there passed many great skirmishes and conflicts between the two Armies, and other accidents and aduentures too long to bee recounted. Finally, CÆSAR knew how to make war in such sort, as, without giuing them opportunity to come to a battell, he brought his aduersaries to such extremity and distresse, as perishing with hunger they came to a composition; which was, that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) should be granted liberty to depart & to go whither they would: which was performed accordingly; and PETREIUS and AFRANIUS went to POMPEY: and part of the legions, which would not abide with CÆSAR, had leaue to do as they listed; CÆSAR still perseuering in his clemency and mildnes.

This war being ended, and the spring come (not to leaue any thing in *Spain* to be subdued) hee passed forwards, and came into the prouince of *Betice*, now called *Andalusia*, with part of his forces, leauing commandement with the Armie to march whither hee had appointed, and there to stay for him, because that MARCVS VARRO, being POMPEY'S Lieutenant in that prouince, held it for him, with one legion of good souldiers: but not daring to oppose himself against CÆSAR, he peaceably yeelded vp vnto him both the country and the legion; and so all was pacified, and at his command. Thence hee went to *Cordona*, where hee called a parliament, and an assembly of all the estates of that prouince: wherein, among other things which there were treated of, hee highly commending the Cordoueses and Scuellians which had taken his part (as himself writeth) marched forwards, and visiting the prouince he came to the Isle and city of *Cales*; and, prouiding there certain necessaries, hee took the shippes and gallies which MARCVS VARRO had there in a readinesse, and such other as hee could get, and imbarke himself. And, leauing QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouince, he took his passage by sea to *Turagona*, sending commandement by land to his legions to march thither: where hauing in few daies taken order for that prouince, hee departed with his Army towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marselles*: which yeelded vnto him, hauing in the siege and assaults endured many calamities. CÆSAR, nothing respecting the small regard and ingratitude of that city, but the antiquity and fame thereof, would not permit any violence to be offered to the citizens & inhabitants; but, leauing a sufficient garrison to guard the same, he commanded his legions by appointed iournies to march towards *Italie*: himself, with a necessary guard for his person, and others in his company, took passage for Rome; all things succeeding prosperously with him, although that some of his Captains had ill successe. For, CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we said) he left with DOLABELLA for Captain of his Naue, was ouertrowne and taken prisoner in the gulf of *Venice* by OCTAVIVS, POMPEY'S Lieutenant. At this ouertrowe there was an Act don worthy to be recommended with honour to posterity. ANTHON

The beginning of the ciuill war.

Pompey's error, presuming too much of him self.

Cæsar going into Spain against Petreius and Afranius.

Cæsar subdued all Spain.

Cæsar seized on Rome and all Italie.

The taking of Marselles, and Cæsar's return to Rome.

Cæsar, Consul by force.

was constrained to ship his souldiers in long boats for want of serviceable ships; the which were taken by a stratagem as in a toill, by the Pompeians, who tied ropes vnder the water. One of them, which carried almost a thousand Optergins, young men and valiant, was intangled in this snare, and was assaulted by the power of the whole Armie, they making resistance from morning vntill night: but, in the end being oppressed by the multitudes of their enemies, and seeing no means to elcape by their valour, by the encouragement of VLTIVS their Colonel they slue one another. And DOLABELLA was likewise overcome neer to the Ile of *Cosus*, now called *Corsica*; and CVRIVS, who (according to CAESARS commandment) went into *Africa* with two legions, having in the beginning good successe, was afterwards overthrowen; and the most part of his people slain by POMPEY'S friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the Kingdom of *Fez*: hee might have fled away, but shame perswaded him to dy with that Armie which his rashnes had cast away.

CAESAR being com to *Rome*, and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH and APPIANVS testify) new Consuls were chosen; and he, being one of them, deposed himself from his Dictatorship, and so, changing and providing Pretors for the provinces at his pleasure, sending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spain*, and AVLVS ABRINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*, and taking such further order as he thought good; he departed from *Rome* in the month of December towards *Brundisium*: whither hee commanded all his Forces to march, there to take passage for *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*; where he knew that POMPEY staid with his Armie. Who, all one whole yeer, which CAESAR spent in his journey into *Spain*, busied himself in providing a Nauike to return into *Italy*, and in gathering treasure, and in leuying souldiers for that purpose, and had made ready a wonderfull great prouision of all things. For, there came vnto him ships, mony and men, from many kingdoms, provinces and cities of *Asia* and *Gracia*, from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithymia*, *Cilicia*, *Phanicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the lesse, *Egypt*, *Gracia*, *Theffalia*, *Boetia*, *Adolbia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedemonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came also to his aid, in person, the Kings, DROTARVS and ARTOBARZANES. Of which people, and of those which he brought with him from *Italy*, POMPEY had drawne together a great Armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and gallies by sea; which I do not set down, by reason of the diuersity of opinions between Authors touching the number of his souldiers and of CAESARS: for certain, they were very mighty Armies, but the greatest number were of POMPEY'S side. Who imagining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that CAESAR should not be able, nor haue time, commodiously to passe the seas; and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that CAESAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Theffalia*, retiring himself from the sea, commanding and charging his Captains by sea (of which, MARCVS BIBVLVS was chiefe) that they should guard and defend the coast. But CAESAR knowing, that in the speedy execution consisted the principall point of his victory, and that occasion once let slip is seldom recovered; being departed from *Rome*, and arrived at *Brundisium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboard those ships which hee had there in readinesse, so many as they could contain, which were seuen legions of his choise men (as he himself recordeth) and sent commandment to those which were conning, to make haste, to the end they should join with the rest which there remained, whom he would speedily send for. And so hee departed from *Brundisium*, now called *Brindes*, in the beginning of Ianuarie: and, crossing the seas with prosperous weather, the third day after, he arrived vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking; and, setting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEY'S Captains, hee commanded the ships and gallies presently to returne to *Brundisium* to fetch the rest of his Armie which hee had there left and commanded to come. And the wars beginning, hee presently seized vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erioe*, driving from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STABRIVS, which held the same for POMPEY: who as soon as he was aduertised of CAESARS landing, with the greatest speed possible sending for his troops (such as were neere at hand) hee marched towards *Dyrrachium*, where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres, doubting that CAESAR would come to surpris the same, as in truth he did; but in vain: for, the situation thereof made it inexpugnable.

POMPEY being come, their Camps were lodged within few forlongs one of the other, a runner running between them: there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace,

peace which CAESAR offered; the which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himself of his power: and CAESAR daily expecting the coming of his other legions, who staid longer than he thought they ought to haue done, without the which he thought it no wisdom to come to a battell, being much grieued, and very carefull for the same, hee resolved in person, with three confident seruants onely, secretly to embark himself in a Brigandine, and to passe that freight of the sea to fetch them, thinking to be able to perform the same without the knowledge of any. And, putting it in execution accordingly, hee passed down the river to the sea, which hee found so troubled and tempestuous, as the Master of the Brigandine (not knowing whom he carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CAESAR, discovering his face, as it is reported, said, Be not affraid, Friend: for, thou carriest with thee CAESAR and all his fortune. The Master, heerewith encouraged, chrued to hould on his voyage: but, at length, the force of the tempest was so great, and the winde so contrary, that (notwithstanding CAESAR'S courageous words) they were constrained to return, vnable to passe anie further forwards. Which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieued, and murmured thereat; praising him more for a valiant Knight, than a wise Captain: and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounts it for a rash aduenture, which, in my opinion, was the occasion why IVLIVS CESAR records it not in his Commentaries.

This being past, within fewe daies after, ANTONIVS arrived with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italy*, presently returning the ships back again for the rest: and (after some aduentures which hapned) joyning with CAESAR'S Armie, and all things set in good order (and the like being done on POMPEY'S side) there passed some things between them, which for breuiety I omit, vntill that neer to the city of *Dyrrachium* (whither CAESAR went, with a determination to haue surpris the same, and POMPEY to relieue it) the two Armies lodged themselves the one so neer the other, as there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie; and that one day the skirmish waxing hot, and rescues coming from either Armie, I came to a battell: wherein the successe was such, that CAESAR'S troops began to flee, and could not be made to stand by any intreaties or threats, till they came to their camp which they had fortified; and yet some abandoned the same, and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some think) hee imagined their flight to bee faigned, and that there was some deceit or ambush, or that he supposed there was no more to be done, and that CAESAR had beene overthrowen with small toill, so as he should be no more able to recover himself, did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreat to bee sounded, without affailing his enemies camp. Whither when CAESAR came, he took such order as was most conuenient, being no lesse courageous and politick in time of aduersity, than of prosperity: and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truly, this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had a Caprain which had knowne how to haue overcome. This day, IVLIVS CAESAR lost a great number of his souldiers, amongst which were foure hundred Romane Knights, ten Tribunes, and two and thirty Centurions; and his enemies took from him two and thirty Ensignes. This battell ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuerse parts of the world, houlding himself for absolutely victorious: And IVLIVS CAESAR hauing blamed some of his Captains and Ensigne-bearers (notwithstanding that his whole Armie grieued, and were ashamed of their late loss) again desired the battell; yet he would not then fight, his Armie being timorous, against those which were in heart & victorious, but rather took a new course: and, sending his sick and hurt men to the city of *Apollonia*, hee departed by night, with the greatest silence that could be, from the place where he was, and took his way towards *Theffalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemy further from the sea-coast, where his chief force lay, and where his camp was fortified and victualled; or, at the least, to go to meet and overthrowe SCIPIO, who (as hee was aduertised) came to join with POMPEY.

POMPEY, seeing CAESAR'S departure, after that hee had followed him some fewe daies, took counsell, and (as APPIANVS testifieth) was determined (leaving so sufficient a Nauike at sea, as CAESAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italy*, and to recover the same, with *France* and *Spain*, and then afterwards to return again CAESAR: but, being importuned and over-ruled by the Roman Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CAESAR, who made a stay in the fields of *Pharsalia*, which are in *Theffalia* (making his retreat with such discretion and in so good order, as in all occasions that were offered he had euer the better) vntill that at length, seeing his men full of resolution, force and courage, he resolved no longer to forbear the Fight; and therefore cared not any

any more to refuse the battell, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeed it was true) that CAESAR began to want victuals, and that his Armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same, and would not fight; and, as a wife and well-experienced Captain, would have prolonged the war, defeating his enemy without putting his own Armie in hazard: and although that POMPEY had thus resolved, yet the opinions, murmurings, and importunity of those which were with him prevailed so much (as LYCAN, PLVTARCH, and CAESAR himself, report) that they made him yeeld to giue battell, euē contrary to his owne opinion and will: wherein joined, of the one side and the other, all the flower and force of Rome. And although that CAESAR'S Forces were fewer in number (for, all Writers affirm, that POMPEY'S Armie was twice as great) yet his men were more active, and better trained. How many there were of the one side and the other, I cannot certify, the Authors doo so much differ among themselves therein. APPIANVS setteth down the diuers opinions which are held thereof. Some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LYCVS FLORVS was one; others, to three score and ten thousand: and some set down somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH; who saith, that POMPEY brought to this battell 45000 men, whereof 7000 were on horseback; and IVLIVS CAESAR, two & twenty thousand Foot, and of horse few more than one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these Armies was to be vnderstood of Romans onely, who were the force and hope of both these Generals: for, it is not likely, that of all nations there should be so small a number in a war so long prepared, and of such importance: and, in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But, howsoever it was, this battell was between the best captains and best soldiers, as well for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue. So strange and variable are the adventures which happen in wars and battells: for, where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weakness; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most. Before the battell there were many signes of an eminent downfall: The running away of beaſts appointed for the sacrifice, swarms of Bees, the sky darkened in the day time, POMPEY'S fearful dream ouer night of mourning in his Theatre at Rome; and in the morning early he was seen in the head of his main battell in a black Robe.

Either of these two great Commanders, having resolved to giue battell, ordered his battalions and squadrons as to him seemed most expedient, making speeches and orations to animate their soldiers; and, the accustomed signe being giuen, the battell presently beganne on either side: In the beginning whereof, POMPEY'S horse-men (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) who were all of the Roman Nobility, and of the Order of Knighthood, and who alwaies had the better; began to come where CAESAR'S Caualery was, and forced them to forsake the Field. Which, CAESAR perceiving (losing nothing by oversight) he made a signe to a battalio, which for that purpose he had left a-part from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEY'S Caualery: who charged them with such fury, wounding them (according to CAESAR'S direction) no where but in the face, that POMPEY'S horse-men either vnable or vnwilling to endure it, began to retire, in such sort, as from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victory, from thence sprang the beginning of his ouerthrow. For, notwithstanding that they had broken the first squadron, and were euē into the second, and the other battalions continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet, seeing that POMPEY'S Caualery fled, and that CAESAR'S came to charge them afresh, they all did the like, in such manner, as in short space the victory plainly appeared for CAESAR: and POMPEY, having lost all hope to preuaile, fled to his camp, leaving the field and victory to his enemy. Happy had POMPEY been in this miserie, if he had runne the same fortune with his slaughter'd Armie: but he out-liued his owne glory, that with dishonour he might see life through the Thesalie, he chased from Larissa, and vpon a forlorn rock of Cilicia studie whether to flee; to Parthia, Affrick, or Egypt: Finally, that vpon the Pelusian shoar, by the command of a most vnworthy treacherous King, by the counsell of gelded men, he should be murdered by the sword of SEPTIMIUS his Fugitiue, in the view of his sorrowfull wife and children. CAESAR, letting slip no occasion, seeing that hee found no resistance in the field, assembled his Forces to assaile POMPEY'S camp, which with small difficulty hee entered: which POMPEY perceiving, leaving his ensignes and robes of General, and putting on other apparrell, vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horse-back onely that accompanied him, which (as VELLEIVS PATARCVIVS saith) were his son SEXTVS POMPEIVS, and the two LENTIVS, and

Pompey fought contrary to his owne opinion.

ominous figures before the battell

The battell of Pompey's horse-men in Pompey was overcome by Caesar.

FAVONIUS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, as you haue heard; and neuer staied vntill he came to the citie of Larissa; where ioyning with some thirte other horse, which had fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vntill he came vnto the shore-side of the Egean sea; where, finding a certaine Merchants ship of Rome, he embarked himself therein, and sailed to the Ile of Lesbos, which is in that sea which now is called Archipelagos, to the citie of Mytilene in that Iland: For, in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him: and, gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence very doubtfull, and notable to resolve whither to go. Some counselled him to sail into Affrica, for that King IVBA was his friend, and very mighty. Others were of opinion, that hee should retire himself to the Parthians. Finally, he resolved to go into Egypt, for the friendship which hee held with King PROZOMY, father of that PROZOMY then reigning, and did so. Having first touched in the prouince of Cilicia in Asia, and in the Ile of Cyprus, sailing into Egypt, and arriving at the city of Alexandria, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

IVLIVS CAESAR having obtained so great a victory, vsed therein his accustomed clemency, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning all those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe, among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIES side fifteen thousand men, and of the Conquerors lesse then two thousand; as CAESAR himselfe writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meanes to returne and repaire himselfe; without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his Army. And coming to the Sea-side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the Cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such Ships and Gallies as hee then could, together with those which CASSIVS had, who was at this time received to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troups as he was able, and passed into Asia the lesse, where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in Cyprus, he presumed that he tooke his way towards Egypt. For which cause he tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old soldiers onely, and arriving in safety at Alexandria in Egypt (where we said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arrived there: who presuming of the benefits and good entertainment which this King PROZOMIS father had received in his house, he sent to request PROZOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen from a high fortune, few men hold faith and friendship; and in their aduersities, the benefits and good turnes received are commonly forgotten: so this King sent him his promise to perform what he required: and comming vpon safe conduct, in a small boat towards the shore, hee was murdered before he came to land by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIUS, and another ACHEILA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CAESAR'S friendship. This was done by the perswasion and counsell of FOTINVS an Eunuch, vho was of great authority in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA, POMPEIES wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIVS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CAESAR being landed and received into the City, they presently brought him for a present, the great POMPEIES head; which hee would not see: and his ring and seale of Armes being presented vnto him, he vsed for pity, considering the end and successe of the great adventures and prosperities of POMPEY, vho with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and bin so many times Consul in Rome, and had gouerned the same, and had been the most eminent man there for so many yeers, and had in like sort obtained many victories and dignities.

When IVLIVS CAESAR landed in Egypt, he found the country infested with ciuill wars, and great discord between yong King PROZOMY and his sister, the fair CLEOPATRA, about the diuision and inheritance of that Kingdome: wherein IVLIVS CAESAR (as a Roman Consul) took vpon him to intermeddle. For which cause (as CAESAR himselfe writeth) or because that their guilty conscience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY, made them to fear, as PLVTARCH affirmes; the before-named FOTINVS which had been the praefter of this murder, and ACHEILA who had been the actor thereof (both which were in great authority in Court and with the King) imagining that CAESAR inclined to fauour CLEOPATRA'S faction, sent for the Armie which the King had near the city, consisting of 20000 good men, purposing to do by IVLIVS CAESAR as they had done by POMPEY: and so within few daies there beganne between CAESAR and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the city and in the harbour, between the ships and gallies, the most cruell war and

The clemency of Caesar.

Caesar pursued Pompey.

The death of Pompey.

Caesar wept for the death of Pompey.

Caesar war with Cleopatra.

incounters that he ever had; which I cannot distinctly set down, for the many adventures that passed. But let this suffice, that I V L I V S C A E S A R fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the city (whereof his enemies held the greatest part) and also in the harbour with his ships; and was sometimes in such perill and danger, as he was driven to leap out of the boat wherein hee was, into the water, and by swimming to flee into one of his galleies: and, as S V E T O N I V S writes, he carried his Commentaries in the one hand out of the water, lest they should bee wet; and his Robe in his teeth, to the end it should not fall into his enemies hands. But at length his forces and aid being come from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for, so long lasted these wars) remained victorious, as in all others hee had been; and the young King P T O L O M Y was slain in Fight. In this warre C A E S A R did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wildome, that for the same onely hee did well deserve the fame and renown of a most excellent Captain.

C A E S A R having tamed the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of P O M P E Y, and established C L E O P A T R A for Queen and Gouvernesse in that Kingdome, whom during his staie there he entertained for his friend, and she conceived and had a sonne by him, called C A E S A R I O; all things being quietly settled, he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, travelling through *Syria*, now *Siria*, by reason that he was given to understand, that while he was buied in the warres of *Egypt*, King P H A R N A C E S, sonne of the mighty King M I T H R I D A T E S, thought it now a fit time (seeing the civill discord between the Romans) to recover that which his father had lost: and having overthrowne D O M I T I V S, whom C A E S A R had sent to govern those parts, and also having taken by force of Arms the provinces of *Bithymia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence King A R I O B A R Z A N E S, a friend and subiect to *Rome*, and beginning to do the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King D R I O T A R V S had made subiect to the Romans: I V L I V S C A E S A R coming with his Armie sooner than King P H A R N A C E S imagined, although hee had expected him, and had intelligence of his approach; within few daies they came to a battell: in which (without any great resistance) the King was overthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people, from which hee escaped by flight. Great was the joy C A E S A R conceived of this victory, for the desire he had to returne to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandalls and insolencies were committed by reason of his absence: he knew also, that P O M P E Y S eldest son had seized on a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great forces of those which M. V A R R O had there left, and of his fathers troops. Hee also understood, that in *Africa* many principall Romans, which had escaped from the battell at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, wherof M. C A T O (called V T I C E N S I S, because that in *Vtica* hee slew himself) was the chief, and S C I P I O, P O M P E Y S father-in-law; and that these went thither with a great part of the galleies and ships of P O M P E Y S Naue, and with the greatest power they were able to levie; joyning with I V B A King of *Mauritania*, they had subdued all that country, and had a great Armie in readinesse against C A E S A R, having chosen S C I P I O for their Generall, because that C A T O would not take that charge vpon him, and for that the name of S C I P I O was very fortunate in *Africa*. C A E S A R, having intelligence of all these things, within few daies, with great celerity and diligence, recovered all that which P H A R N A C E S had vsurped: and, chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recovered all those countries: and leaving C E L I V S M I N V C I V S for Generall, with two legions to guard that province, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings & Tetrarchs which had continued firm in league and amity with *Rome*, without any longer aboad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie*, came to *Rome*: within little more than a year after that, he departed from thence, ashort time in truth, for the performance of so great matters and so long a journey.

Within few daies after his coming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to be chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in *Rome*, being grieved and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessary, and from *Rome*ooke his way thitherward, commanding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Sicilia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that neither his Naue nor Armie arrived with him; trusting in the valour and goodnesse of his souldiers, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the citie of *Adumentum* in *Africa*; and from thence marched to another citie called *Lepis*, where he was received: and after some conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troopes both on foote and horseback; he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, viz. from the beginning of Ianuarie till

till the end of Aprill; beginning first against P E T R I V S and L A B I E N V S: afterwards it was continued against S C I P I O and King I V B A, which assailed the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the prouince of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leued against C A E S A R eight legions of footmen and 20000. horse: In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and battailes, which H Y R C I V S in his Commentaries, P E Y T A R C H, L I V C A N, L V C I V S F L O R V S & others write of at large, in which C A E S A R was in great danger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, hee ouercame them all in a great battaile, wherewith the enemies, were slaine 10000. men, and C A E S A R remained master of the field, and in few daies after of all the Countrie. S e r . 1 . 1 1 0 and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within few daies; and king I V B A by flight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despaire, he and A F R A N I V S determined to die fighting; the one against the other, till they were both slain, in which combat King I V B A being of greater strength then A F R A N I V S, slew him; and afterwards commanded a slaue of his own, to kill himself, and so he died desperately.

The good M A R C V S C A T O who was in the citie of *Vtica*, knowing that C A E S A R marched thitherwards, and although he knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that he would receive neither life nor honor from his enemy, hee slew himselfe: in whose death passed many notable accidents recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. C I C E R O did write in commendation of the death of C A T O, against the which C A E S A R did write another discourse: both which are lost. And F L O R V S writes his death after this manner: Hearing of the decease of his partners, hee dallyed not at all, but (as it became a wise man) did ioyfully hasten his owne death: for after he had embraced his sonne and friends and bid them good night, he rested a while vpon his bed, having perused P L A T O S booke of the immortallitie of the Soule; then about the first relieving of the watch, he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe into the bodie: After which the Physicians sought to wrong this resolute man, by applying some salues, the which he endured vnill they were out of the roome; but then he pulled them away: and the blood following abundantly, he left his dying hand in the very wound. S C I P I O, who had been Generall in this warre, escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleies, wherewith he fled, was met withall by C A E S A R S naue; who, to the end hee would not be taken, giving himselfe some wounds, cast himselfe into the sea, and so was drowned. C A E S A R, having obtained so great and absolute a victory, spending some few daies in ordering the provinces of *Africa*, reducing the kingdome of king I V B A into a province, hee came to the citie of *Vtica*, where he embarked himselfe the third of Iune, and came to the Ile of *Sardinia*, wherewith he stayed some few daies, and arrived at *Rome* the five and twentieth day of Iuly. At his coming (as S V E T O N I V S, A P P I A N V S, and P L Y T A R C H record) there were granted vnto him foure triumphs. The first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were set the portraictures of the riuers of *Radanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in gold: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King P T O L O M E Y, were set the riuers of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the province of *Pontus* and of King P H A R N A C E S, wherewith for the speede wherewith he prosecuted the victorie, was placed a briefe writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I ouercame. The fourth triumph was of the province of *Africa*, wherewith was placed King I V B A his sonne, as a captaine: and in this triumph (as S V E T O N I V S writeth) were given Jewels and armies to O C T A V I V S, C A E S A R S Nephew, who afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his young age: for he was not then fully sixteen years old. As for the battaile which C A E S A R wanne against P O M P E Y, he would not triumph for it, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

These triumphs being ended, giving great rewards to his souldiers, and entreynayning the *Romane* people, with feasts, gifts and other great bountie, hee caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul, and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein he would not be obeyed, he resolved to goe into *Spain*, where he understood that G N E V S P O M P E Y S (P O M P E Y S sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother S E X T V S P O M P E Y S, who already was there, as I haue said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spain*, with the cities of *Senill* and *Cordona*, and many others in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. C A E S A R, departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made so good speede, as within few

Hyrcius lib. 3.
Appian lib. 2.
Lucan lib. 3.
Lucius Florus lib. 4.

Titus Livius lib. 114.
Plutarch in his lives.
The strange death of King Iuba and Afranius.

Cato Vitecentis
slew himselfe.
S. Aug. in his
booke de ciuit.
dei. 1.
Scipio flew and
drowned himselfe.
Lactantius
Eternitatis.
Aulus Gellius
in his twelfth
booke.
Cicero in the 3.
of his offices.
Valerius Ma-
ximus cap. 3.
Celsus tri-
umphis.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Celsus would
not triumph for
his victory a-
gainst Pompey.

dayes he arrived in *Spain*, and in this journey (as *Svetonius* and *Velleius Paterculus* record) his Nephew *Octavius* followed him.

Cæsar, being entred *Spain*, came into the province of *Betice*, which is *Andaluzia*, where *Sextus Pompeius* and his brother *Gnaeus Pompeius* were with such legions and souldiers as they had gathered together, and for there began betwene them a cruell and bloodie warre. The end whereof was, that neere to the cite of *Munda*, *Cæsar* and *Gnaeus Pompeius* (for *Sextus Pompeius* was in *Cordova*) joyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that ever was in the world. For *Cæsar* being the most excellent Captaine, and the souldiers which he brought with him, the most valiant and accustomed to overcome, the resolution and courage of *Pompey* and his men was such, and they fought in such manner; as *Cæsar*s squadrons began to give ground and were ready to forsake the field; and at the very point to have been wholly overthrowne: And the matter came to this issue, that (as *Svetonius* and *Eutropius* do write) *Cæsar* was about to have killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe overcome; and that he took target from one of his souldiers and rushed in among his enemies, saying with a loud voice (as *Plutarch* reporteth) If you be not ashamed, leave me and delivier me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall be the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his souldiers took heart in such manner, that, recovering the ground which they had lost, the battell became equal, which (as *Appianus* affirmeth) lasted the most part of one whole day, without any signe of victory; sometimes seeming to incline to one partie, and sometimes to the other, untill that at length *Cæsar* and his men did so great exploits, as the evening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flee, and the victory was apparently *Cæsar*s. There died of his enemies about 30000 men in this fight; and of *Cæsar*s part, were slaine a thousand men of account, besides many other of lesser note. *Cæsar* esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the danger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vied to say, that only that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes ever for honor and victorie. He then remaying master of the field, his adversarie *Pompey*, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good captaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandering through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by *Cæsar*s friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto *Labienus*. His second brother *Sextus Pompeius* fled from *Cordova*, & in the end forsook *Spain*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. *I. Cæsar* recovered the cities of *Senilla* and *Cordova*, & all the rest; and disposing of all things in *Spain* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, & entred in triumph for the warres in *Spain*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place *L. Florus* and *Paterculus* speak of all his triumphs.

Cæsar came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that ever had been in the world, having subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with an Armie and by force, in as little time, as it might seeme that another man might be able to traual those countries by reasonable iourneys. All which being in subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe foueraigne Lord and Monarch of the Romane Empire, within little lesse then five yeeres after that he began the same. And this was the originall and beginning of the Romane Emperours: for *Iulius Cæsar* would not be called King (for the name of King was odious to the Romans about all things, ever since the Kings were chased from *Rome*) but contented himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperour; although not with a name of such power and dignitie as his successors have done since; but as by a name which signified he had been a conqueror in the warres, which in this sense was given to the Romane Captaines, when they had obtained any notable victorie: but after *Iulius Cæsar*, all his successors took that name, glorying to be called Emperours, which was held for the highest title and dignitie in the world.

Iulius Cæsar having attained to that absolute power which he so much desired, he shewed in all things great clemencie and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiving, and very cherefully pardoning all those which had been his adversaries; and so he not only pardoned *Brutus* and *Cassius*, *Cicero*, *Marcellus*, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and private familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues wherewith *Cæsar* was endued, his clemencie and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to quench the desire of their lost libertie, neither to assuage the hatred and malice conceived against him by his adversaries, as in time did appere.

And

And notwithstanding that many were grieved: yet for the love which they bare him; others for feare and dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminences and titles of honour, such as neuer had been given to any other; neither ought he to have accepted the same, as *Plutarch*, *Appian* and others doe report: But *Cæsar*s minde and ambition was such, and his thoughts so elevated and so high; as he held nothing so great, but he was worthe thereof and had deserved the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him, but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and preserver of his country: He was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for ten yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the Kings of *Rome*, and a chayre and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senators did vfe to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. I passe ouer some titles which they gaue him, and he accepted, which only, to those whom they held for God, ought to have been attributed. The moneth which they called Quintil, they called *Iulius* after his name, as March of their god *Mars*, and Iune after the goddesse *Iuno*: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto *Iupiter*, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call *Thensas*: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

Iulius Cæsar enjoying such honour and power, so as he had no equall or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as *Plinius*, *Solinus* and other report) to have fought in fiftie severall battailes (in all which he overcame) fauing in that one at *Dyrachium* against *Pompey*; where, as we haue already said, he was not wholly overthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and battailes which hee fought, a million, ninetie and odd thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was of a most haughtie minde, he sought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For, first he resolved to passe into the East, thence to conquer and subdue the fiercer nation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of *Marcius Crassus*, and to passe through *Thracia* and other countries, untill he should come to the Caspian sea, and so through all the provinces of *Sybia Asia*; and passing the riuier *Tanis*, to returne through *Syria* in Europe, and in this retire to come into Germany, and other provinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the Romane Empire; for the which conquest hee presently caused to be lured in sundrie places, ten thousand horsemen, and sixtene legions of chosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commanded them to march towards their Rendezvous. And besides all this, he sought not only to subdue all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponnesus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the neck of the land which is betwene the *Egean* and the *Ionian* Seas.

Of the Riuier *Tiber* and the Riuier *Anien* (as *Plutarch* saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new channells, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capable to bear great ships. He commanded, and already began to dig down and make plain many hills and high mountains in *Italie*, and to dry vp and dreine some of the great lakes and marshes which are therein: and, in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more than a man, which seemed to be possible to none but to God alone. He corrected (as many Authors affirm) the computation of the yeer, conforming it with the course of the Sun, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for, before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the course of the Moon, and the conjunctions and oppositions of her and the Sun: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did hate him. For, one day, in a discourse in the presence of *Cicero*, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sun; yea, quoth he, it is so: for, *Cæsar* hath so commanded. Many other things *Cæsar* began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customes and offices, which for breuitie I omit: among which, the reedifying of the ruined city of *Carthage* by *Scipio* (as all the world knoweth) was one, and he sent thither Colonies and Roman citizens to inhabit: the like hee did by *Corinth*. But all these works and these so high conceits and resolutions were abridged by death, which within fewe daies ensued: and this

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man

The names and high titles which were giuen to Cæsar.

The high thoughts and purposes of Cæsar.

Cæsar corrected the computation of the yeere, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, *Censorinus*.

Carthage reposed by *Cæsar*.

Cæsar going into *Spain* against *Pompey*s *Joanes*, *Betice*, *Andaluzia*.

*Cæsar*s cruell battaile and victorie against *Pompey*s sons.

*Cæsar*s triumph for his victories in *Spain*.

The beginning of the Romane Empire.

The originall of the name of Emperour.

The clemencie and liberality of *Cæsar*.

man, whom no force could resist, a few men (yea, and those disarmed) were of power to be-
reave of life, as heerafter we will declare. Five months onely hee lived a soveraign Lord in
peace (as VELLIVS PATERCVLVVS hath noted) when those, in whom he reposed greatest
trust, conspired his death.

The causes of the
conspiracies a-
gainst Cæsar.

Some write, that CÆSAR was counsell'd to have had a guard alwaies about him: where-
to he answered, that he would have none; for, he would rather dy once, than live continually
in jealousie and fear. Many set down the causes wherefore they desired to kill him. Some say,
that it was for the hatred they had long born him: some others say, that it was for the desire of
liberty, holding him for a tyrant. But the most part are of opinion, that it was for suspicion that
hee would have made himself King of Rome; a thing in the highest degree hatefull to the Ro-
mans: whereof he gaue many signes and causes to suspect; which PLYTARCH and others do
write at large. Heerunto was added, that he began to haue men in contempt, and all other things:
whereby he became hatefull to many. For, he veld to say, that the Common-wealth was but a
voice and a name without a body or substance; and that it well appeared, that CORNELIVS
SYLLA had no learning, seeing that hee refused the perpetual Dictatorship. All the whole
Senate, coming one day into the Temple of Venus wherein he was, he attended their coming,
sitting still, and rose not as he was wont to doo, notwithstanding (as some say) that CORNE-
LIVS BALBUS counsell'd him to rise: which was a thing much noted, and odious to the
Common-wealth. His friends and fauourites began also to fay and to publish, that in the books
of the Sibyls (which in Rome were held in great veneration, and for a true prophecy) it was writ-
ten, that the Parthians could neuer bee overcome but by a man which should haue the title of
king; and they practis'd that CÆSAR should take this name, for that conquest, whither he had
determined to goe: and although that he made shew to be much moued thereat, yet they sus-
pected the contrary. Which suspicion encreased (besides that which is already said) for that the
Tribunes of the people commanded a man to be apprehended, which had set a Diadem (which
is the ensigne of a King) vpon the head of one of CÆSARS statues: Whereat CÆSAR was
so highly offended with the Tribunes, that he depoted them from their offices, making shew
that he did it, because they gaue him cause of offence, in this, that they would make the world
beleue that there was cause of suspicion, that he would make himself a Tyrant-king. The like
in a manner passed, when MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was a great fauourite of his, and (that
yeere) his fellow and companion in the Consulship, being at certaine publicke games, came to
CÆSAR and put a Diadem vpon his head: and although that he cast it downe, yet they all i-
magined, that MARCVS ANTONIVS would not haue presumed to haue done it without
his consent or liking, and that he did this to proue what liking the people had thereto, and how
they would take it: so as these, and such other like things as passed, gaue them occasion to desire
and to procure his death: as some of them did. This did also encourage them, and made them
attempt to do it; for that in sundry publick places certain Writings were set vp, which did in-
cite and animate them to conspire against him: as, vpon the statue of BRVTVS, who in antient
time chased the Kings out of Rome, were written these words; *Would to God thou wert now living,*
BRUTUS: And vpon the image of MARCVS BRVTVS, who then was Pictor, and descended
from the other BRVTVS, these words; *Thou sleepest long, Brutus: truly thou art not Brutus.* And,
as APPIAN recounteth, at other times they set vp others, which imported, *Thou art dead, Bru-
tus: would to God thou wert living: thou art unworthy of the succession from the Brut: surely thou art not
descended from that good Brutus.* And other such like things were set vpon these statues, and in o-
ther places: So as for all these reasons, and for other added heerunto, there were leuenty of the
most eminent men in Rome which conspired to murder him, one alluring another, vntill they
grew to that number: of which, the principall Heads were DECIVS, MARCVS BRVTVS,
CAIVS CASSIVS; yet MARCVS BRVTVS was held for CÆSARS son: for, his mo-
ther was suspected by him, and had receiued from him great honours and good entertainments.
With these were CAIVS CASCA, ATTILIVS CIMBER, SERVIVS GALBA, QVIN-
TVS LIGARIVS, MARCVS SPVRIVS, and many other men of account: which, after som
consultations, concluded to kill him vpon the Ides of March, which is the fifteenth day of that
Month, in the Temple where the Senators wereto sit that day: which was agreed vpon, and
kept so secret, that (notwithstanding their great number) there was not any one found that did
discover the same. But there were so many signes and prodigies, and to himselfe there hapned
so many auguries and forewarnings, that, without knowing any cause, all men were of opinion,
that CÆSARS death was neer at hand. The which, among many other which recite the same,

OVID

OVID doth most excellently set down in his Metamorphosis, which for breuitie I omit: but
chiefly SPVRINA, who was his diuiner or soothsayer, forwarned him, that he should look to
himselfe vntill the Ides of March were past: for, his life was in great danger: and CÆSAR
saw his owne wife entreated him vpon her knees, that hee would not that day go forth to the Senate;
for, she had dreamt, that he lay dead in her lap. Finally, CÆSAR was so many waies forewar-
ned, and put in such fear of some great danger, as he was about to send to MARCVS ANTO-
NIVS to make his excuse, and to deferre the Senat vntill another day. But (as it was Gods will
he should dy so) MARCVS BRVTVS, being in place when this matter was in question twise,
as we haue already said, was one of the conspirators counsell'd CÆSAR, that in no case hee
should make shewe of any such fear: whereupon hee resolved to go.

Some (as SVETONIVS and PLYTARCH) write, that CÆSAR made small account of
death, and that he suspected he should dy in this manner: for he said, that hee did not so much
esteem his owne life, as the danger wherinto the Common-wealth would fall by losing him:
For, as for him, he had wonne power, fame and glory enough for himselfe; and that hee in no
time could dy with greater honour. It gaue also cause of this suspicion, that some discoursing
in his presence, the night before his death, what kinde of death was best: euen, quoth hee, the
sudden, and that which is not preperced. Whether this be true or no, I knowe not: but, the fif-
teenth of March, he went from his house in a Litter towards the Senate; and, passing along the
street, there was a petition deliuered vnto him, which (some say) ARTEMIDORVS, his Master
in the Greek Tongue, gaue him: others say, that it was given him by another, and that AR-
TEMIDORVS could not come so neer to him as to aduise him: but, whosoever hee were that
gaue it, therein was given him (in writing) all that which was concluded in this conspiracie,
and he which gaue it desired him to reade it presently; which he began to doo: but there came
so many to speak to him, that he could but begin to reade it; for, it was found in his hand when
he was dead. And, passing so along the street, hee also met with SPVRINA, who had given
him warning to look to himselfe vntill the Ides of March were past: and as CÆSAR saw him,
very pleasant and jesting he said, *Dost thou not knowe, SPVRINA, that the Ides of March are
come?* Yea, answered SPVRINA, and I knowe that they are not yet past. Being come to the
Temple where the Senate was to sit that day, he came down from his Litter, and entred therein;
and, having first done sacrifice (as then was the custome) which all, according to their supersti-
tious ceremonies of that time, prefiged to be fatal and unfortunate, he fate down in the Senate
in his chair: and BRVTVS ALBINVS, entertaining MARCVS ANTONIVS at the door
of the Temple, or (after some others) TREBONIVS, as it was decreed, one of the conspira-
tors (whose name was CILBA) came to CÆSAR vnder colour to intreat him to be pleased
to release a brother of his from banishment, and presently all the rest of the conspirators drew
neer to his chair. Which when CÆSAR perceived, thinking that they had all come for the
same purpose, it is written that he said vnto them, *What force is this? And at that Instant one of
them, whose name was CASCIA, beginning, they all drew their poiniards and swords, which
they had brought in secret for that purpose vnder their gowns, and began to wound him. The
first blowe hee receiued, they say, CASCIA gaue him in the throat: at which wound CÆSAR
spake aloud, saying, What dost thou, Traitor CASCIA? and, wrestling the poiniard out of his
hands, he arose and stabbed CASCIA through the arm: and beeing about to strike him the se-
cond time, he was prevented by the other wounds which they gaue him; with great force and
courage leaping from one side to the other to defend himselfe. But, when hee saw MARCVS
BRVTVS (whose authority and reputation was great) with his sword drawn in his hand, wher-
with he had already wounded him in the thigh, they write, that hee was much amazed thereat,
and said in the Greek Tongue (which the Romans did then vnderstand and vsually speak) *Why
how now, sonne BRVTVS? and thou also?* And hauing said so, and seeing so many weapons
bent against him, and that no body came to his rescue (for, there was so great a tumult in the Se-
nate, as they all thought to haue died; and, being in despair, none durst attempt to defend him)
he remembered to keep the honour of his person, and with his right hand couered his head with
part of his robe, and with his left hand hee hit himselfe, and settled his clothes about him; and,
being so couered, he fell dead to the ground, wounded with three and twenty wounds: and his
fortune was to fall at the foot of the seat or base wherupon POMPEY'S statue stood; which
was noted for the judgement and permission of God. And so in this manner died the most high-
ty, the most worthy, valiant, wise, and fortunate Prince and Captain, that without all doubt be-
fore him hath been in the world; and I knowe not if after him in valor and humane power there
hath*

A petition given
Cæsar.

Cæsar was slain
in the Senate, &
and at Pom-
pey's feet.

The excellency
of Iul. Cæsar.

C 3

hath been the like. For, his excellencies, graces and abilities; his invincible minde, his incomparable force and courage; the battailes and victories which he obtained; the provinces, Kings and nations, which he overcame and subdued; his counsells, stratagems, policies, and bold attempts; his magnanimitie, clemencie and bountie to the conquered and conquerors; the great designs he had propounded when he was slaine, being all well weighed and considered: it will plainly appeare, that in none of these things aforesaid, neither in many other more which may be said of him, there hath beene any King or Capitaine that hath excelled him, but that he in the most hath excelled all others, and had fewer imperfections and vices then any other. For, setting apart his ambition and desire to raigne (which he held for no vice, and might alledge that he was compelled thereto) he was only noted and blamed, as too much given to women; as for the rest, wherewith he was charged, it doth rather appeare to be the murmuring and slandering of his adversaries, than any truth.

CÆSAR was slaine in the six and fiftieth yeere of his age, foure yeeres and a little more (according to P L Y T A R C H S computation) after the death of P O M P E Y; in the seven hundred and tenth yeere (according to O R O S I U S) after the foundation of Rome; and according to the Hebrew truth, in the three thousand and tenth yeere from the creation of the world; and according to the greater account of the severitie interpreters, five thousand, one hundred, fiftie and seven yeeres; in the hundred, eightie and fourth Olympiad; and fortie and two yeeres before the birth of Christ our Redeemer: But I would have the reader to understand, that in this account of yeeres, there sometimes happeneth difference betweene the authors.

CÆSAR had neither sonne nor daughter legitimate, at the time of his death; for notwithstanding that he was married foure severall times, yet he had but one only daughter, named I V L I A, which (as I have said) was married to P O M P E Y, and died: Wherefore he adopted for sonne by his last will, and made him his heire in the Dodrant, which are nine parts of the twelue of his goods, his Nephew O C T A V I U S C Æ S A R, which afterwards was called O C T A V I A N U S A V G V S T U S, who was nephew to his sister I V L I A and of A C I U S B A L B U S, and sonne of A C I A his neece, and of O C T A V I U S P r e t o r in Macedonia, who died suddenly. O C T A V I U S was at this time by the commandement of his vncle, in the cite of Apollonia in the province of Epirus, where he gaue himselfe to studie; staying for him there, thence to goe with him to the warres of the Parthians, being then of the age of seventeen yeeres.

CÆSAR being dead in the manner as I have said (as it happeneth in great accidents) the newes presently ranne over all the citie, and the tumult and alteration therein was so great, as no man knew what to doe or say: all offices ceased, the temples were shut vp, there was no man but was amazed: CÆSAR S friends were afraid of those which slew him; and they, of his friends. It would be a long discourse to recite what succeeded, but I will briefly set down that which shall be most to my purpose. B R U T U S and C A S S I U S and all the conspirators, and others which were willing to ioyn with them, having murdered him, seeing the great tumult among the people (and as P L Y T A R C H writes) for feare of M A R C U S A N T O N I U S and L E P I D U S, whereof the one was Consul, and the other Master of the horsemen, durst not goe to their houses, neither doe such other things as they had pretended; but presently from thence went to seize vpon the Capitoll, and cryed by the way as they went, Libertie, libertie, imploring the assistance and fauour of the people. The rest of that day and all the next night, M A R C U S A N T O N I U S & L E P I D U S who took CÆSAR S part, were in arms, and there passed treaties & messages from the one to the other; wherein it was agreed the Senat should sit, whither B R U T U S & C A S S I U S came, M A N T O N I U S S o n s (by the perswasion of C I C E R O, a great lover of the libertie) remaining hostages for them; where they treated of peace & concord, and all that was past should be buried in perpetuall silence and obliuion. Wherunto M A N T O N I U S (who was Consul) and all the whole Senate agreed: and all the provinces being diuided, there was a great likelihood of peace; for the Senate approved and commended the fact, and the people dissembled it: for on the one part, the authoritie of B R U T U S and C A S S I U S, and the name of libertie, seemed to giue them some contentment; and of the other side, the greatnes of the fact, and loue which they bare vnto CÆSAR, did moue and incite them to hate the murderers, and so it rested indeterminate. But M A R C U S A N T O N I U S, as one who also thought to become a tyrant, ever sought meanes to incense the people against them; and matters passed in such sort, that among other things which were done, CÆSAR S testament was opened; wherein (besides the adopting of his Nephew O C T A V I U S for his son, and appointing him for his chiefe heire, among other bequests which he made) he bequeathed to the people of Rome

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certaine gardens and heritages neere the river of Tiber, and to every citizen of Rome a certaine sum of money; to be diuided among them; which being knowne, did much renew their olde loue, and made his death farre more pittifull. And hauing agreed vpon his funerall, which was, with great solemnity to burne his body in the field of Mars, putting it in effect, M A R C U S A N T O N I U S, who that day made a funerall oration in his praise, and with the intent aforesaid, took the robe wherein CÆSAR was slaine, which being all bloody, he shewed to the people, vsing some speeches which prouoked them both to wrath and pittie. So as before the solemnity of the funerall was throughly ended, they all departed in great furie, with the brands of the same fire which was made for CÆSAR S bodie in their hands, and went to burne the houses of B R U T U S and C A S S I U S, running vp and downe the streetes of Rome seeking them and the rest of the conspirators to haue slaine them; and in that furie they vnadvisedly slew E L I U S C I N N A, by mistaking him to haue been C O R N E L I U S C I N N A, who was one of the conspirators. This tumult put B R U T U S and C A S S I U S and their confederats, in such feare, as they all fled from Rome to sundry other parts; and M A R C U S A N T O N I U S not obseruing what was decreed, thinking to inherit CÆSAR S power and authoritie, sought their destruction in all that he might: And notwithstanding that the Senate (having appealed the tumult of the people) would haue inflicted punishment vpon some of the seditious, and some were already imprisoned, yet B R U T U S and C A S S I U S durst not returne to Rome, but after a while went into Greece to gouerne those provinces, which CÆSAR (whom they had slaine) had assigned vnto them; which were Macedonia to B R U T U S, and Syria to C A S S I U S, and so all the rest of the conspirators abiented themselves. Surely it was a wonderfull thing that within the space of three yeeres, they all died, and not one of them a naturall death.

At this time C A T U S O C T A V I U S, who (as is aforesaid) was afterwards called O C T A V I A N U S A V G V S T U S, came to Rome from Apollonia, being aduertised of CÆSAR S death, and sent for by his mother and other his kindred, all continuing in the confusion aforesaid.

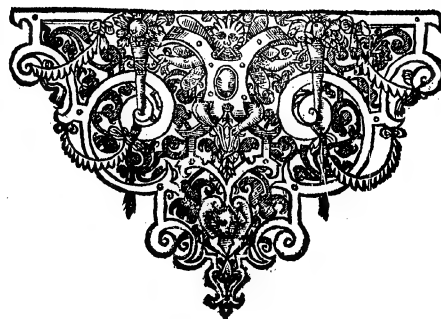
For M A R C U S A N T O N I U S was now very mightie: for his brother L V C I U S

A N T O N I U S was Tribune of the people, and other his friends and kinsmen were in offices and dignities, many of which he

procured for them, saying; that I V L I U S CÆSAR had so ordained it in his Commentaries: and in this season came O C T A V I U S to Rome, whose storie we will now begin.

C 4

THE



The time where-
in Cæsar died.

The murderers
of Cæsar fled
from Rome.

The death of
those which con-
spired against
Cæsar.

After the death
of Cæsar, Mar-
cus Antonius
became the
mightiest man
in Rome.

The determi-
nation of the Se-
nate.

Cæsar's will and
testament.



THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTVS CÆSAR.

THE ARGUMENT.



OCTAVIANVS, or Octavius, the adopted sonne of Caius Iulius Cæsar, after the death of Cæsar, applied himselfe, together with Marcus Antonius, to revenge Brutus and Cassius with their complices, and overcoming them he returned to Rome: where plotting the Treason, he fled to much blood, and did such wickedness, as there was not any brother in Rome; but was polluted with civil blood. He fought with Lucius Antonius, brother to Marcus Antonius, for that it should seeme that Octavius made small account of his brother; and besieging him in Perugia, he constrained him (through famine) to come in person to sue for peace and life; whom he gently pardoned, together with all those which were his partakers in that warre. He also overcame Sextus Pompeius, after they had married together many

yeeres. And falling at variance with Marcus Antonius by means of his wife Octavia, sister to Octavius, for that Antonius was besieged with the loue of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt: Finally after many changes of fortune, he overcame him: whose victorie constrained Marcus Antonius (in a manner) in despair to kill himselfe, and Cleopatra to poison her selfe; but Marcus Antonius slew himselfe, more for that he believed that Cleopatra had already killed her selfe, than that he accounted himselfe overcome by Octavius. After this victorie, Marcus Antonius being dead, and Lepidus reduced to a most base estate, Octavius obtained the Monarchie and sole government of the Empire. In which time, subduing many barbarous Nations, he several times made Ians temple to be flut, and was called Monarch in which Monarchie he lived in such manner, as with his greatness, he was digressed from vertue by reason of his high estate; and was no less vertuous then a fauourer of leaured and vertuous men. He was unfortunate in honest wines, and chaff and content daughters; and most unhappy in loves, having nine women by nature worthy of the Empire. He ruled the world fixe and fiftie yeeres; foure and fortie alone, and twelue in companie with Marcus Antonius. In his time our Saviour Iesus Christ was borne. And being little more then threescore and fixe yeeres old he died, to the great griefe and sorrow of the whole world, which through his goodnesse had been so long time maintayned in peace.



Octavius shew to Cæsar and his friends by adoption.

The Linage of Octavianus.

In the Historie and life of IULIUS CÆSAR it behooued me to be briefe in the relation thereof; I haue now no lesse neede to do the like in the Historie of his Nephew OCTAVIUS CÆSAR, which afterwards was called OCTAVIANVS A VGVS TVS, his sonne by adoption, as by that which is before written may appeare: as well for the great accidents which happened in his time, as for the multitude thereof, which cannot be repeated but by a long discourse. But we will doe herein what we shall be able, notwithstanding that his raigne was long (for it was fiftie and odde yeeres) that in reason we may spend somewhat more time, then in the actions of those which were of lesse continuance. The father and grandfather of OCTAVIUS, I haue already said, who they were. His linage and familie of his fathers side, was of the OCTAVI, and was of great antiquitie in Rome, from the time of TARQVIN their king, and in the beginning they were Patricij (as SVETONIUS recordeth in his life) although that afterwards the order altrid, reducing it to the people by adoption, or some other cause: and in proceesse of time many of the OCTAVI, obtaining offices and Magistracies, continued in the order of Knighthood, which was in the middle degree between the Patricij and the Plebeians, vntill the time of OCTAVIUS the father of OCTAVIANVS; who was a Senator, and a Pretor in Macedonia.

OF

Of his mothers side (as it was said of IULIUS CÆSAR) hee descended from the Kings of Rome. And yet notwithstanding all this, as OCTAVIANVS had many enemies and emulators, it was said to his reproach, that his grand-father (the father of his father) had been a money-changer, and that his great grand-father was a Libertine, which is as much as to say, a man that had been a slave. But it seems to me vnelikely, that the son of such parents should haue been admitted into the Senat, and made Pretor; and that IULIUS CÆSAR, whose place & thoughts were so high, would haue married him to his Niece. And so SVETONIUS treats thereof, as a matter which he should for vturuc.

OCTAVIUS then vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle IULIUS CÆSAR, being aduertised and sent for by his mother (as I haue said) departed from Apollonia, and with the best speed he could make came to Rome, accompanied with some of CÆSAR's friends and some men of warre, of those which in Egipt and Macedonia attended the enterprize and wars of Asia, as it was decreed: and, arriving at Brundisium, he found there certain legions, which by CÆSAR'S commandment were comen thither to haue been embarked for the warre pretended; by whom he was receiued with the greatest loue and affection that could be. And (as saith APPIANVS) he was there called and took vpon him the name of CÆSAR, by the adoption of his vncle; and, leaving off to be called OCTAVIUS the son of OCTAVIUS, was called CAIUS CÆSAR, son of CAIUS CÆSAR; and commonly he was called CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS; wherein he preferred the memory of his naturall father, with the name of his adoptiue father: like as PAVLVS EMILIVS son of PAVLVS EMILIVS, being adopted by SCIPIO, the son of SCIPIO the Great, was called SCIPIO EMILIANVS; SCIPIO by his adoptiue father, and EMILIANVS by his naturall father; a matter vsuall among the Romans. So was OCTAVIUS called CÆSAR OCTAVIANVS: and so from thenceforth we will call him.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR departed from Brundisium towards Rome, accompanied with theould souldiers: and by the way many more joined with him, with many of his vncle and father CÆSAR'S friends, and of his faction, and entered into the city with great shew & pomp. But, as MARCVS ANTONIUS was of great power, and therewith very proud, and took in ill part that OCTAVIANVS was preferred before him, as PLVTARCH recordeth, hee went not to receiue him: which was much noted, and was the first signe of the discord which afterwards ensued between them. OCTAVIANVS had a resolution and great desire to reuenge the death of IULIUS CÆSAR. But, by his mother, and PHILIP his father-in-law, with whom she was married, he was counselled to dissemble his purpose for a season: for, on the one side, they saw that the Senate had approued the death of IULIUS CÆSAR; and, on the other, MARCVS ANTONIUS, who was to bee their principall fauourer therein, did not shewe himselfe a friend to OCTAVIANVS. Wherefore he, following their wife counsell, aduisedly concealed his thoughts for a time: and, to iustifie himselfe, and to hould correspondence, and temporize with ANTONIUS, he went presently to his house to visit him. And, vnderstanding that ANTONIUS had in his custodie all the treasure which IULIUS CÆSAR had left, after discourse of some other matters, he desired him to command it to bee deliuered vnto him, therewith to satisfie his debts, and to distribute it as CÆSAR had ordained by his Will. To this, and all the rest which OCTAVIANVS required, hee was answered by MARCVS ANTONIUS with greater haughtinesse and grauity than the minde and thoughts of OCTAVIANVS were able to bear, denying to him what he required, yea, and reprobuing him for his demands. Whereupon presently contentions and discord arose between them; OCTAVIANVS aiding himselfe with the counsell of MARCVS TVLLIUS CICERO, a great enemy to ANTONIUS: whose authority at that time, by reason of his wisdom and eloquence, was very great. The hatred encreasing, although that friends of either side passed between them to bring them to some conformity, and to haue reconciled them, yet in the end it brake out. And OCTAVIANVS his power encreasing, principally (as I said) through the fauour and assistance of CICERO, MARCVS ANTONIUS left Rome, and began to raise forces in Italie, and so leuied foure legions ofould souldiers against him. And because that DECIVS BRVTVS, who commanded Gallia Cisalpina (which is now called Lombardie) was opposite vnto him, procured thereto by CICERO his counsell and letters, MARCVS ANTONIUS went to besiege him in the city of Mutina, now called Modena. This being knowne in Rome, CICERO his credit and authority in the Senate was such, as, after much contention, MARCVS ANTONIUS was declared an enemy to the State: and the new Consuls HIRCIUS and PANSA were to be sent against him, and with them OCTAVIANVS, with ensignes of Consul and title of Propre-

Octavianus took upon him the name of Cæsar.

Octavianus took upon him the name of Cæsar.

Octavianus and Marcus Antonius were at variance.

M. Antonius declared an enemy to the State.

tor,

tor, with part of the Armie, hauing been first receiued into the Senate (notwithstanding that he was not yet eighteen yeers old) by the procurement of CICERO, although that afterwards he did ill requite it.

There were also assigned vnto MARCVS BRVTVS the prouinces of *Illyricum* or *Sclauonia*, and *Macedonia*, with the Armies therein; and to CASSIVS, the prouince of *Syria* in *Asia*, and with the Armie also. This and other things being granted by the Senate, OCTAVIANVS and the Consuls with their Armies drew nere to MARCVS ANTONIVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO remaining for chief in all matters in *Rome*. After some skirmishes and encounters, which passed between the two Armies, they came to battell, or (as some record) battels, which were decided in sundry manners; but in effect they all agree: and the truth is, that the Consuls and CÆSAR had the victory, and one of the Consuls (which was HIRCVS) was slain in the battell, and PANSÆ the other Consul came wounded from it, and died shortly after: and so OCTAVIANVS remaining with the whole Armie, DECIVS BRVTVS was freed from the siege; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, with part of his people, escaped by flight. In this seruice, OCTAVIANVS made marvellous proof of himself (as SVETONIVS reporteth) not only as a Caprain, but also as a private souldier: and, among other things which hee did, one was, that seeing him which bare the standard to bee sore wounded and ready to fall, with the Eagle, the ensigne of his legion, which were the Armes of *Rome*; OCTAVIANVS took the same, and bare it a great while, vntill that he put it in safety: yet for all this, some of his enemies forbore not to defame him; saying, that, being in the battell, he himselfe slue the Consul HIRCVS; and that afterwards he caused poison to be put into the medicines applied to the Consul PANSÆ, and that thereof he died.

MARCVS ANTONIVS, being escaped from the battell, gathering together the remainder of his Armie, passed the Alps and went into *France*, soliciting the friendship of LEPIDVS, who remained there with an Armie since the death of IVLVIS CÆSAR: with whom, after some treaties and matters which succeeded, he concluded to be his friend. And OCTAVIANVS, after the battell and victory obtained, seeing himself at liberty from the authority of the Consuls, began to put in effect the high designs which he did inherit with the goods and name of CÆSAR, and presently sent to the Senate to require triumph for the victory; and also the Consulship for the rest of the time which remained to the dead Consuls, with succession in their charge, and command of the souldiers succeeding them in dignity. But his demands were not so pleasing to the Senate as he desired: for, the kinsmen and friends of the conspirators which slue CÆSAR, began to stand in fear of him, and they grieved to see him so powerfull. Wherefore (as APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS and VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS distinctly set down) they vsed a mean to protract and delay that which he required; and in the end they refused to assigne the Armie vnto DECIVS BRVTVS: and temporizing with OCTAVIANVS, they granted him the triumph, without admitting him to the Consulship. Whereat he shewed himself much discontented, and took occasion thereby to attempt that which peradventure he had before projected: which was this; He had secret treaties & practices of friendship with MARCVS ANTONIVS, and hauing drawne vnto him the hearts and good will of the Armie, imitating IVLVIS CÆSAR, accompanied therewith, he took his way to *Rome*: and approaching nere vnto the city, in despite of the Senate hee made himself to bee chosen Consul, being then not fully twenty yeers old. Wherein hee presently entered; and, discouering his desire and resolution, he made accusations to be exhibited against BRVTVS and CASSIVS, and the rest of the conspirators, which was declared against them all: and as there were none to defend their cause, and they absent, not daring to appear, they were condemned. This being done, he again departed from the city; and, with the Armie which he brought, returned to draw nere to the camps of LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, who were already entered *Italy*.

DECIVS BRVTVS, being aduertised of the treaties and league betwixt OCTAVIANVS, LEPIDVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, not daring to stay in that country, departed with his people: by which, seeing himself abandoned, part whereof going to CÆSAR, and part to MARCVS ANTONIVS, hee fled into sundry parts; and in the end was taken and brought to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and put to death by his commandement, and (his head being brought vnto him, hee caused him presently to be buried. The Armies of these Captains approaching nere together, with which ASINIVS POLLIO and PLANCVS, with the legions which they commanded, were joined; the league was made, and friendship concluded between

The battell against Marcus Antonius, wherein Octavianus and the consuls had the victory.

Octavianus made himself to be chosen consul, that which murdered Cæsar, captured & condemned.

tweene these three, to wit, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, MARCVS ANTONIVS, and LEPIDVS, all three meeting to that effect three daies together, at an appointed place in the fields betweene *Bologna* and *Perugia*, as APPIANVS recordeth, which was an Island, which the River *Lacumum* which passeth thereby, maketh; where they concluded their accursed peace. And either of these firebrands of fedition entered into that accursed Triumvirat, with a several designe & intent. LEPIDVS was covetous of riches, the hope whereof consisted in troubling the State. A NATHANIEL by nature an enemy to peace, and trouble some to the common weale, desirous to be revenged of such as had declared him an enemy to the State. And OCTAVIVS, for the death of his adopted father, upon BRVTVS and CASSIVS, whose lives were offensive to his unreuenged ghost. After which, OCTAVIANVS, putting away SERVELIVS daughter, to whom hee was married, contracted himselfe to CLAVDIA, ANTONIVS daughter in law, daughter to his wife FVLVIA, which was then a childe, from whom hee was also divorced afterwards, without touching her, by reason of the discord which arose, as shall bee declared. In this proscription and league which they made, besides the dividing of the Emperre and Provinces, as hereafter shall bee declared, they concluded each of them to kill his enemies, and the one delivered them into the others hands, having more respect and care to bee revenged of an enemy, then to the saving of a friend; and so was made the most cruell and inhumane proscription and butchery that euer was scene or heard of, giving and exchanging friends and kinsmen, for enemies and adversaries. For MARCVS ANTONIVS gave his fathers brother; and LEPIDVS, LVCIVS PAVLVS, his owne brother; and OCTAVIANVS, MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO, whom hee called father, and by whom hee had bene intreated and honoured as a sonne. Besides these, they proscribed and condemned to dye, three hundred other principal men of *Rome*, as PLYTARCH setteth downe in their lives, although LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS doe but briefly set downe the number of the Senators: of which one faith, there were put to death 130, and the other 140. But if wee shall beleue APPIANVS, a most diligent and grave Author, there died of the Senators in a manner 300 (therin agreeing with PLYTARCH) and nere 2000 Romans of the order of Knighthood: so great power had ambition & hatred in the hearts of these three Citizens.

Hauing made their agreement, and resolved what they would doe, they all three (newly reconciled) went to *Rome*, where they tooke upon them the government of the Common-wealth, by the name of a Triumvirat, for that they were three, the time being appointed for five yeares, although they never meant to leave the same. And presently those which by them were condemned and proscribed, were by their commandement put to death, being sought out in all parts and places, ransacking their houses and confisking their goods: In the execution whereof there was so great confusion, sorrow and heaviness in the citie of *Rome*, and almost in all *Italy*, as the like was never scene nor heard of by man. And although APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS very eloquently recounteth the cruell death of many, it shall be sufficient for us to describe the murdering of CICERO onely: who understanding that his name was in the catalogue of those which were proscribed, onely for that he had bene a lover of the Romane libertie, fled towards the Sea, where imbarcking himselfe, hee had so cruell fortune, as hee was forced to returne to the shore: and coming to certaine his possessions nere to *Capua*, not far from the Sea, sleeping, hee was awakened by Crows, which with their bills plucked the clothes from his backe. His servants moved with this evill presage, tooke him and put him in his Litter, and againe carried him towards the Sea; but hee was overtaken by the executioners, which smote off his head, and right hand, wherewith hee had written the orations against MARCVS ANTONIVS called PHILIPPICKS, imitating those which DEMOSTHENES made against PHILIP, father to ALEXANDER the great: and so CICERO was slaine by one whom hee had defended and delivered from death. And his hand being joyfull beheld by MARCVS ANTONIVS, was by his order nayled up in the place where hee was wont to plead, whither repaired all the Romane people to behold so miserable and sorrowfull a spectacle: whereof there was not anie one but was heartily sorrie for the death of so greata personage, and so fervent a lover of the Common-wealth.

These Princes having done their wils in *Rome*, and knowing that BRVTVS and CASSIVS had a great and mightie Armie in *Grazia*, able both to defend, and offend, & called themselves deliverers of their Country, and gave it out publicly, that they would goe to set *Rome* at libertie from oppression: CASSIVS having before overthrowne and slaine DOLABELLA in *Syria*, who was made Consul in the place of IVLVIS CÆSAR when hee was slaine; and in the time that

The Triumvirat and league betwixt Octavianus, Marcus Antonius, and Lepidus.

The cruell proscription made by Octavianus and Marcus Antonius, Cicero delivered to his executioners.

that Cicerobare away, was adjudged for an enemy to his Countrey: and being certified that they had (with the assistance of the Kings and provinces of *Asia*, and such peoples they could levie) drawn together 18 legions: This (I say) being knowne, MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIANVS resolved to goe against them with the greatest Armie they were able to levie, which they had of expert and old soldiers, and that *LEPIDVS* should remaine behinde to guard *Rome*. Being departed from thence, and arrived in *Gracia*, dividing their Armie, for the more commodious marching thereof, they drew neere to the place where *BRVTVS* and *CASSIVS* were encamped, which was in *Macedonia*, in the fields called *Philippicks*, for that they were nere the City *Philippis*. Before the Armies came to joyne, there were apparent signes of an inevitable overthrow; for those birds which used to gorge themselves with Carion, hovered about *BRVTVS* Campe, as if it had beene their owne alreadie: as they marcht out to battell, a blacke Moore met them, which was an eminent signe of ominous successe: and *BRVTVS* himselfe being alone in his tent at night in meditation, a man sad and gaffly appeared unto him; and being demanded by him, what he was? he answered, I am thy evill spirit, and so vanished out of his sight. In *Cæsar* Campe, all presages were as good as the others bad, birds and beasts promising all fayre fortune. These contrarie Armies being so neere together, after some encounters and skirmishes, they came to a battaile, where the victorie was divided after a strange manner: for either partie having ranged their Armie into two squadrons, or battailes, the right wing of *BRVTVS* his Armie, joyned with the left wing which *OCTAVIANVS* commanded, and the right, whereof *MARCVS ANTONIVS* was leader, with the left which *CASSIVS* governed: where wounding and cruelly slaying one another, *BRVTVS* his Battalion was of such power, as that it brake and put to rout *OCTAVIVS CÆSAR* Battalion: who, as *APPIANVS ALEXANDRINVS*, *PLUTARCH*, and *LVCIVS FLORVS* report, was not in the battaile, for that hee was then very sicke; neither durst he abide in his Tent in the Campe, for a certaine augurie or dreame of one who was his Phisition, who (they say) adviced him, that he should not abide in his Tent in the Campe; for if hee did, hee would be slaine by his enemies. Yet *SVEYONIVS*, *VALLIVS PATRACVLVS*, and *PAVLVS OROSIVS* affirme that he was there, & that being overcome, he retired to *ANTONIVS* battaile. And although that this be diversly reported (as it usually happeneth in great exploits and adventures) the truth wherein all agree, is, that his people being overthrowne, and his Campe entred by his enemies, imagining that he had bene in his bed, there were many thrusts and stabs given thorough the curtains, and into the bed, and it was published abroad that hee was dead. And while as *BRVTVS* followed this victorie, his companion *CASSIVS* was overthrowne by *MARCVS ANTONIVS*, notwithstanding that hee performed all that was possible for him to defend his people; so as there was victorie on either side, whereof the cloudes and dust of that day were a great occasion, for the one could not see nor understand the other: and *CASSIVS* seeing his people overthrowne and scattered, retired himselfe to a high ground, where hee had pitched his Tent, whereinto he could not come, for that the enemy had alreadie possessed it: And so standing and looking about, hee saw *BRVTVS* troopes come to his ayde, and to relieve him: but hee imagining they came flying, or that they were his enemies, as he had before resolved (so great was his griefe and sorow) so commanded hee a slave of his, whom hee had made free (named *PINDARVS*) to kill him, who performed it presently, and so he died foolishly, yet bound by necessitie, believing that which was not.

OCTAVIANVS his people escaped by flight, & retired to *MARCVS ANTONIVS* campe, whose forces returned to him with victorie: although their General *MARCVS ANTONIVS*, as some write, did not that day discharge the part of a good Captaine: but rather affirme, that the battaile being begunne, hee left it, and went into a lake which was thereby, where he remained until that hee certainly understood, that the victorie remained on his side: which truly is hardly to be beleevied in so valiant a man, and of such experience as he was; so as there was a great broile and a confusion. But *PLUTARCH* affirmeth, that if *BRVTVS* his people had not that day busied themselves in ransacking and pillaging of *OCTAVIANVS* his Campe & Tents, his partie had obtained an entire victorie: for they might in sufficient time have rescued *CASSIVS*, and both being joyned together, might easilie have broken *MARCVS ANTONIVS* his battaile. But the victorie divided in such manner as I have told you, the Captaines of either partie gathered together their forces, where of *BRVTVS* part were slaine 8000 men, and of his adversaries a far greater number: and *BRVTVS* did his best to comfort the soldiers and gentlemen which followed *CASSIVS*. And although the next day there were some shew between

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the two Armies of a desire to fight, and that they were neere the one to the other, yet they came to no battaile: but within few daies after (during the which) there past some skirmishes of small importance: it was tided betweene them; whereto *BRVTVS* was forced by his soldiers. For he would willingly have delayed and prolonged the warre: being advertised that his enemies wanted victuals, and many necessities, and also for that hee reported that hee was in *CASSIVS* forces; for he found that they were growne fearefull, by means of that which was past, and were ill to command: but being come to the encounter, hee thoroughly discharge all the offices which to a good Captaine and valiant knight did becom. But in the end, his men unable to endure the force of *OCTAVIANVS* and *MARCVS ANTONIVS*, were by them broken and overcome: And *BRVTVS*, after that hee had done all that which was possible to gather his troopes together, being out of hope to be able to make any resistance, the night being come, he was counsell'd by some which joynd themselves with him, to flie, to whom hee answered, that he was resolved to doe so; not with his secreet, but with his hands: and having spoken these words, hee tooke a sword from a servant of his, named *STRATVS*, and slew himselfe. Some affirme, that this *STRATVS* killed him by his commandement. And so *DRVSIVS*, *LVIVS* and *QVINTIVS VARRO* and some others of the conspiracie flew themselves, besides many others which died fighting in the battaile. And in this manner were *OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR* and *MARCVS ANTONIVS* Lords and Masters of the field, and all things succeeded unto *CÆSAR* according to his desire: for whom alone, God in his secret judgment, had reserved the sole Monarchie, which then was divided and shared between three.

This exploit being achieved, and *BRVTVS* and *CASSIVS* legions being reduced to their obedience (saving those which flying sundrie waies went to *SUBTVS POMPEIVS*, sonne of the great *POMPEY*, who in these troubles and confusions seized on the Ile of *Sicilia*, and was very mightie by Sea) *OCTAVIANVS*, and *MARCVS ANTONIVS* agreed together, that *ANTONIVS* should remaine in the Provinces of *Gracia* and *Asia*, *LEPIDVS* should goe into *Africa*, and *OCTAVIANVS* should returne to *Rome*, whither with some difficultie he came, through want of his health; and *MARCVS ANTONIVS* went into *Asia*, & afterwards gave himselfe to sensuality, delights and pleasures in *Egypt*, with Queene *CLEOPATRA*, of whom wee have spoken in the life of *CÆSAR*.

Within few daies after that *OCTAVIANVS* came to *Rome*, there arose new waies and troubles: for although that hee were in peace with *LEPIDVS*, to whom was given the Province of *Africa*, *OCTAVIANVS* remaining with the rest of *Spaine*, *France*, and part of *Germany*, *Illyria* and *Syllyricum*: *LVCIVS ANTONIVS*, who at that time was Consul, incited thereto by his Sister in law *FVLVIA*, wife to *MARCVS ANTONIVS*, began to oppose himselfe against *LEPIDVS* and *OCTAVIANVS*, attempting to defeat the Triumvir, and the league and government of three; which began about the division of the fields, which *OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR* had made to the men of warre which had served him. *APPIANVS* writeth, that *FVLVIA* did this with an intent to disturb *Italy*; and so to procure her husband *MARCVS ANTONIVS* to come unto her, for that she was jealous, hearing of his familiaritie and companie keeping with *CLEOPATRA*, the Queene of *Egypt*. This discord in *Rome* grew to that height, as they came to Armes: and *LVCIVS ANTONIVS* departed from thence, and levied an Armie against *OCTAVIANVS*, who marched towards him with his power: but *LVCIVS* durst not joyne battaile with him, but rather suffered himselfe to be shut up in the Citie of *Perugia*, where *CÆSAR* besieged him, and at that time divorced himselfe from *CLAUDIA*, the daughter of *FVLVIA*, to whom he was contracted (as is aforesaid) without ever touching her; and was married the third time with *SEMPRONIA*, by whom hee had one daughter, *Perugia* was so stridly besiedged (*OCTAVIVS* being then 23 years old) that *LVCIVS ANTONIVS*, and the rest which were besieged with him, endured so great hunger, as it grew to a proverb, to say, The *Perugia* hunger, wherewith *LVCIVS ANTONIVS* oppressed and forced yielded himselfe to *OCTAVIANVS*, who pardoned him, & used him well, & those which were with him; and so this warre was ended without shedding of blood, and he came victorious to *Rome*, & was ever after Lord thereof. Wherefore many account the beginning of his Empire from this time, which might be about some 4 years after the death of his uncle *CÆSAR*: & the account which is commonly called *CÆSAR* s computation, agreeth with this time: four years (as I said) after the death of *CÆSAR*, and thirte and eight years before the birth of *Christ*.

CÆSAR being in this quietnes (the which cannot long continue in the course of this life) presently

The Battaille of Philippi.

Brutus flew himselfe.

Marcus Antonius fell in love with Cleopatra Queene of Egypt.

Lucius Antonius opposeth himself against Octavius.

Lucius besieged Perugia.

the beginning of Octavius his Empire.

presently without any delay, FVLVIA with letters and false persuasions, fought by all means to get MARCVS ANTONIVS and OCTAVIANVS at variance, seeing that LVCIVS ANTONIVS his attempts took no better effect: and with this resolution she went out of *Italia*, by OCTAVIANVS permission, and took her way towards her husband, in hope to persuade him to come into *Italia* against OCTAVIANVS, as he did. When she parted from *Italia*, MARCVS ANTONIVS parted from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*: and coming to the Ile of *Rhodes*, he was informed of all that happened to his brother; and arriving in *Græcia* at the city of *Athens*, he found his wife FVLVIA there sicke, but found and constant in her determination against OCTAVIANVS: whom hee there leaving by her owne good will and consent, hee came with two hundred Gallies into *Italia*; and landing neere unto *Brundisium*, now *Brindisi*, the warres began between him and OCTAVIANVS his forces, who then was in *Rome*. SEXTVS POMPEIVS (as I said) held *Sicilia*, and was in such fort Lord of the Sea, as hee caused a great scarcity and want of come in *Italia*. But as this warre was not through OCTAVIANVS his fault, or by his will, so MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the relation of sundrie persons, understood it to be so; and therefore there were some friends which interposed themselves to reconcile them and make them friends: and it was agreed there should be arbitrators which should compound the differences between them: whereto were nominated OCTAVIANVS side, his great and private friend MÆCENAS, chanted by VIRGIL, HORACE, and other Poets; and for MARCVS ANTONIVS, was ASINIVS POLLIO. And in this time, newes came that FVLVIA the wife of MARCVS ANTONIVS was dead: whereby a great obstacle to the peace was taken away. MÆCENAS then, and ASINIVS POLLIO, set downe the agreement betweene them; the principal points whereof were, to renew the league and Triumvirat for other five yeeres, and to share the Romane Empryre betweene them, as they before had done. To MARCVS ANTONIVS was assigned all the East from *Italy*, from the beginning of the *Ionian* Sea, which is the entrie into the gulf of *Venice*, unto the River *Euphrates* in *Asia*, wherein were included all the Provinces of *Græcia* and *Asia*, and the Ilands contained betweene these two limits. To OCTAVIANVS was assigned from the said *Ionian* Sea to the westerne Sea (which we call the Spanish Sea) *Italia*, *France*, the provinces of *Spain*, *Germanie*, *Britannie*, with their Ilands and boundes. And to LEPIDVS was confirmed *Africa* wherein hee then was, and all the provinces therein contained, subject to the Empire. And for the better corroborating of this league of friendship, it was agreed that MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was a widower, should marrie with OCTAVIA, who was sister to OCTAVIANVS by his fathers side, and lately the widow of MARCVS MARCELLVS, with whom shee had bin married, and had by him one sonne called MARCELLVS, whom hee much loved, and OCTAVIANVS adopted him for his sonne, of whom VIRGIL maketh much mention. This marriage was made by dispensation of the Senate, because that in *Rome* it was not permitted for widowers to marrie, until they had lived ten months in widowhood.

This being concluded, OCTAVIANVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS went to *Rome*: where the wedding was solemnized, and they returned againe good friends. But this peace was greatly disquieted, by meanes of the ill neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS: for hee commanded the Sea from *Sicilia* where hee lived, and with his ships and Pirats (for hee had many in his service) hee disquieted CÆSARS part (relying on the friendship of MARCVS ANTONIVS) and OCTAVIANVS had determined to make warre and to ruine him: but at the entreatie of the Senate, and of MARCVS ANTONIVS, hee gave care to a peace, and by the mediation of some which were friends to them both, it tooke effect in this manner: That all matters past being forgotten, they should become good neighbours and friends, and that SEXTVS POMPEIVS should enjoy *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Corfica*, which hee had in possession; and that he should cleere the seas from danger, for Merchants and passengers; and that hee should furnish *Rome* yeerely with a certaine quantitie of come. This being concluded, they agreed upon a meeting betweene them three, ANTONIVS, OCTAVIANVS, and POMPEIVS, upon the Sea side, in the freight of *Messina*, in a Fortresse built for that purpose, which reached into the water, whither SEXTVS POMPEIVS might come with his gallies, and might be in safety on all parts: which was performed with great joy and solemnitie, and afterwards POMPEIVS feasted them in his gallies, and they him like wife by land: and from thence he returned to *Sicilia*, and OCTAVIANVS and ANTONIVS to *Rome*, wherethey remained certaine daies in very friendly manner. And MARCVS ANTONIVS, making preparation for his journey into the East,

sent

sent VENTIDIVS away before with a great Armie against the Parthians, against whom he had resolved to make war, as hee did. VENTIDIVS had so good successe in his journey, as hee overcame and defeated PACORVS, the Kings sonne of the Parthians, and slew of them twenty thousand men: so as hee sufficiently revenged the death of MARCVS CRASSVS: for the which, after his returne to *Rome*, hee triumphed.

MARCVS ANTONIVS departed *Rome* towards the East with his new wife, with whom he wintered in *Græcia* in the Citie of *Athens*, & from thence he continued his journey. Within a while after, as OCTAVIANVS (remaining in *Rome*) grew mightie, and in great estimation; so likewise hee became penfive: and as the companie and neighbourhood of SEXTVS POMPEIVS in *Sicilia* was displeasing unto him, so he attended an occasion to warre against him: which having resolved, he prepared a great fleet for that purpose, under pretext that POMPEIVS with his gallies and ships hindered the coming of prouision of come into *Italia*. These warres of *Sicilia* were long (resting sometimes) and continued certaine yeeres. In the beginning whereof OCTAVIANVS had ill successe, more through tempests and foule weather at Sea, then the force of his enemies, although there were some fights betweene the ships of either partie: but by tempest and shipwrack OCTAVIANVS lost sundry shippes. And if SEXTVS POMPEIVS had beene as able to offend and conquer as he was to defend himselfe, and overthrow his enemies; and as he was valiant, if he had beene wise and politique, most authors affirme, that he might have greatly distressed OCTAVIAN in all matters concerning *Italia*. But the matter was so handled, that in this warre MARCVS ANTONIVS came twice out of *Græcia* into *Italia*, whither hee came from the East at OCTAVIANVS request: in one of which journeyes hee came to *Brundisium*: and not finding him there according to his appointment, and as he had sent him word, he returned without seeing him, upon some suspitions and jealousies which greive betweene them. Wherefore OCTAVIANVS having lost the most and best part of his Navie in a storme, he sent MÆCENAS his private friend unto him; at whose intreatie, MARCVS ANTONIVS returned againe into *Italia* with three hundred sayle of ships and gallies, giving it out; that hee came to CÆSARS ayde: And notwithstanding that there were some differences & jealousies betweene them, yet in the end OCTAVIA, who came thither (being wife to the one; and sister to the other) prevailed so much as she reconciled them; so as they met together in the mouth of a River neere to *Tarentum*, where MARCVS ANTONIVS gave to OCTAVIAN one hundred and twentie gallies for the warres: and OCTAVIAN gave to him certaine troupes of Italian trained souldiers; and they renewed their Triumvirat for other five yeeres then begun: MARCVS ANTONIVS returned towards the East, to the warre which he had begun against the Parthians (which concerne not mee to write) his wife OCTAVIA and her children remaining in *Rome*.

ANTONIVS being gone, OCTAVIANVS, who was resolved to prosecute the warres with all his forces against SEXTVS POMPEIVS (whom hee feared fortune and the winds did favour) was not contented with the arming of two navies (A GRIPPA being Captaine of the one, and himselfe of the other) but he earnestly intreated LEPIDVS, a Triumvir & his companion, to come from *Africa* to his aide: who came with such power, as APPIANVS affirmeth, that he brought with him a thousand ships little and great, and fourescore gallies, wherein he transported five thousand horse, and twelve legions of foote. SEXTVS POMPEIVS, whose power by Sea was very strong, seeing so great preparations made against him, did marvellously fortifie all places upon the Sea side in *Sicilia*, and on the frontiers of *Africa*, neere unto *Lilybæum*; he placed a very good Capitaine called PLINIVS, with good troupes of souldiers: his whole fleet by Sea (whereof he was abundantly provided) he drew together in the port at *Messina*, where he purposed to follow the warres with his shippes and gallies, for by land he was neither of such experience nor power; and in this order hee stood ready to prosecute it, which APPIANVS, TITVS LIVIVS, and LVCIVS PIORVS write at large. The summe whereof is, that LEPIDVS parting with his whole fleet from *Africa*, was overtaken with a tempest, wherein with great losse of his Shippes, hee landed at *Lilybæum*; and having taken certaine places in those parts, he might have done much hurt: but being of small judgement and little experience in the wars, hee managed it with greater cost and outward shew, then to any effect or profit.

And the very same day that he was in that tempest, OCTAVIANVS also was at sea, & lost thirty gallies, besides Poits & Brigandines, & with much difficulty returned into *Italia*: and TAVRVS, who

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Ventidius
triumphed
of the
Parthians.

The first warre
betweene Octa-
vian & Sextus
Pompeius.

Octavianus and
Antonius parte
and agree by
the means of
Octavia.

Ottobianus
is found
to have with-
drewn Pompeius.

Sextus Pom-
peius in Sicilia.

The death of
Fulvia wife of
Marcus Anto-
nius.

Marcus Anto-
nius married
Octavia sister
to Octavianus.

had the command of the gallies, which MARCVS ANTONIVS left with him, the same day tooke land at *Tarentum*, with great Iolfe and danger: so as it seemed that the winds and weather tooke part with POMPEY. Wherewith OCTAVIANVS was so much grieved, as he was in doubt to have given over the warre for that yeere: but altering his determination, he repaired his Navies and Armies, and commanded AGRIPPA with a great flecte to passe into *Sicilia*, and there to make warre by Sea and Land: and hee with all the rest afterwards did the like.

In this time, or a little before (as it seemeth by SVETONIUS), OCTAVIANVS divorced himselfe from SCRIBONIA, notwithstanding that hee had by her one daughter, called LIVIA, and married LIVIA DRYSELLA, norwithstanding that hee had by her one daughter, called LIVIA, to whom she was married, and by him had a sonne called TIBERIUS, as his father, was driven to leave her, which hee unwillingly did, to please OCTAVIANVS, the being with child of a son. This LIVIA he much loved, and continued with her til his death. But returning to our history of the warre, I say, that AGRIPPA assaulted & tooke certain places upon the coast of *Sicilia*: which when POMPEY understood, hee departed from *Messina*, to relieve them; at which time hee had of his owne, and of Pirats which served him, one hundred seventy and five Gallies.

It is a wonderfull thing to consider the great Fleets that were put to sea in those dayes. AGRIPPA being advertised of his coming, put his Gallies, being almost equall in number, in a readinesse to encounter him, & so they joynd battaile: wherein, although at first the victory was doubtful, yet in a short space it plainly appeared, that AGRIPPA had the better: which POMPEY perceiving, fled, before he would be wholly overthrowne, and his gallies and foysls withdrew themselves to some places and Rivers, as *Agro* at hand. But AGRIPPA, for that his Gallies were greater, could not follow the chafe, nor come so neere the shore as he would: but yet notwithstanding, POMPEY lost thirtie of his Gallies. AGRIPPA the next day went to a citie called *Tindaris*, which he thought to get by reason of certain secret intelligence he had with those of the Citie: and POMPEY, in the darke of the night, giving secret advice to his whole fleet, tooke his course toward *Messina*. And OCTAVIAN, to Iolfe on occasion, embarked aboard his ships and gallies a great part of his armie, and passing over into *Sicilia*, set them on shore, appointing CORNIFICIVS for their Commander, little thinking that POMPEY had bene so neere, of whom he was in great danger, if hee had bene so daively charged by him: so as if POMPEY had then given him battaile, hee had defeated him. But hee losing that opportunity, OCTAVIAN embarked himselfe againe, with intent to determine the quarrell by a battaile at Sea, leaving CORNIFICIVS with his land souldiers fortified on land: and POMPEY, with the same desire, after some accidents which happened, sailed out of *Messina* with all his whole fleet: and neither partie refusing it, they came to fight; in which conflict (although the histories recite it with some difference) OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR was overcome, and all his great Fleet scattered and lost, and hee driven to flee into *Italy* in a Brigandine, where hee escaped many dangers; and in the end arrived where his Armie was, whereof MARSALLA was General: & being nothing discouraged with this losse, he presently tooke order for all that was needefull. To Rome he sent in hast his familiar friend MÆCENAS, to foresee that these newes should breed no alteration: and by a Brigandine he presently sent direction to AGRIPPA, who (as is said) was Admiral of his other fleet, that with the greatest speed that might be, hee should goe to succour CORNIFICIVS, who remained in *Sicilia* with his Armie by land: and to LEPIDVS he sent word, that (all matters set aside) hee should make his present repaire to the Isle of *Lipari*, which is between *Sicilia* and *Calabria*, whither hee should come so soone as hee might possibly.

With these provisions, and the diligence and good order which hee tooke, hee so much prevailed, as within a short time, being holpen with the wars which LEPIDVS and AGRIPPA made (in despite of POMPEY) hee passed over all his forces into *Sicilia*. And joyning himself with LEPIDVS, he encamped neer to the citie of *Messina*, where the war began to be most cruell both by sea and land: which truly was admirable, to consider the power and sufficiency of POMPEY, to know how to defend himselfe against so great enemies. Who seeing himselfe oppressed, (notwithstanding that hee had well fortified the land, and wanted no forces for his defence by sea) he sent a challenge to OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, with this message, that to avoid the effusion of blood, and to make an end of the warre; although hee

were

were well provided and furnished with singular good Gallies, and well trayned souldiers; yet that hee would come to a battaile by Sea, so manie against so manie Shippes and Gallies; whereunto were made many answers and delays, but in the end they agreed to doe so. And appointing the number, which were three hundred Ships and Gallies of either side; and the time and place set downe, cyther of these Commanders prepared himselfe as strongly as hee could for the battaile: and OCTAVIANVS, leaving LEPIDVS with his Armie by land, embarked himselfe in his Fleet; and POMPEY doing the like, they joynd battaile: a Battell by which, without doubt was one of the most cruell that ever was, considering the Commanders and power of either part: wherein, after that POMPEY had done all that which to a good and valiant Capaine did appertaine, and after the death of much people of either side, he was overcome by OCTAVIANVS, and all his Fleet was taken, burnt, or sunke, saving xviij Sayles which escaped by flight, and hee in one of them; and so hee entered into the haven at *Messina*: The which though it were sufficiently fortified, & that he knew, PLINYVS, a Capaine of his (as is aforesaid) came to his rescue: yet, acknowledging that all sufficed not to defend him from such powerfull enemies, in a darke night he embarked himselfe in a Galley, and with the other xvj which escaped, abandoning *Sicilia*, he fled towards the East, and sayled to MARCVS ANTONIVS, in hope to have found some reliefe with him; but it happened contrary to his expectation: for being arrived, after some great toyle and accidents that happened (which for brevity I omit) hee was slaine at the command of MARCVS ANTONIVS, by the hands of one named TICIUS. And so ended the power of SEXTVS POMPEIUS (which truly was very great) and in him the house and memorie of his father the Great POMPEY.

It is a great example, and a fayre document of the inconstancie of all things in this life, to see and read the changes in the Historie which wee are now to relate. For when it seemeth that matters succede in such sort as quietnesse and peace may ensue, then begin new alterations, and greater troubles, as wee have seene hitherto, and shall see hereafter in the proceffe of this discouerie.

SVETONIUS writes, that at the very instant of this naval Battaille, OCTAVIANVS was in such a sound sleepe, as his friends were faine to waken him, and to rouse him from his bed to give the signal; wherewith ANTONIVS did afterwards reproach him, that hee could not with his eyes see his battaile arranged, but lay like a stulleffe corps on his backe, looking up unto the skie, and that hee never came in sight of his souldiers, untill that M. AGRIPPA had put twelve of his enemies shippes to flight.

Hee escaped many dangers in this warre. For having transported part of his Armie into *Sicilia*, and sayling backe againe to conduct the rest from the firme Land, hee was at unawares surprized by DEMOCHARIS, and ATOLAPHANES, Lieutenants and Admirals to POMPEY: from whom, with great difficultie hee escaped with one onely Barke. In like sort, travelling by land to *Rhegium*, neere to *Locris*, seeing a farre off, certaine of POMPEY'S Gallies neere the shore, and supposing them to bee his owne, hee went downe, and was in danger to have bene taken by them: And even then seeking to escape away by unknowne passages, a Bond-slave of ÆMILIUS PAVLVS, his familiar friend; grieving that his masters Father PAVLVS had in times past bene proscribed by him: he embraced this opportunitee of revenge, and attempted to kill him.

OCTAVIANVS, having obtained so great a victorie (although not without great losse) going to land with his Shippes, and the Armie, hee comanded AGRIPPA presently to joyne with LEPIDVS and goe to *Messina*, whither PLINYVS POMPEIUS Capaine had retired himselfe (after POMPEY'S flight) with all his troups: who, for that he would not stand upon his defence, yielded himselfe to LEPIDVS, with all his Legions: whereof LEPIDVS grew so proud, that coveting to have all *Sicilia* for himselfe, hee presumed to contend with OCTAVIAN: And entering into the citie of *Messina* (notwithstanding that AGRIPPA requested him to stay for OCTAVIANVS) hee placed a Garrison therein to his owne use, and did the like in many other places in that Island. And OCTAVIAN being come, hee sent the next day to speake with him, greatly complaining of his proceedings.

But as in rule and command, equalitie is intolerable, so either of them coveting the Ile of *Sicilia* particularly for himselfe, they fell at variance, and OCTAVIANVS made his Navie to draw neere the shore: both Armies beganne to stand upon their guard, the one against

Differed between Lepidus and Octavianus.

against the other, and many messages and complaints passed between them: in the end although they met and spake together, yet they could not agree. But as OCTAVIAN was much more beloved and better esteemed by the men of warre for his many vertues and nobilitie, and for the names sake and remembrance of IULIUS CÆSAR, this diffension did much grieve them all, and both the one part and the other laid all the fault on LEPIDVS. Which when OCTAVIAN understood, before that they would fall so farre out as to take armes, he practised secretly with IULIUS CÆSAR, and with gifts and promises drew them to his will: so as having well effected this device, hee one day with a great troope of horsemen rode neere to LEPIDVS: his Campe: and singling himselfe from his companie, hee began to parley with his souldiers, complaining of him, and laying the fault of all that was like to ensue, upon LEPIDVS: which being heard by them, many of them began to come over to his side. LEPIDVS, advertised hereof, commanded the alarme to be given, and to fall out against him: so as they skirmished, where in the beginning, OCTAVIAN was in some danger, but in continuall not long: for the most part of LEPIDVS troupes passed over to OCTAVIAN, whom LEPIDVS could not containe; but, seeing himselfe in danger to be abandoned by his whole armie, for his last refuge, he yielded himselfe into CÆSARS power; and putting off his robe of General, went out of his Tent, and submitted himselfe unto OCTAVIANVS, humbly intreating him to pardon him: whom OCTAVIAN received, as if he had never offended him, very courteously and honourably, but he restored him neither to his estate nor power, but sent him to Rome well accompanied, and entertained, but without Magistracy or office, with the dignity of highest Priest onely, which he had ever held from the death of IULIUS CÆSAR, whose it was: and so this quarrell was ended without battaile or bloodshed, which some feared, would have brought both danger and ruine.

OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR remained Lord of *Sicilia*: and, depriving LEPIDVS of the Triumvirat, hee appropriated to himselfe the province of *Africa*, and remained General of the three Armies, viz. that which was LEPIDVS armie, POMPEIUS, and his owne, wherein APPIANVS affirmeth, were 45 Legions of footmen, and 25000 horse, well armed, besides many other light horsemen and Numidians: which seemeth not incredible to him that considereth how great a part of the world they commanded which levied the same. Hee affirmeth also, that there were then at sea, and upon the coast 600 Gallies, and a greater number of Ships, Boats, & Brigandines: And although that OCTAVIANVS had these great forces, yet would hee not pursue or send after POMPEY, who (as we have said) fled, which he did (as some did suspect) supposing that MARCVS ANTONIVS would have harboured and succoured him, being glad that occasion might be offered to quarrell with him, for that now there was no other man living that was an eye-fore unto him: or else he did it, as he himselfe said afterwards, for that POMPEY was none of those which conspired CÆSARS death. And purposing now to disperse his forces, and to returne to Rome, he paid his souldiers, giving Coronets, and other honours and armes to those which had performed any notable exploits in the warres: and having given many gifts, and made many fayre promises to his legions, pardoning the Captaines and souldiers which had followed POMPEY, and in the best manner that he could, paying and contenting LEPIDVS his companies, he sent them home to their houses; notwithstanding that there were some fowle and mutinies: but he pacified and brought all in good order. Leaving in *Sicilia*: and sending into *Africa*, Pretors & Governors, he tooke his way towards Rome, where he was received with ovation (which was little lesse then a triumph) with incredible joy and honour, and began to be so beloved and esteemed, as in many places they erected Temples and Altars unto him, as to their gods; and hee reformed all things which by reason of the wars and troubles were corrupted and out of order. It would be a long discourse to relate the particulars of all things which he did in Rome and in the provinces, as well concerning the government & justice, as the decency and beautifying thereof.

At this time, MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was in the East; although that in the Parthian warre hee had no prosperous successe: yet nevertheless he was full of great power, very rich, and greatly obeyed in all the provinces of *Grecia*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, and in all the rest of his governments. But he was so much blinded and besotted with the love and companie of CLEOPATRA Queene of *Egypt*, as he thought of nothing but how to satisfie her humor, being unable to leave her, or to have any regard or remembrance of his wife OCTAVIA, sister to OCTAVIANVS, who in beautie and wisdom was nothing inferior to her, and in vertue and goodnesse did farre excell her.

And

And so the Monarchie of the world was divided betweene the two, the one in the East, and the other in the West: and as the desire and greedines to raigne is endlesse, and the thirst with continuance encreaseth, as though that each of them had not had enough to his share, both of them be thought themselves how they might be able to obtaine the whole. Principally OCTAVIAN seeing that ANTONY cared not for his sister, neither sent for her after that hee had left her in Rome, he therefore continually advised and urged her to goe to her husband, to have (as I conceive) occasion to fall out with him (as PLYTARCH observeth in the life of ANTONY) if she were not well entertained. And she not understanding this device, with an intent to prevent all controversies that might arise betweene her husband and her brother, departed from Rome, bearing with her many jewels and presents, which she had gathered together to present them to MARCVS ANTONIVS, as VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS reporteth. But he who had fixed his heart upon CLEOPATRA wrote to her upon the way, that shee should stay in *Grecia* in the citie of *Athens*, untill he should returne from the journey which he intended against the Parthians, the which he never performed, CLEOPATRA hindring the same. Finally, to be brieve (for otherwise there were much to say) OCTAVIA sent all those things which shee brought with her, to her husband, and this nothing availing, shee returned to Rome sorrowfull, and forsaken. Whereupon OCTAVIAN began openly to complaine of MARCVS ANTONIVS, and to shew himselfe his enemy: and MARCVS ANTONIVS (who had the same desire) entred into league and amity with the King of the Medes in *Asia*, causing CLEOPATRA (besides the title of *Egypt*) to be called Queene of *Syria*, *Lybia*, and *Cyprus*; and joyned with her a sonne of hers named CÆSARION, of whom (as we have already said) IULIUS CÆSAR left her with child when he was in *Egypt*; and to two sonnes which he had by her, the one named PTOLOMY, and the other ALXANDER, he gave titles of kings: to ALXANDER, of *Armenia* and *Parthia*, which he meant to conquer; and to PTOLOMY, of *Cilicia* and *Phœnicia*: for which and many other causes which were offered, the hatred betweene him and OCTAVIAN was apparent; but the warre was yet deferred, for that OCTAVIAN was hindered by the wars in *Illyria* & *Dalmatia*, now called *Sclavonia*. The people of which countries, seeing the civil warres of the Romans, rebelled, with other nations which conspired with them, and did assault them, although not subjects as they were, to wit, the two *Pannonia*: the upper, which is now *Austria*; and the lower, which is *Hungary* and *Noricum*, which is now part of *Bavaria*, with other their borderers and neighbours. Which war OCTAVIAN undertooke of purpose, and followed it in his owne person, the which was very cruell and dangerous: wherein hee was twice wounded, and made marvellous proofe of his person, both for valour and wisdom: wherein there passed great and famous actions, which require a large field to relate. APPIANVS, in his first booke which he calleth *Illyricum*, writeth thereof at large: and also VELLEIVS PATERCVLVVS, although more briefly LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS abbreviated by him and some others. The end thereof was, that OCTAVIAN not onely subdued and tamed *Illyricum*, and sundrie Nations contained under that name, but also the *Pannonia*'s, and the rest which had conspired with those of *Illyricum*, partly by himselfe in person, and partly by his Captaines.

These victories being obtained, OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR came victorious to Rome: and notwithstanding that the triumph was granted unto him, yet he would not triumph as then; so great was the desire hee had to make war against MARCVS ANTONIVS, who was no better affected unto him: but hee levied souldiers, procured friends and armes against him, and promised his friend CLEOPATRA, to bring her triumphing into Rome. LVCIVS FLORVS, writeth, that she requested of him the rule and Emperre of Rome, and he promised it her: as though the Romans had bene more easie to subdue then the Parthians. And matters standing on these termes, MARCVS ANTONIVS sent to his Wife OCTAVIA, sister to OCTAVIANVS, a divorcement and renunciation of his marriage; in such manner as then was accustomed, commanding her to goe out of his house, wherein she dwelt in Rome: All which, with many other indignities OCTAVIAN imparted to the Senate, complaining against him; and in his orations and speeches to the people, accusing him; that the second five years of his Triumvirat & league being expired, without coming to Rome, or respecting the authority of the Senate, hee exercised the same, and held the possession of *Grecia* and the provinces of the East; and so used many speeches against MARCVS ANTONIVS to incense the people against him.

MARCVS ANTONIVS on the other side, complained by messengers and letters, alleging that OCTAVIAN had often broken the peace, and had cast SEXTVS POMPEIVS out of *Sicilia*, retayning

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retayning

Lepidus deprived of his province of Africa

An exceeding great assembly of men of war.

Cæsarion the sonne of Iulius Cæsar.

The wars which Octavianus made in Illyria.

Octavianus refused to triumph after his victory.

Octavianus complains of Antonius.

Antonius capitated by Cleopatra.

Antonie rom.
plaines of Octa-
vius.

The causes of
the warre be-
tween Octavi-
anus and
Marcus An-
tonius, and
the beginning
thereof.

Samos an Ile in
the Ionian Sea
over against B-
aphesus.
The people and
preparation of
Marcus Anto-
nius.

retaining those provinces and others which he held; and that therein he had no respect of him, neither had he given him any part thereof; and that hee detained the galleys which hee lent him for that Warre: and besides this, that he had praesided meane to deprive LEPIDVS, and so held all the provinces of *Africa*, and all the Legions which were his, without imparting any thing thereof vnto him; and that he had given the lands of all *Italy* to his Souldiers, not contributing any part thereof vnto his. And in this manner the one accused the other, and either of them made shew, that he was vrged and enforced to vnder take this warre. But the truth is, that both desired to be Lords of the whole: and in my opinion, vainglorie, ambition, couetousnesse, and enuie, moued them thereto, each of them putting his determination in effect, & calling diuers Nations to their aydes; so as the vvhole vvorlde in a manner, either of the one side or other, was in armes: those of the West in the behalfe of OCTAVIAN, and those of the East in fauour of MARCVS ANTONIVS; at the least, the best and most choise men of all, although not so many as they might haue leuiued: For the Romanes neuer vied to make warres with such huge multitudes and excessive armies as they should not be well able to maintaine; and eple, as the Persians and other barbarous nations did.

ANTONY was first in field, and came with great troups to the famous citie of *Ephesus*, which was in *Ionia* a province in *Asia* the lesse, whither he had sent for his ships and Nauiue, to passe into *Europe*, and had there in readinesse 800. galleys and ships of burthen; 200 whereof CLEOPATRA gaue to him with all the munition and victuals necessarie for the fleet, and her selfe he caried with him, contrarie to the opinion of all those which were of his counsell: And herewith sayled to the Ile of *Samos*, whither he had appointed to come by a prefixed day, all the Kings, Terrarchs and people of those citie which serued him in this warre, and from thence he went to *Athens*. PLYTARCH sets downe the Kings which came with him, and those which sent forces to his aide, part whereof were friends and allies to the Empire, and others vassals and subiects, to which were giuen the title and gouernment of prouinces: of which he names TARCONDEVS of the vpper *Cilicia*, and ARCHELAYS of *Cappadocia*, PHILADELPHVS of *Paphlagonia*, and MITHRIDATES of *Comagena*, with others; besides those which lent their forces, as HERODS king of *Iudea*, AMYNAS of *Lycania*, and the king of *Arabia*, the king of the *Medes*, and PALEMON king of *Ponrus*, with some others: wherein (it was said) he brought 100000 good and well trained footmen, and 22000 horse: and according to the same PLYTARCH, besides this armie by land, his Nauiue by Sea consisted of six hundred galleys, besides the ships of burthen which carried the munition and victuals.

Although that in the number of Ships and Gallies Authors doe varie, yet it should not diminish the credit of the History; since that in actions which passe now adies the vvhich wee see vvvith our eyes, we can hardly know the certaine number of Ships and Armies. MARCVS ANTONIVS came with such power, as Historiographers affirme, that if he had presently taken his passage for *Italy*, he had put OCTAVIAN to his shifis, and in great hazard: for he had not then sufficient forces leuiued to haue fought with him, neither had he necessary prouision for the vyarres. And so MARCVS ANTONIVS delaying the time, he was taxed with want of discretion, knowledge and foresight of the good fortune which was offered him. For he spent for much time in *Athens*, that OCTAVIAN had leasure to prouide all things wanting, from *Italy*, *France*, *Spaine*, and other prouinces vnder his subiection: and leuiued 80000. choise and vvell trained Souldiers, and about 20000. horse, seeing that ANTONIVS stayed so long, he sent him word, that for as much as he had Ships & prouision fit, he should draw neere to *Italy*, where he staid in field to giue him bataille, promising to giue him free Ports and Hauens, where he might safely take landing without any interruption, to the end that he might the more commodiously order and prouide all things thereto necessarie. Whereto ANTONIVS answered, that it would be more honourable, if he would determine this quarrell in person against him bodie to bodie, vvhich he vvould willingly accept: notwithstanding that he vvvas now old and crazed, and the other young and lusty: and if he liked not herof, he vvould lay for him vvith his Army in the fields of *Pharsalia*, in the same place where his father IVLIVS CÆSAR fought vvith GNERVS POMPEIUS.

These Embassies and messages passing betweene them, vvithout effect; ANTONIVS drew his Army by land, and his Nauiue by Sea, towards the coast of *Italy*, and OCTAVIAN; drawing his Ships to *Brundisium*, embarked his legions, and crossing the Sea came to a place called *Tormia*, in the prouince of *Epire*, vvvhich is now called *Romania*. After certaine notable exploits vvvhich passed, the two Armies drew neere, and the like did the Nauiues by Sea. OCTAVIANVS Nauiue

vic (as PLYTARCH affirmeth) consisted of 250. galleys, but better appointed and swifter, then MARCVS ANTONIVS his galleys were, which were more in number, although (as I haue said) Authors, in this matter, agree not: but the most common opinion is, as I haue said. But howeuer it were, MARCVS ANTONIVS, perswaded by CLEOPATRA (who euen in this also was the cause of his ruine) vvould needs trie his fortune in a bataille at Sea, notwithstanding that in his armie by land hee had the aduantage. CLEOPATRA did this (as some write, and as it after appeared) thereby to haue the better meane to flie if the bataille should be lost. ANTONIVS chusing 22000. men out of his armie, put them aboard his fleet, vvvhich was neere at hand: and OCTAVIAN, who refused not to fight at sea, made his prouision also for the bataille; and shipping himselfe aboard the galleys, committed the charge of his armie by land, to TAVRVS: and ANTONIVS doing the like left his forces vvith CANIDIUS; in fight of both vvvhich, these two most powerfull Captaines vvith the best troupes and Nauiues of the vvorld, rooke the Seas, where they fought for no lesse then the Empire and Monarchie of the vvorld: The vvvhich was deferred for three daies space in despite of both parties, the Seas swelling so high as they could not gouernetheir vessels. The fourth day they came to encounter at a Cape called *Actium*, vvvhich is in *Epire*, not far from whence were their armies by land. The bataille was one of the most cruell that hath bene vvritten of: for it lasted thre hours before that OCTAVIAN, vvho was the victor, did vvholly obtaine the vvictorie, although that ANTONIVS staid not so long in the fight: for as CLEOPATRA knew better how to mollifie and soften mens hearts, then to encourage them; in the hottest and greatest furie of the bataille, vvith a feminine hart vvnable to endure the sight of so furious a spectacle, she fled away in her galley, vvvhich 70. of her other galleys followed; vvvhich is not to be vvounded at, but how she durst stay so long. But the vvunfortunate MARCVS ANTONIVS, vvho all his lifetime had been a valiant and vvorthie Captaine, that day metamorphosed into CLEOPATRA, seeing her galley flie, vvhereon hee had fixed his heart & eyes, vvvent out of his (for that it seemed too heavy) and embarking himselfe in another more swift (desiring rather to flie vvith CLEOPATRA) then to conquer vvithout her) followed her, vvithout respect of his Armies by land or sea: and, ouertaking her, he vvvent aboard the same galley vvherein she was, vvherein hee failed three daies vvithout seeing or speaking to her, for shame (as it is most likely) for the great vvweaknes which hee had shewed. And after some vvandering, hee arrived in the Port at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, vvhere hee afterwards ended his life, as vvve will declare.

His Armie vvvhich hee left fighting, although vvithout a captaine, made resistance as I haue said, vvwhereof there were flaine about six thousand men: but in the end it vvvas vvholly ouerthrowne, more vvthrough vvwant of a captaine, then vvthrough any force of the enemie: although some vvwrite, that the lightnes and swiftnes of OCTAVIANVS galleys vvvas a great help vvnto him, and so he remained conqueror, and graunted life and pardon to the conquered, and had in his power three hundred of their galleys. In the armie by land there vvanted neither constancie, nor faith to their generall ANTONIVS, although abandoned by him; vvwho continued seven daies in their campe readie to giue bataille, vvwithout accepting any composition or offer, made vvnto them by OCTAVIAN (vvvhich vvvas a shew that they vvould yet haue stayed longer) if CANIDIUS, vvvhom ANTONIVS left in his place, had not abused his charge, as he vvwho had giuen him that charge had done. For it happened after seven daies that he fled secretly in the night from the campe to seeke ANTONIVS, and abandoned the armie: vvvhich being forsaken, vvyeelded to the enemie; and OCTAVIAN vvved his vvictorie vvith great clemencie: vvvhich being obtained, he either thought it not good, or could not at that time pursue ANTONIVS, but tooke his vvway vvowards the citie of *Athens*, vvwhere taking order for all matters in *Graecia*; by reason of some mutinies of his souldiers in *Italy* (as SVETONIUS vvrites) he returned thither, vvwhere he stayed vv somewhat longer then he vvould haue done, as vvell by reason of the former lets, as the cuill vvweather to faile in, vvvhich followed.

After all this, OCTAVIANVS hauiug for all things necessarie in a readinesse, hee failed vvith great forces into *Egypt*, vvwith a resolution to make an end vvith MARCVS ANTONIVS (as vvwe haue indeede hee did) and arrived neere to the citie of *Alexandria*: vvwhere ANTONIVS (recoouering courage, and Queene CLEOPATRA making great preparation for the warres, in the time of OCTAVIANVS his stay) had leuiued great forces, both of foote and horse for their defence. They had also a great nauiue by sea, as vvell of CLEOPATRA'S, as of those vvvhich came from other places: and MARCVS ANTONIVS vvith his old courage, vvvhich now too late and to no purpose hee recovered, tooke the field and entertaining a skirmish vvith CÆSAR'S horfmen, vvvhich

The bataille at
Sea betwene
Octavius
and Marcus
Antonius.

The flight of
Marcus
Antonius.

Octavius
his vvictorie.

Octavius vvith
his vvictorie
Anto-
nius.

Antonie's vvictorie
an armie

Egy-
ptus.

which were then landed and strongly entrenched, he vsed such skill, and charged them with such dexterity, as he made them flie to their strength: and being returned to the citie, he againe sent to challenge OCTAVIANVS to fight with him body to body. Whereto CÆSAR answered, that MARCVS ANTONIVS had other waies and meanes enough in a readines to die, without dying by his hands.

ANTONIE receiving this answer, determined to die fighting, although it happened otherwise. The next day in the morning he againe sallied forth with an intent to fight; and standing vpon a high ground, looking towards the sea, hee sawe that his nauie and gallies moued, and made towards OCTAVIAN his fleet, which he thought they had done, with a resolution to fight: and staying a little to see the sequell, within a while, he saw them ioine together in company, by means of a secret practice past betwene them. Which when hee saw, and fearing the like in those which he brought with him to field, he returned to the citie, suspecting and affirming that CLEOPATRA had betrayed him, although that in truth she was blameless therein: and the being aduertised of what ANTONIE had said, stoode in feare of him; and withdrew his selfe into a strong temple or sepulcher: and commanding the doores thereof to be shut and fortified, he sent some faintly to tell him that she had slain her selfe with her owne hands. Which MARCVS ANTONIVS beleued as firmly as though he had seene it, and refusing to liue any longer, without stay to die fighting, after he had vttered certaine speeches, he stabbed his point into his owne brest, and so (deadly wounded) he fell downe vpon a bed in a swoone. And within a while coming againe to himselfe, being aduertised that CLEOPATRA was yet liuing, he made himselfe to be carried thither where she was: who received him with so many teares and such pittifull complaints, as he being so neere death, began to comfort her, saying, that the ought not lament for him, neither to hold him for vnfortunate, sith hee accounted not himselfe so, for he had been a great captaine and very powerfull, and in the end died overcome by the Romans. He counselled her to yeeld to the mercie of OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and speaking these words (his strength failing within a little while after) he dyed: and so ended the power and life of MARCVS ANTONIVS. Who in truth for matters of war was very famous: and if his excellent wit and courageous mind had not been captiuated with the loue of CLEOPATRA, after IULIVS CÆSAR he was in election to haue obtained the monarchie of the world: but it appeared plainly that the stars and the diuine powers were inclined to fauour OCTAVIVS.

OCTAVIANVS hauing intelligence hereof, and of the bad order and guard of the city, marched thither with his forces and entred the same, sending to comfort CLEOPATRA, and to make great offers vnto her, to the end she should not kill her selfe; and going to see her in person, he did the like: but all his care little auailed. For she being aduertised, that he would send her to Rome, and would carrie her and her sonnes in his triumph, chose rather to dye, then that he should triumph over her: and some say, that she tooke poison which shee had prouided for that purpose, wherewith she killed her selfe. Others (and this is the most common) that she put an Aspicque to her arme (which is a certaine kinde of Serpent or venomous Adder) to the end that it should sting her, which was brought to her in a basket of flowers, so as shee was found dead without any signe of blow or wound, but as if she had bin asleep. Whereto OCTAVIAN was much grieued (not without great admiration at the resolution and courage of that woman) and he commanded her to be buried in the same Sepulchre wherein she had entombed her selfe, together with MARCVS ANTONIVS, with whom she had liued and raigned 14. yeares, she being 39. yeares old when she dyed, and MARCVS ANTONIVS 56, or (after some) 53. He commaunded the tombe which they had begun, to be finished.

OCTAVIANVS easily pardoned all those which had serued or sent succours to MARCVS ANTONIVS, and also his children, which were seauen, by three women, FVLVIA, OCTAVIA sister to OCTAVIANVS, and CLEOPATRA; sauing the eldest, which he commanded to be slain, and the like he did by CÆSARION CLEOPATRAS sonne by IULIVS CÆSAR, of whom we haue already made mention: the eldest (they say) hee slue vpon particular displeasure which he conceived against him; and CÆSARION, by the counsell of ARRIVS a Philosopher, who told him that it would not do well to haue many CÆSARS; an vsual thing among Princes to secure their estates.

This busines touching MARCVS ANTONIVS being ended, and the kingdome of Egypt made a tributarie province, that it might bee fit to yeeld corne and victuals for the Citie of Rome; he viewed the tombe with the bodie of ALEXANDER the great, taken newly out of the

Antonie shall
lengthen OCTAVIAN
and his an-
swer.

Antonie kills
himselfe.

The death of
Cleopatra.

The Clemencie
of OCTAVIAN
to Antonies
children.

the vault or secret Chappell where it had bene layd; hee set a coronet of gold vpon it, and strewing flowers thereon worshipped it; and being demanded if he would looke vpon the PROTOPTES, he answered that his desire was to see a King, and not the dead.

Afterwards passing through Syria and Asia the lesse, leaving all quiet and in peace, he passed into Græcia, and there doing the like, he came into Italy: where hauing ended all ciuill warres; and the whole Empire being subiect to himselfe alone; he entred into Rome in triumph, with the greatest feasts and solemnities of the Senat and the people of all Italy; that could be deuised or imagined. It was granted unto him to triumph three times; to wit, for the victorie in *Illyricum*, and for the victorie in his battaile by Sea, and the overthrow of MARCVS ANTONIVS, the conquest of the Kingdome of Egypt, and QUEENE CLEOPATRA, whose statue was placed in his triumph, with the Aspicques set to the veins of her armes.

And so OCTAVIANVS finished the building, and erected the Monarchie which his Vncle IULIVS CÆSAR had begun and founded: which (as it seemeth by PAVLVVS OROSIVS his computation) was sixteene yeeres after the death of IULIVS CÆSAR. And although that hee obtained it by meanes hardly iustificable, yet truly, he afterwards governed it most iustly and wisely, and was one of the best Princes that ever was in the world; gentle, mercifull, liberal, iust, valiant, indued with many vertues and excellencies, most happie and fortunate in all his affairs, and beloved above measure of all men.

As there was no man to contend with OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, and he so beloved of all men (as is aforesaid) the people & Senate of Rome gave him a new name, which before that time was never heard of, AVGVSTVS; & so he was afterwards called CÆSAR AVGVSTVS; a name which they held for holy, venerable, of great majestie, and which appertained to the Gods and their temples; as we finde it used by CICERO, VIRGIL, OVID, and other authors; although that some derive it from the Verbe *augere*, in Latine, to increase, because that OCTAVIANVS enlarged and increased the Empire: and some others give it other derivations; but whether- soever be the most certaine, it was given him for the most honourable name of al others: they also called him father of his Countrey, & gave him all the other titles & names they could devise.

CÆSAR AVGVSTVS (for this name henceforth we sometimes give him) seeing himselfe now in such quiet, & without war with any person or nation in the world; commanded the temple of IANVS to be shut, which they religiously observed that during the warres it should stand open; and never had benee shut but twice from the foundation of Rome, according to TITVS LIVIVS, LVCIVS FLOVVS, and PLVTARCH, and other Authors: once in the time of NUMA PROMPTILIVS, second King thereof; and the other after the end of the second Punick warres, which they waged with Carthage, whenas TITVS MANLIVS was Consul. I know that some Authors set this shutting up of IANVS temple by OCTAVIAN to be a great while after, at the time of the birth of Christ our Saviour. But in this place I follow the authority of PAVLVVS OROSIVS, a Christian Author, who used great diligence and truth, and is of 1200 yeeres antiquitie; who reckoneth, that CÆSAR AVGVSTVS shut this temple three times; whereof this was the first; and I hold his opinion for certaine: for hee is assisted by the authority of TITVS LIVIVS, who in his first booke affirmeth, that AVGVSTVS did shut this temple after the warres with ANTONY; and LVCIVS FLOVVS, and other Authors set downe; that this temple was shut after that. And hereby it appeareth, that OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR did shut the temple of IANVS more then once, and every one sheweth his time when; and PAVLVVS OROSIVS all, which was thrise, setting downe the time to every one of them, as he noteth; which is also drawne out of SVRTONIVS TRANQVILLVS, following the letter, as PHILIPPVS BEROALDVVS followeth. I have a desire to set this downe here (although it little importeth) to the end that the varietie and difference which the Reader shall finde among Authors shall not offend him; and that hee may know that I have an approved Author whom I follow, though I name him not, if he shall finde ought written by me contrary to that which he hath read. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR, living in this peace and tranquillitie, omitted no part of his care for the government of the Romane Common-wealth, and Provinces thereof; sending thither Pretors, Proconsuls, and other Governours, which were excellent men, to rule and governe; and himselfe gave direction, and was very diligent in all things touching iustice, customes, religion, and publicke buildings: so as in all things his raigne was most happie, peaceable, and quiet; and so it continued during his life.

VLLIVS PATRVCIVS, speaking like a Gentle, doth so extoll his raigne, that he saith, that his men could not desire or aske any thing of the gods, neither thinke nor imagine ought; neither could

OCTAVIANVS
excellent Prince

Ther given
OCTAVIANVS

How many
times the temple
of IANVS was
shut.

State the saying
of this Author.

Patere
commendation
of OCTAVIANVS

could the gods give that to men which OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS after his victories and retaine to Rome, did bring and give to the Romane people, and the whole Empire. Notwithstanding that this was common to them all (as great minds naturally affect libertie) yet in that so prosperous a time, some people and nations were so presumptuous as to shake off the Romane yoke, and to molest and disquiet the Empire, as the Spaniards, the nations of *Illyricum* and the Pannonians. In *Spain* the Cantabrians, which are the Alaves and Biskains, the Asturians, and part of *Gallia* were not only unwilling to obey, but passing their limits, began to make warre against the subjects of the Empire. OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR knowing this, holding it to be a doubtfull warre, and of importance, commanded (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writes) the temple of *Idus* to be opened, and determined to goe thither in person, and to send other Captaines to follow the other warres. The time of these warres, which were first or last, the Authors doe handle very confusedly, so as I cannot bring it to light: whereof it might bee that divers of these things did concur at one time. But OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS tooke his journey into *Spain*, and began the warre with three armies against the people before named, which rebelled; which warre was very doubtfull and desperate, and lasted five yeeres. During this time passed many conflicts: and although that AVGVSTVS did suppress the Cantabrians and Asturians, and drave them to the rocks and mountains; yet they did defend themselves, as it behooved him before hee could subdue them, to raise a great Navy on the coast of *France*, to invade the sea coast of *Cantabria*, *Asturia*, and *Gallia*: at which time he drave the people of those countries to such extremities by land, as he compelled them to yeelde and submit themselves to his obedience. His great favorite AGRIPPA, serving him well and faithfully in this warre (as in all the rest) whom hee married to his daughter IVLIA, who then was the widow of his nephew MARCELLVS, sonne to his sister OCTAVIA, with whom she had bene married. And so AVGVSTVS finished the full subjection of all *Spain*, above two hundred yeeres after that the Romans began to make their first warre there: so as no province cost the Romans more blood, more toyle, and more time, then *Spain*. And this long and doubtfull conquest being finished, PAVLVS OROSIVS saith, that OCTAVIAN esteemed the same so much, as having established peace in *Spain*, in signe thereof, he againe commanded the doores of IANVS Temple to be shut, and came to Rome in great triumph. But this Temple continued not long shut, for some Nations of the Germanes rebelled (although at divers times) so as it was againe opened to make warre against them which were the Inhabitants of *Noricum*, which is now *Bavaria*, and the *Pannonies*, which are *Austrich* and *Hungary*, as is aforesaid, and the two *Misias*, which are *Bulgaria* and *Servia*, and also *Illyricum*, which is *Slavonia*, although at another time named by him; and the Province of *Dacia*, which now is *Transylvania* & *Wallachia*, and some others also. Against all these Nations this most fortunate Emperor CÆSAR AVGVSTVS sent his Captaines and armies: among which were his sonnes in law, the sonnes of his wife LIVIA, TIBERIVS NERO, who succeeded him in the Emperre, and his brother DRVSVS NERO, of whom LIVIA was with childe when OCTAVIAN married her: these two brothers (although the warre lasted somewhat long) vanquished those Nations, and obtained great victories in *Germanie*, and the confines thereof, especially TIBERIVS (as SVETONIUS writeth in his life, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his histories) who in three yeeres space subdued the *Pannonies*, *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*: for which victories he afterwards entred into Rome in ovation triumph, with great honour and pompe. And another Captaine, whose name was MARCVS CRASSVS (as LVCIVS FLORVS, and TITVS LIVIVS report) overcame and put the *Misians* to flight in their owne Countrey, a nation which had never seene the Romans; which (as LVCIVS FLORVS recordeth) being readied to give battaile, in manner of justification, said to the Roman Army: Tell us who you are that seeke to molest us? Whereunto they were answered: Wee are Romans, the Lords of Nations. Whereupon they replied: It shall be so if wee bee overcome. And so they were afterwards, both they, and those also which conspired with them. But OCTAVIAN had not these victories without some crosses: for in this warre died his sonne in law DRVSVS, who was highly extolled and esteemed for his great acts and victories, for whom hee and the Emperesse LIVIA his mother were very forlorn. But that was farre greater without comparison, which hee conceived for the mishap which befell to QVINTILIVS VARRO, who was Captaine of three legions in *Germanie*, and being carelesse, was surprisid by the Almanes, and himselfe and all his legions, and the Auxiliaries flaine, and two Standards with the Imperiall Eagles taken: wherewith hee was wonderfully grieved, as they write, that hee cryed out very unadvisedly, and knocked his head against

Augustus goes
into Spain to
make war.

Warre in Ger-
manie by Mar-
civs.

Augustus for-
row for the losse
of his Legions.

the wallies, saying: QVINTILIVS VARRO, give mee my legions againe. For certaine months together hee suffered the haire of his head and beard to grow carelesly: And the very day of this unfortunate accident hee did every yeare observe mournfully, with sorrow and lamentation.

Of his sonne in law DRVSVS, there remained two sonnes; called GERMANICVS and CLAVDIVS, which he had by ANTONIA, OCTAVIANVS NECE, & daughter of his sister OCTAVIA and of MARCVS ANTONIVS: of which, CLAVDIVS was Emperour: and this GERMANICVS which married with AGRIPPINA, the daughter of IVLIA which was OCTAVIANVS daughter, was father to CAIVS CALIGVLA, who afterwards was also Emperour. But these losses confirmed the victories which his sonne in law TIBERIVS obtained: Wherefore OCTAVIAN married him to his daughter IVLIA; who was a widow by the death of AGRIPPA, causing him to put away AGRIPPINA the daughter of the same AGRIPPA, by his first marriage, by whom he had one sonne named DRVSVS: so as after many notable victories, and subduing sometime one nation, and sometime another, which were compelled to sue for peace, OCTAVIAN againe commaunded the Temple of IANVS to be shut, and from thenceforth all things succeeded vnto him most prosperously.

He was careful to have martiall discipline observed: hee dismissed all the tenth legion with ignominie upon a mutinie and ynwillingnes to obey. Whole bands and Cohors, if they gaue ground and recoyled before the enemy, hee decimated, and to the rest hee allowed barley in steed of wheat to feed on. A Romane Knight, having cutt off the thombes of two young men his Sonnes to auoide the militarie oth and service of warre, hee set him and all his goods to open sale: but seeing the Publicans bidde freely for him, hee deliuered him to his owne freed man; that being confined and sent awaie vnto his liuing in the Countrie, hee might suffer him to liue free.

The subjects of the Empire were very obedient vnto him, and all others sett him ambassades seeking his fauour and friendship, offering him their seruice: the Indians (a people of the remotest part of the East) and also the Scythians which inhabit in the North, and the Parthians (a people most fierce and vntamed) sent their Ambassadors to him, giuing securitie to keepe the peace, and deliuered the Standards and Eagles taken in battaile, when MARCVS CRASSVS was flaine. There came also Kings, friends and subjects to the Empire, to Rome, to doe him honour, as his familiar friends, laying aside their Ensignes and royall Robes; and many of them built cities to his name, for his honour, calling them *Cæsarens* in remembrance of him: so did HERODE in *Palestina*, IVBA in *Mauritania*, and others.

The world continued in this quietnes and general peace, fortie and two yeeres being fullie expired since that OCTAVIAN, after the death of IVLVIVS CÆSAR, came to Rome, from which time is commonly accounted his Empire. In this general peace was borne IESVS CHRIST our Lord and Sauour in *Bethlem*, of the holie womb of the blessed Ladie the Virginit MARY (HERODE being King of *Ierusalem*, placed there by the Romans, hee who slew the innocent children) comming to the world in humane forme and nature, to saue and redeeme mankind with his blessed death and passion: whose most holie life, mysteries and infinite miracles ought not to be mixed with prophane Histories, and therefore I will not intermeddle to treat thereof. But returning to my purpose, I say, that OCTAVIAN enioying so great prosperitie and good fortune, was not altered in his naturall condition, as in other Princes it hath happened, but rather became more milde, iust, and affable, more courteous, more liberrall and more temperate. Hee established wonderfull good orders and lawes, for the reformation of abuses and euill customs: hee erected in Rome and without it, great and sumptuous edifices, and bestowed great gifts and fauours vpon all sorts of people: hee delighted the people with feasts and playes in diuers manners, going himselfe in person, to honour them, and sent Colonies and inhabitants to fundie parts and provinces: hee made an excellent good order for the government and gouernours of the whole Empire. The like hee did for the warre and martiall discipline; hee shewed himselfe louing and sociable to his familiars and friends, and honoured and loued them much. Some conspiracies which were discovered against him, hee punished without rigour, giuing more pardon then punishment and correction. Of murmurings and defamatorie libels hee neuer sought nor desired to know the authors, but with great grauitie answered, giuing satisfaction, and purging himselfe of those things which were imputed vnto him. He was much giuen and affected to letters and learning, and was very learned and eloquent, and compiled booke and notable workes: Hee did much honour and reward the wise and learned men of

Augustus for-
row for the losse
of his Legions.

The greatness
of the
Romane
Emperors.

The vertues
and qualities of
O. Cæsars.

his time, wherein were many very learned in all Arts. But for all these vertues and professions, and other which for brevities I write not, yet he escaped not to be noted of some vices, growing through humane weaknes and great liberty, especially to be much given to women, although that in eating, drinking, in his apparell and ornaments, he was very modest and temperate: he gave himselfe also excessively to play at dice, and other games then accustomed. But SVEYONIVS sayth, that the most part thereof was upon ceremonious and festiuall dayes; which ought well to be noted for a shame and example to our time, wherein Christianity is professed. For that is accounted by many for brauery and valour, which to OCTAVIAN being an Heathen and vnbeleeuing Prince, was imputed for vice. Wherefore, to conclude and make an end of his History, as is reason, I say, that although that in many things hee was happy and fortunate, yet besides all his troubles and dangers, he was ynhappy and vnfortunate in his children and succession: for by foure wiues, with which he was married, onely by SCRIBONIA, which was his third wife, he had one daughter named IVLIA; and yet this one scarcely proued honest of her body: so as for want of sonnes to succeed him, he first adopted his Nephew MARCELLVS; his sister OCTAVIAS son aforesaid, to whom he first married his daughter IVLIA; and MARCELLVS dying without issue, he married her to his favourite AGRIPPA, who also left her a widow, as is above sayd: but he left by her, three sonnes and two daughters, the daughters prouing no honestier then their mother, and two of his sonnes dyed in OCTAVIANs time, hauing bin first by him adopted. Wherefore, desiring to ouercome the crosses which he had herein, he adopted the third, who was called AGRIPPA as his father was, the which adoption he afterward reuoked for some displeasure conceiued against him: and taking this care for his succession, he adopted and made his sonne in law TIBERIVS NERO, his sonne, whom, as is aforesaid, he married to his daughter IVLIA, who, as I said, was AGRIPPA his widow. But hee commaunded TIBERIVS when he adopted him, that he (notwithstanding that he had a son called DRVSVS) should adopt his Nephew GERMANICVS, sonne to his brother DRVSVS, who died in Germany, for that he had married his neece AGRIPPINA the daughter of IVLIA: and by this meanes came TIBERIVS to be OCTAVIANVS successor, more through the diligence of his mother, then any good liking that his father in law had to him, who rather was, and seemed to be very forrie, that he should succede him.

All things standing in this state, OCTAVIAN being now seauentie and fixe yeeres old and odde dayes, hauing reigned about fiftie and fixe yecares, and being the best beloued and most obeyed Prince, that euer was in the world, death ouertooke him: the cause thereof was a flux which held him for certaine dayes, whereof in the end he died in the citie of Nola (whither he came sick from Naples) a quiet and peacefull death, in the fifteenth yeere after the birth of Christ our Redemcer.

TACITVS writes, that it was suspected his death was hastned by the lewd practises of his wife, for that it had been bruited abroad, that AVGVSTVS accompanied only with FABIVS MAXIMVS had been in the Iland of PLANATIA to visit his Nephew AGRIPPA, both weeping when they met, where vpon there was some hope that the young man should be recalled to his Grandfathers house. This secret FABIVS disclosed to his wife, by whose means it came to LIVIA and to TIBERIVS: which made them to practise all the means they could to prevent this reconciliation.

His death was generally lamented, and there was a vniuersall sorrow and heauines over the whole Empire for him: for he did wisely and vprightly gouerne that, which by force and cunning he had gotten. OCTAVIAN was of a meane stature, and of a very good shape and proportion of his body, exceeding faire of face mixed with modellie and grauitie, his eyes were exceeding cleere and bright, he was very aduised, and loued to speake quicke and briefe. His last will and testament was written a yeare and foure months before he died, and left in the custodie of the Vestall Virgins. It was then produced, & in open Senate read: the contents whereof you maie read in SVEYONIVS.

THE



THE LIFE OF THE EMPEROR

TIBERIVS

THE ARGUMENT



After the good Augustus, succeeded his sonne in law wicked Tiberius Nero, who was most subtil, and knew how to dissemble and fause to loose those wch whom he hated, and to keate those which he loved. He made shew to be vnwilling to accept of the Empire, & to differre with his friend and his enemy: and whereas before this dignitie, he was very orderly and discrete, he became after wards for riotous and such a drunkard, that he was called in some Biberius. In his time died Iesus Christ and Iohn Baptist in Ierusalem: he caused Germanicus a great Commander to be slain, although he made them to Agrippa to be very iorie for it. He subdued many provinces which rebelled against the Romane Empire, and was no lesse cruell then libidinous: and of these three vices (to wit) cruellie, incontinencie, and gluttonie, it is hard to say, which was least. He ruled the Empire, foure and twentie yeares, and was no great enemy to Christians: he propounded in the Senate whether Christ should be accepted for a God or no, whereto the Senate consented not. Finally, he died through the treason of Caligula, whom he had nominated his successor, being fouentie and eight yeares old: which he did, as was thought, to the end that Caligula his vices should make his seme lesse, who was so wicked and cruell, as he wished that the world might end at his death.



After the good and valiant Emperor OCTAVIAN, succeeded his sonne in law, and adopted son, the wicked and cruell TIBERIVS NERO, vnworthy of his succession and of the Empire: for he was one of the most cruell and wicked men that euer was: yet in OCTAVIAN his time, both in Germanie and in other parts he did many great and notable feats in armes. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew of a good prince, and did many good deedes, but afterwards (as this was but counterfeite) he discovered his malice, and gouerned cruellly, couetously, and dishonestly. This TIBERIVS (as I haue said) was the sonne of TIBERIVS NERO and LIVIA, whom OCTAVIAN afterwards tooke to wife, of both sides descended of the auncient family of the CLAUDII: whose grandfather by his fathers side was TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS NERO; and by his mothers side he descended from APPIVS CLAVDIVS PYLCHER, and by adoption he likewise descended from the LIVII, a worthie family (although but Plebeian) for Consulships, censures, and triumphs. He was of a tall and strong body, and had a large brest and broad shoulders, whereto all parts of his body were answerable: he had a faire face, and great eyes, and so cleere, as they affirme a strange thing of him, which is, that awaking in the night, for a good space he cleerely saw the place wherein he lay, and all things therein as well as if he had had a light. He was a man of great strength, and had the vse of both his hands alike; whereas commonly euery man vseth the right hand with greater dexteritie then the left, and he had so great strength in his fingers, that with a fillip he would (as often as he list) breake a pages or a young mans head, as SVEYONIVS reporteth. He was very learned both in Greeke and Latin, delighted chiefly in poeie, and made many verses in both tongues, which truly was ill employed in him, seeing he so little profited thereby. When OCTAVIVS AVGVSTVS fell sicke, TIBERIVS was gone towards the province of Illyricum or Slaunonia: and his mother LIVIA seeing that his sickness encreased, sent in great haste for him, and he happily arrived at the citie of Nola, CÆSAR AVGVSTVS being euen nere his end, but yet in such case as he could speake, and (as SVEYONIVS reporteth) he conferred with him a great while in secret: Although CORNELIVS TACITVS

The Image and
corporate con-
tinuation of T.
Nero.

Tiberius by
learning.

The death of
Othavianus
Cæsar Au-
gustus.

Othavian his
proporcion of
body.

faith, that it is not certainly knowne whether he found him aliue at his coming or no, for his mother the Emperesse had set so many gards as the death of OCTAVIAN was not knowne, untill that all had consented that TIBERIVS should rule, and succcede him. At that time was *Posthumus AGRIPPA* Nephew to OCTAVIAN, and sonne of his daughter *IVLIA* by *AGRIPPA* her second husband, slaine by the hand of a Tribune of soldiers who had him in keeping (as it was thought) by the commandement of his father in law TIBERIVS, and by the counsell of his mother *IVLIA*, to the end that hee should bee assured of the succession.

But yet he gaue it out that it was done by *AVGVSTVS* commandement, who (as he said) had giuen charge to the Tribune or Centurion which had him in gards, to make him awaie as soone as he should haue notice of his death: but it is not credible, that to assure the state to his wiues sonne, he would seeke the bloud of his owne Nephew. The Centurion bringing word that he had fulfilled his commandement, he answered presently that he had commanded him no such thing, and that he should answer it before the Senat. *CRISPVS SALVSTIVS* who was acquainted with Tiberius greatest secrets hearing hereof, hauing sent the Centurion letters to proceede in the business, fearing his owne danger aduised *IVLIA* not to divulge the secrets of her house, the counsell of friends, nor the seruices of soldiers; that TIBERIVS should haue a care not to weaken his power of soueraigntie, by referring all to the Senate, and so this business was past ouer in silence.

In *Rome* libertie now was so forgotten, and the Monarchie so settled by thy custome of many yeeres continuance, vnder the raigne of OCTAVIANVS, that notwithstanding that there were Consuls, Pretors, Tribunes, and other names of dignitie and magistracie; yet ther was in a manner no man in *Rome* that did remember and vnderstand the manner of the old government, which was before that *IVLIUS CÆSAR* suppressed the Common-wealth; and the death of OCTAVIAN being knowne, there was no man that durst name or speake of libertie, but when as TIBERIVS came to *Rome*, they presently gaue the government and administration of the Common-wealth vnto him. And he was the first Emperour that did quietly and peaceably inherit the Empire, so as he was not forced to make a conquest thereof, as *IVLIUS CÆSAR* and OCTAVIAN had done. And notwithstanding that before he would accept thereof he caused himselfe to be much intreated, and made great shew to haue no desire to the Empire; yet afterwards it appeared plainly that he did but counterfet, to the end he might discover euery mans affection towards him: For to all those which yielded to accept of his excuses, and did not importune him; he bare a perpetuall hatred; for although that one way he excused himselfe, yet in many other things he began to vse the authoritie of an Emperour, taking a garde, and mustering the armies, as Emperour.

Hauing accepted the Empire, there were some accidents which put him in great feare: the first was, that the armies in *Pannonia* or *Hungarie*, mutined, and reuolted from *IVLIUS BLESVS* their Commander, a captaine called *PERCENIVS* being principall of this mutinie, and they sent to require many excuse things: against whome TIBERIVS sent his son *DRVSVS*, whom he had by *AGRIPPINA*, with whom he was married before he espoused *IVLIA*. The which was pacified with much danger and difficultie; *PERCENIVS* and *VI-BV-LENSVS*, with some other ringleaders of this mutinie being put to death.

It happened also that the legions which were by the riuer of *Rhine*, as the custome was, did the like, through the absence of *GERMANICVS* their General being named, adopted sonne and Nephew to TIBERIVS: And those of *Pannonia* were not only discontented with the paces and exemptions which they required, but they presumed to chuse a new Emperour against TIBERIVS, nominating their generall *GERMANICVS*, who (as is before said) was TIBERIVS Nephew and adopted sonne, and preferred before his naturall sonne, by the commandement of OCTAVIAN. But *GERMANICVS* was so loyall, that when these newes were brought vnto him, he not only refused their offer, but with great danger and hazard of his life, and with much trouble, pacified those alterations.

TIBERIVS was another way disquieted, being aduertised that *LVCIVS SCRIBONIVS* an eminent man, and one which bare great sway in the common-wealth, had some secret practices against him: but he freed himselfe from all these troubles, and they were pacified, though not without great difficultie. For his son *DRVSVS* on the one side (after some treaties) reduced the legions of *Pannonia* to his obedience, and did iustice on *PERCENIVS*. And *GERMANICVS* (as I said) after some great difficultie (which *CORNELIVS TACITVS* relateth at large) made those of *Germania* to obey: and not therewith content, he passed the riuer of

Rhine

Rhine (which commonly was the bounds of the Romane Empire on that part) and made war within the countrie of *Germanie*, with good successe. While these matters were a-doing, & for some space after, TIBERIVS did cloake and conceale his wicked inclination and vices; and (as I sayd in the beginning) performed many parts of a good, discreet and mild Prince; where- what good Tiberius did in the beginning. though he deceived the people, especially those which did not inwardly know him; whereof (although they be recited before their time) it shall not be amisse to set downe some, to the end that (as of a venomous Beast) that which is profitable and medicinall, may be taken. First, many of the names and titles of Honor which were offered him by the Senate, and other Honors and Ceremonies, he refused, and would not consent that they should erect or build any Temples vnto him; and forbad them to set vp his Statues and Images without his expresse commandement: and if sometime he did permit it, it was vpon condition that they should not place them among the Images of the gods.

He seemed also to grieve to heare himselfe praised, crossing and interrupting them in speeches which did it. One in a discourse called him Lord, whom hee commanded to vse that word no more: but insolence and presumption since that time hath so encreased, as that which in those dayes seemed pride in an Emperour, there is not any now (bee hee neuer so base) but presumeth he deserveth the same. The like discretion did TIBERIVS shew in other words, which were also proper to the gods, & the things to them appertaining. He faired also patience and meeknesse: for although that in the Senate there passed some matters contrary to his will & opinion, and that in other affaires they gainesaid him, yet he seemed not any way to be displeased or offended therewith: And understanding that some spake ill of him, and murmuring, used reproachfull speeches against him, hee shewed no discontentment or alteration therat: but said, that in a free Citie mens tongues ought to bee free, and men might lawfully speake freely. And whereas the Senate would haue exhibited an information, and haue proceeded against those which had written defamatorie libells against him, he would not consent thereto; saying, that he had not so little employment as to lose time about such matters: affirming that hee would do nothing against them which spake ill of him, but trouble them with keeping account of what hee said and did; and if that were not sufficient, it should satisfie him, to love them as little as they loved him.

At first, TIBERIVS shewed great respect to the Senate, & gavethem so great authority in all things, as he did nothing without their counsell, willing that all should bee done by their advice and consent. In execution of iustice and government hee made many good beginnings, taking care and order that there should be no theeves nor robbers by the high wayes side in all *Italie*, but that men might travell in safetie; and that iustice should bee executed in Townes and Villages. The Ensigns, and pretorian Cohorts, which in *Rome* were the Emperours guard (to the pretorian cohorts were the Emperours guard the famous veterans of Tiberius. the speeches of a good pastor, and the minds of a Wolfe. in. notice of means how to encrease his rents and revenues, hee answered, that a good shepherd ought to heare his flocke, but not slay them: & so he abated some tributes; and shewed favours to certain particular persons. His loose life he sought to cover, by ordaining a publicke informer against dishonest and adulterous Matrons of *Rome*, which he did (as it afterwards appeared) to the end there should be no other adulterer but himselfe. He did other things (which for brevity I omit) which seemed to spring from a good roote and intent: but it failed in the end; for he fauned, to bide, and drew backe, to charge againe with the greater force: As wee will hereafter declare in part, for the whole cannot bee related as it was, nor mentioned for the filthinesse thereof, which is the occasion why that order and stile cannot be observed which is fitting, for certainly, disordered and obscure lives cannot bee clearly and orderly written. And besides this, he used his wife *IVLIA* cruelly and disgracefully, forgetting that by her as for her dowrie, he enjoyed the Romane Empire: for hee never lived nor kept company with her after the death of OCTAVIAN.

One of the first signes hee shewed of an evill Prince and governour, was: that notwithstanding here came great complaints against the Proconsuls, Pretors, and Prefects, sent into Pro-
E 3
vinces

vinets; yet he would not remove them: which was contrary to the order and custome of *Rome*, and his predecessor OCTAVIAN: which some attributed to his carelesse, others held it to proceed of malice and an ill disposition, to the end that many men should not enjoy the honor and profit which grew in such charges. After this he began to envie and malice GERMANICVS, for that he was preferred before his sonne DRVVS, and it grieved him to see his good successe in the warres of *Germanie*. Wherefore to finde occasion to remove him from that charge, hee dissemblingly caused the Triumph to be granted unto him, for the victories which he had obtained, and wrote to him many times to come to triumph: but GERMANICVS understanding his evil intent, deferred his coming. It happened within a while after, that the King of the Parthians tooke armes and made warre against the Romane Empire, breaking the peace confirmed in the time of OCTAVIAN, entering into the Province of *Armenia*, the King whereof was inuested there by the Romanes: wherewith TIBERIVS was nothing displeased, supposing thereby to haue the better occasion to draw GERMANICVS from his charge and gouernment of *Germanie*, vnder colour to send him to the Parthian Warres, as he did: And so GERMANICVS being sent for, came for this purpose, hauing few daies before wonne a great battaile, & slaine tenne thousand of his enemies, & so he entred into *Rome* in a solempne triumph, and (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) hee brought thither with him the ensignes which QVINTILIVS VARRO had lost, and presently began to prepare for the warre against the Parthians.

A little before GERMANICVS his triumph, there arose a man in *Italie*, called CLEMENS, a bondsclaue to AGRIPPA, who named himself AGRIPPA, nephew to OCTAVIAN (whom we haue said to be slaine by TIBERIVS his order) which action seemed of some importance: for much loose and seditious people ioynd with him, which caused a great tumult in *Italie*, this man pretending that he ought of right to be Emperor, and not TIBERIVS: But as hee had a weake foundation, so was hee soone overbrowne, taken prisoner, brought to TIBERIVS, and finally executed although secretly. And about the same time TIBERIVS committed a fowle and perfidious act of cruelty: for hauing with gracious and kind words allured ASCHELAVS King of *Cappadocia* to come to *Rome* (whow was a friend and vassall to the Romane Empire) for faired and viisited causes he made him to be accused and committed, where afterwards this miserable King died in prison, and his countrie was made a tributary province. In the like manner he dealt with many Princes and great men of *Spain*, *France*, *Gracia*, and other parts. The expedition which TIBERIVS had intended against the Parthians, was much hastned by reason of the death of ANTIOCHVS King of *Comagena*, and of PHILOPATER King of *Cilicia* in *Asia*, vassalls to the Empire: by means of whose deaths some alterations grew in those provinces; for some would haue a King, and others would be gouerned by the Empire.

GERMANICVS being prepared for his Easterne Iorney (as he was commanded) departed from *Rome*, carrying his wife AGRIPPINA and his children with him: betweene whom and LIVIA the mother of TIBERIVS was great emulation. There was also at this time great controuersie and parts-taking, both in words and affections in TIBERIVS his Court; some taking part with GERMANICVS, who (as we haue said) was his adopted sonne and nephew: others adhered to DRVVS, his sonne legitimate. TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA euer fought to aduance the reputation of DRVVS, and in secret to disgrace GERMANICVS: for which occasion he gaue the charge of all the legions of *Illyricum* to his sonne DRVVS. And to the end, that GERMANICVS should not be too powerful in the East whither he went, he made GABVS PISO capitaine of the province and legions of *Syria* (who was an eminent man, greatly allied in *Rome*, and of a good house) for that he held with DRVVS; and disposed CRETICVS SYLVANVS of that charge, being a friend to GERMANICVS. This PISO was married to a Romane Matrone called PLANCINA, of the same condition, but of an haughtier spirit then her husband; to the which husband and wife the Emperor TIBERIVS and his mother LIVIA gaue in charge, to procure hatred and dislike against GERMANICVS; yea and his death also: as it after appeared. And with this resolution they departed from *Rome* towards the East: where PISO presently, with gifts and flatterie, began to draw to himselfe the loue and good liking of the armie against GERMANICVS, and to murmure and speake ill of him: who, while as PISO practised these things, tooke so good order in the warre and gouernment, as hee placed a King in the province of *Armenia*, who was a friend and subiect to the Romanes; and the kingdomes of *Comagena* and *Cilicia* being voided by the death of their Kings, he reduced into provinces, and placed in them Pretors and gouernours. In *Comagena* QVINCIVS SERVIS, and

Germanicus
first against the
Parthians.

Cappadocia
made a pro-
vince.

Piso animated
by Tiberius
against Ger-
manicus.

and in *Cilicia* QVINTVS VERANVS; moderating in them both the royall subsidies and tributes. And after this he tooke for good order, as he compelled the King of *Parthia* to sue for peace and friendship: which he granted and concluded, to the honour of the Empire. Being thus busied about these things, PISO and his wife neuer left to murmure against him, and to take him openly: the which he dissembled, knowing from whence it did proceed. And hauing made an end of the Parthian warre, hee departed from thence to visit the province of *Egypt*: and in his absence (although it were not long) his competitor PISO plotted such matters against him, as when he understood of his return, he departed out of that province. But as he had practised his death, he went not far off, but remained some daies in an Iland: during which time, GERMANICVS coming on his way, was poisoned by the practice of PISO, but by the direction and counsell of TIBERIVS (as it was thought) whereof he dyed suddenly, leauing behind him sonnes and daughters; among which was CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was afterwards Emperour. For which cause it hath been very expedient to make such mention of his father GERMANICVS, who if he had liued had been Emperour and succesor to TIBERIVS.

Before his death he complained much vnto his friends of the leud practices of PISO and PLANCINA his wife, by whose fraud he was brought to an vntimely death, intreating them to prosecute reuenge. And turning to his wife, he conuined her by all the bonds of nuptiall loue, to submit her courage to the frownes of fortune; least at her returne to the Citie, by emulation of greatnes she should purchase to herselfe two powerful enemies.

The wortheie and valiant Capraine GERMANICVS being dead in this manner, as is said, his wife AGRIPPINA came to *Rome* with her children, and brought with her the ashes of her deceased husband. The Emperour TIBERIVS made shew of great sorrow (though contrite) for the death of GERMANICVS (the like did LIVIA and her sonne DRVVS, who then was come to *Rome*) but in truth was very glad therof: for by the death of GERMANICVS he did assuredly hope to succede in the Empire. But true and vnfained was the sorrow which all the people of *Rome* conceiued for the death of GERMANICVS; and great were the fauours and loue which they shewed to AGRIPPINA and her children: and great was the hatred they bare against PISO, whom they openly charged to haue murdered him; who presuming on TIBERIVS his fauour (being altogether shamelesse) came to *Rome*: where, in the behalfe of AGRIPPINA and her friends, he was accused before the Senate for harred to GERMANICVS; that he had corrupted the common soldiery with licentiousnes and done wrong to the Confederates; that he was called father of the Legions by the leudest sort; that hee had bene cruell to all good men, and that he had poisoned GERMANICVS, and borne armes against the State. To most hee answered weakly, onely the poisoning could not bee well verified. Which, TIBERIVS dissembling, (as one who was not to loue him any better then the rest) he was driuen to such an extremitie in the accusation, as before that the cause was determined, hee was found dead in his bed (as it was thought) by his owne hands; although (as CORNELIVS TACITVS saith) it was neuer certainly knowne: but there were many opinions concerning the fame. Who also witeth that a powerful man named TACFARINVS rebelled in *Africa* in the province of *Namidia*, and leuying great forces, ouerthrew certaine Romane cohorts, thinking to haue been able to possesse the countrie: against whom went the Proconsul LVCIVS ASTRONICVS with an armie: and committing to a battaile he ouercame him and put him to flight, to his great losse. Which (as it seemeth) happened in the fourth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS; although afterwards the same TACFARINVS was againe ouerthrowne, by the Proconsul BLESVS, in a second rebellion.

The yeere following, the Emperour TIBERIVS made himselfe to be chosen Consul, and his sonne DRVVS his Companion, as at other times hee had done: and fauing that it behooued him for his health, hee went forth of *Rome*, to the end hee might settle and establish DRVVS in the gouernment of the Empire, for of his brother CLAVDIVS vntill then hee made small account: but God disposed of all in another manner. In the same yeere many cities in *France* rebelled, being vnable to endure the intolerable tributes and exactions which TIBERIVS imposed vpon them. The capraines and authors of this rebellion; were two hardy men, the one called FLORVS, and the other SACROBIS, which did so much trouble the countrie, as they put *Rome* it selfe in great feare; much more being there reported then was true. But this did nothing trouble TIBERIVS; so much had hee forgotten all vertue and goodnes, giuing himselfe wholly ouer to vice and sensuality in his old age. But CAIVS

Germanicus
poisoned by
Piso.

his

E 4 SILIVS;

SILIVS, who was Captaine of those parts, did soone suppress the troubles of France, who with his legions came against those which rebelled, put them to flight in a battaile, and slew a great number of them: and so he pacified that country, and his sonne DRVSVS did principally employ himselfe in the government. TIBERIVS passing the most part of the time in Campania, betwene whom and his mother LIVIA began some secret (which grew to publike) quarrels and dislikes, he being very vnreuerent and vnderfull, and the much discontented with his manner of government, and chiefly for the priuate familiaritie betwene him and ELIVS SEIANVS, whom he fauoured so much as he made him captaine of the Pretorian cohorts, and gaue him many other dignities: and finally made him so great, as he presumed to contend with his sonne DRVSVS: and his presumption was such, as by wicked practices and deuices, he allured to his dishonest lust the wife of the said DRVSVS, daughter in law to TIBERIVS, whose name was LIVIA, the daughter of GERMANICVS. Committing this adulterie (with a conceit to succedd in the place of DRVSVS) he practised his death, and found means by an Eunuch his seruant, to poyson him: which tooke effect, and DRVSVS died thereof, and left one sonne named TIBERIVS, as his grandfather, but it was not then knowne who was the cause of his death. Whereof arose great murmuring in Rome, although it little grieved the greatest part: for they deemed that GERMANICVS his three sonnes should haue succeeded in his place, whom they much respected for their fathers sake: whose names were CLAVDIUS NERO, CAIVS CALIGVLA, and DRVSVS. This happened in the ninth yeere of the raigne of TIBERIVS, which was a beginning of his misfortunes: we may say the like of the Common-wealth; for from that time forwards, all his actions and resolutions had ill successe, his detestable vices discouered themselves, and the subjects endured infinite cruelties, robberies, outrages and oppressions: as also in this same yeere, TACAPARNAS rebelled againe in Africa, who in his last rebellion escaped by flight: and hauing leuied much people, in the end was the third time ouerthrowne in battaile, and wholly defaced by PVBLIVS DOLABELLA the Proconsul.

In Rome the wicked SEIANVS (TIBERIVS favorite) although that in the beginning he made shew publickly to fauour GERMANICVS sonnes, which (as hath been said, and it was thought) should haue been TIBERIVS successours: yet afterwards all his studie and practice was to disgrace and ruine them, and to that end, procured false accusations to be made against all such as tooke their, or AGRIPPA their mothers part. And to bring this and other his wicked deuices to effect, he procured TIBERIVS to depart from Rome whither he was come: who following the others counsell, as well for this, as the more freely to giue himselfe to his detestable vices, went into the Ile of Capra, which lieth vpon the coast of Naples, where he remained for a time; and being returned into Italie, making his progresse into diuers places, neuer came any more to Rome: neither in the rest of his life is there any more to be spoken, but of his vices and cruelties, whereof in summe we will make a briefe relation. Before which it is requisite that all men vnderstand, that during this peregrination of the Emperour TIBERIVS in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ true God and man suffered his death and passion, PONTIVS PILATE being president or gouernor of Ierusalem in the prouince of Iudaea. And to the end that it may be the better knowne and vnderstood how PILATE came to concur with one of the HERODES, and how many there were of the HERODES, of whom mention is made in the holy Scriptures, (which is a matter whereof some haue made a doubt) in few words I will here set downe: which was in this manner, as the Evangelist testifieth, and as out of Saint IEROME and IOSEPHVS it is gathered. HERODE the great, sonne of ANTIPATER, who was called HERODE ASCALONITA, was placed there by the Romanes: and hauing reigned many yeeres, was the same to whom the three Kings came from the East guided by a Starre, and he who murdered so many innocent children, and some of his owne children also, when Christ was borne; who within short space after died, and by his death, his sonne, whose name was ARCHELAUS, had the kingdome of Iudaea, and Idumea; and to his other two sonnes (for the other three died before their father) were giuen certaine Tetrarchies, whereof to this HERODE ANTIPTAS (which was one of them) was allotted the Tetrarchie of Galilee, and by this meanes he is called Tetrarch, & this was he which put Saint IOHN BAPTIST to death, and he, to whom PILATE sent Christ, who disdained him. And to PHILIP his other sonne was giuen the Tetrarchie of Thracenonia: and the other brother, who (as I said) had the title of a King, was accused to OCTAVIAN, and by him de- priued and banished into FRANCE, to the citie of Vienna, by meanes whereof PILATE was sent to gouerne

The Infidelities
of SEIANVS.

The death of
Drusus, Tibe-
rius sonne.

The passion of
Christ our rede-
mer.
Iosephus in his
antiquities in
his 3. c. 17.
and 18. bookes,
and in his first
and second of
the warres of
the Iewes
Saint Ierome
upon the second
chapter of
Matthew.
The Herodes
how many they
were.
Herodes Alica-
monita.
Saint Matthew
the second
chapter, 1.

gouerne that prouince; and by this meanes it happened that Christ died in the time of PILATE and of HERODE ANTIPTAS the Tetrarch, from whom the Tetrarchie afterwards was taken by CAIVS CALIGVLA, and he died banished in Lions in France, and his Nephew the sonne of his brother ARISTOBVLVS, who was one of the three which their father slew in his lifetime. HERODE AGRIPPA was he, to whom CAIVS CALIGVLA, restored the kingdome of Iudaea. And afterwards the Emperour CLAVDIUS gaue the Tetrarchie of Galile to his Vncle: and this was he, who put Saint IAMES to death, who beginning to persecute the Apostles, died stricken by an Angell, as Saint LUKES beareth record.

Christ being put to death by the sentence of PILATE, and he knowing afterwards that Christ was risen againe, by the report of those which he himselfe had set to watch his bodie, being also informed of the many miracles which he did in his life time (notwithstanding that he was an idolater and a wicked iudge, and had adiudged him to die) yet TERTVLIAN and EVSEBIUS in his ecclesiastical historie, and PAVLVS OROSIVS in his seventh booke, most ancient and true authors, doe reuerence, that by his letters, he aduertised the Emperour TIBERIVS thereof, to the end that he should aduise and determine, whether Christ should be held for a God or no; and TIBERIVS sent to the Senate to consult thereof, hegiuing his opinion that he ought to be so: but the Senators, as the diuels schollers, counsell'd TIBERIVS that he should not doe it. Which (as these authors affirme) was for that he had not first made the Senate acquainted therewith, which pretended by an ancient law which they had, to haue the superintendence in all matters of religion: yet TIBERIVS notwithstanding that the Senate consented not to his opinion, commanded that the christians should be free from persecution; but he neither embraced the faith of Christ as he ought, neither left his sinne and vices.

First he gaue himselfe to his old vice of excessive gluttonie and drunkenness, for which cause from his youth (in steede of TIBERIVS NERO) they called him BIBERIVS NERO; which signifieth a drinker of the beere: and euen in this his old age, he hath been often knowne to sit a whole night, & part of the day at a baker, giuing gifts & rewards to such as drank most, and in fauour thereof he instituted a new office and magistracie, as, matter of delights and sports. After this, his chiefeest time was spent in abominable luxury and incontinencie, which was such and so abominable as christian ears can hardly endure the hearing thereof, nor a christian hand write the same, wherefore I will passe most of the ouer in silence. Let this suffice, that it was horrible and detestable: and not contented to commit it himselfe, he induced and drew others thereto, and gaue iewels and rewards to those which inuented and committed most filthines.

For during his priuate abode in Caprea, (as SVETONIUS writes) he desired a room with seates in it of purpose for his secret wanton lusts. For the furnishing whereof he drew from all parts a number of young strumpets, and stale Catamites or baudes, and such also as inuented monstrous kindes of libidinous filthines, whom he rearm'd Spinnrie, who being in three ranks linked together, should pollute one anothers bodie before his face, that by the sight there of he might stirre vp his owne colde courage and fainting lust, with manie other such shamefull deuices, as are not to be mentioned, for the which men did vially tearme him CAPRINEVS, after the name of the Iland.

This wicked old Emperour, perseuering in his libidinous sinne, forgot not his crueltie and enuetounes, whereto he was no lesse addicted: for hee encreased his subsidies and tributes in such manner, that the prouinces became ruinate and desolate; and committed many other extortions of the like quality.

As for his crueltie, all the examples cannot be repeated, they did so exceede: for he condemned the principall and best men in Rome to death, and confiscated their goods, for very light causes, and most of them forged. One he put iustly to death; and with great reason caused him to be slaine, which was his great favorite SEIANVS, for many finnes which he had learned of him (as DION COCRIVS recordeth:) but for the rest, it is a matter ridiculous, and otherwise lamentable, for what causes they were accused and condemned. One he caused to be slaine, because that commending BRVTVS and CASSIVS, he said, they were the last Romanes: another he caused to be slaine, because that in a tragedie which he had compiled, he spake ill of AGRIPPINON: another Romane Knight he commanded to be slaine, because that in a garden he had taken vp a Capon; and for other such like matters as these, he put to death sixteen, of twentie ancient noble men, whom he had chosen for his counsellors. And he forbore not to execute these cruelties vpon his allies and kinsfolkes: for besides that which is already related

Herodes Anti-
ptas.
Saint Luke
chapter 2.
Herodes
Agrippa.

The Acts of the
Apostles chap.
12.

Pilate made re-
lacion of the
miracles which
Christ wrought
to the Emperour
Tiberius.

related, he commaunded his Nephew GERMANICVS to be slaine, and afterwards the three sonnes which he left, seeing them to growe in estimation; the two eldest of them he caused to be accused by false witnesses, and he himselfe wrote such things to Rome against them, that in the end they were condemned to death: the one of them desperately killed himselfe, and he caused the other to pine to death with hunger, as SVETONIVS reporteth. It was a marvell that he had not done the like by the third, whose name was CAIVS CALIGVLA, and by their Vncle CLAVDVS: but it is likely he would have done it, if he had liued a while longer. These executions hee thus commaunded to be done, to the end that his crueltie might attaine to the highest degree, which were not ordinarie: for before their death, they suffered hunger, torments, and disgraces, to qualifie them. Finally, to conclude, they were so many and so fearefull, that many which were condemned, slew themselves, some with payson, and some with the sword, for feare; for TIBERIVS did execute his furie with such crueltie, as hee accounted it a deede of charitie, to put them to an ordinarie kinde of death: so as, for that one had killed himselfe before that he could execute his rage vpon him, he cryed out, Oh how hath CORNELIVS escaped me? for so was that mans name: and to another, which entreated him that he would not deferre his death, TIBERIVS answered, I am not so much thy friend, as to hasten it. And employing himselfe in these diuillish exercises, wherein he continued vntill his death; ARTABANVS King of *Partia*, breaking the peace and league which he had contracted with GERMANICVS, presumed to enter into *Armenia*, and the limits of the Empire, and also the Sarmates invaded the prouinces; for which TIBERIVS tooke no care, neither leuied any new armie; but they defended themselves with their ordinarie legions and armies the best they could.

Now, forasmuch as in many places of this historie, mention is made of legions and armies, which the Romanes ordinarily entertained in their prouinces, in time of peace & warre, I hold it fit to declare what they were, for the better understanding of what is already, and shall be said hereafter. Which is a great argument, to proue how great the wealth and power of the Romanes was: and although that some Authors do treat thereof, I will onely set downe what CORNELIVS TACITVS writeth in the fourth booke of his histories, an historiographer of great authority. He first saith, that in the two seas, of the one and other side of *Italie*, to wit, in the Adriatique sea, now the gulf of *Venice*, and in the Sicilian sea called *Mediterranean*, they maintained two great nauiques of gallies and shippes for their guard and securitie, and for the safe passage of Merchants, and such other necessaie occasions. Another great nauique they maintained vpon the coast of *France*, between *Spain* and *Italie*; besides those which they had in a readines and caused to be built when any occasion of warre was offered. Their armies by land were diuided in manner following: vpon the *Rhines* side on the frontiers of *France*, they maintained eight legions, to keepe those countries which they possessed in *Germanie*, and to resist the *Germanes* and other northerly nations, and these ordinarily were the most experienced and best souldiers. And although that the number of a legion did increase and diminish vpon diuers occasions, yet the ordinarie in the time of the Emperors was (after *VERGILIUS* and *MODERVS*) that euery legion should containe sixe thousand and one hundred fooremen, and seven hundred twentie and sixe horsemen. Of these they held, in *Spain*, three ordinarie legions; and in *Africa*, in the prouince of *Carthage*, two; and in *Mauritania* one; and two for the garde of the kingdome of *Egypt*, and in the prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria* (to wit) in the countries contained betweene the *Syrian* sea, the furthest end of the *Leuant* sea, and the riuer *Euphrates*, which were (for a long time) the bounds of the Roman Empire, they held foure legions. And heere in *Europe* (besides those which I haue already mentioned) they had other sixe legions, in this manner: in *Austria* and *Hungarie* they had two; in *Servia* and *Bulgarie*, as many; and other two in *Slauonia*; and neere vnto the citie of *Rome*, were alwayes lodged twelue Cohorts, nine of which were called *Pretorian*, and the other three *Vibane*, which by turne did garde the Emperors palace. Of all these Cohorts (according to the same authors) the first and chiefe of them contained one thousand, one hundred and five footmen, and one hundred thirtie two horse; and the others equally each of them five hundred and fiftie footmen, and threescore and six horse. Besides all which, they had in diuers cities and prouinces, companies of horsemen, which were friends and subiects to the Empire, and also other companies of footmen, which were called *Auxiliaries*, which were not trained after the Roman order and discipline: so as they continually entertained & paid five and twentie legions, besides those which were payed by their friends. And this was in time of peace, for the authoritie and garde of the Empire

Empire; for when there happened any warres (according as neede required) they reinforced their armies, and encreased the number of their legions.

With the force of these great garrisons the Roman Empire maintained & defended it selfe, notwithstanding the want of care and diligence in some Emperors, as in TIBERIVS, of whom we now discourse; who (as is said) spent the rest of his life vntill his death, in wicked practices: which being much wished for by all the world, ouertooke him in a house of pleasure neere to *Naples*, having reigned twentie and three yeeres Emperor, in the seuentie and eight yeere of his age, and thirtie, and nine yeeres after the birth of Christ. In what manner he died, authors agree not, for some say that hee was paysoned, by his Nephew and successor CAIVS CALIGVLA: others write that being sicke (as it was thought) mortally, and seeing that he made some shew of recouerie, for feare that hee should mend, CALIGVLA smothered him with a pillow, or with the couering of the bed, he hauing ordained him for his successor. Notwithstanding that by reason of a certaine prophecie which hee held, he had resolved to make his Nephew TIBERIVS the sonne of *Drausus* his heire, whom *Dion Cocceius* in his histories saith, he would not name, because he was not assured that he was his sonnes sonne, for the suspicion which he held of his mother; and also because that the Mathematicians and Astrologians, to whom he was much affected and gaue credit, had told him, that he should liue but a little while, and that CALIGVLA should kill him: and so vpon a time being very much offended, he said to CALIGVLA, thou wilt kill me, and another shall kill thee. It is also imagined, that TIBERIVS chose CALIGVLA for his successor, for that he knew his euill and wicked inclination, hoping that with his vices, he would deface and blot his wickednes out of remembrance; and also for that he beleued, that he would extinguish the Roman nobilitie; for he was so wicked and cruell as he desired that all the world might end with his life, and so he was sometimes wont to say, that hee wished, that when hee should die, then the heaven and earth might be dissolved: but he deferred not to see the heavens; and all the earth reioycied and was glad when he died; as all Authors write: and this was the end of TIBERIVS. SVETONIUS writes, that the people reioycied much at his death: and some running up and downe, at the newes thereof cryed out Fling TIBERIVS into Tiber. Others be sought the mother Earth, and the infernal gods to vouchsafe him no place but among impious wretches. And some threatened to drag his liuelesse carcase into the Gemonie.



THE LIFE OF CAIVS CALIGVLA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRTH ROMAN EMPEROV.

THE ARGVMENT.



Caligula, before he was made Emperor, was so pleasing, and in such grace with the people and Senate of Rome, as when he was advanced, it is unknowne whether was the greater, the sorrow which was in Rome for the death of Octavian, or the joy which it conceived for the succession of Caligula. But being made Emperor, as if with his dignitie hee had changed his natural inclination, hee became so wicked and infamous, as I cannot set downe his vicious life without offending the chaste eares of him that shall read the same; nor without a burden to his modestie that shall write it. Hee made the Bridge at *Bani*, a worke of no lesse folly then great expence. Hee destroyed three of his owne sisters; and of his Palace (with reverence be it spoken) he made a brothel of Roman Matrons. Hee was so covetous, as he rayed a tax vpon the *Woores*, and had a share of their gettings. He used to walke up and downe vpon *Cremers* and was so prodigall, that sometimes hee caused most precious iewels to be dissolved with vinegar and put into his meat: hee was finally in all his actions so contrary to himselfe, that no man knew how to beleue himselfe to

will

Stories and
fictions maintained
by the Ro-
manes, in fun-
damental places and
prouinces.

A Legion, of
how many
horse and foot
is consi'd.

Pretorian and
Urban Cohorts.

Auxiliary for-
ces.

wards him. He would be called and reputed for a God, which name he stained with such abominable cruelties, that he was worse then the diuill: he shed so much blood, and made the wilde beasts which he kept, to deuour men, and to drinke their bloods, so as these which were condemned to be slaine by them, rather chose to kill themselves, then to endure the torments which he deuised in his cruell disposition. He died of thirrie wounds given him by certaine which conspired against him, having reigned almost twue yeeres: whose death was so acceptable to the people, as it is hard to say whether was the greater ioy, that which was conceiued when he was made Emperour, or that when he left the Empire, together with his most painefulle life.



Caligula in the highest degree abominable.

In Caligula was violence that was good.

CALIGVLA the sonne of GERMANICVS succeeded TIBERIVS in the Empire, who during the time of his raigne, was in the highest degree of all kinde of wickednes most abominable: and his words and deedes were so odious and detestable, as in truth it is a shameful & unworthie thing, hauing written the liues of so worthe men, as were IVLIUS, and OCTAVIANVS CÆSARS, & their heroficall acts: now to descend to the sinke of the villanie, crueltie, and ribauldrie of CALIGVLA. For although there wanted not in TIBERIVS cause to be abhorred & blamed, yet some part of his raigne was good, and he in former times had been an excellent Capitaine, and had enlarged the dominions of the Empire, for which cause his euill cōditions might be somewhat the better tolerated: but this wanting in CAIVS CALIGVLA, who was a man of no such valour (although in the beginning he deceived the world with an apparence of some good deedes) yet it maketh the remembrance of him the more detestable, and his hand that shall write the same, the more heauie. But because I am not to make choise of Emperours, of whom I am to treat at my pleasure, but to continue the course of my historie, wherein my chiefe foundation is, to obserue the truth, and cleauing thereto, to continue my troublefome journey: Let him which shall reade it consider how detestable and odious his actions were, and how small time his Empire indured (which attained not to four yeeres complete) and the end which he made, to the end that he may sic and abhorre them, & may do the like by some others which followed, like to him, or worse.

After the death of TIBERIVS CÆSAR (as I said) the ioy which the Senate and people of Rome conceiued was incredible, and therewith they accepted and approoued the Empire of CAIVS CALIGVLA (whom before his death TIBERIVS had adopted and nominated for his successour) for the loue and goodwill which they bare to his father GERMANICVS, and for the pittie and commiseration which they conceiued for his death, and the affliction and wrong done to his house. For these causes was he accepted by all the Prouinces, and prouinciall armies: for his father being Generall in Germanie, and in the East, he was bred vp among them, and this name of CALIGVLA was given him for a certaine kinde of horse, called *Caliga*, vled among men of warre, which hee did vse to ware. Coming from the place whiche TIBERIVS died, to Rome, a great number of the principall men of all estates went forth to entertaine him vpon the way, with exceeding ioy, notwithstanding that he came mourning with the dead bodie of TIBERIVS, which the souldiers brought to be burnt at Rome, according to the manner of that time. And comming with great solemnity to Rome, he was obeyed with vnspokeable gladnes and ioy, they giuing him new names and Epithetes, shewing great reuerence and loue.

CALIGVLA was a man tall of stature, great boned and corpulent; but his necke and legges were very small and slender, deformed and vnfitable to the rest of his bodie: his countenance was horrible and vgly: being Emperour, he tooke pleasure to terrifie people with his looks; and to this effect it is written, that beholding himselfe in a glasse, he would studie what countenance to set, to seeme more fierce and terrible. His eyes were very hollow, his forehead broad, his complexion yellow, his head very bald, and in those parts of his head where he had any haire, it was very thinn, all the rest of his bodie being maruiculously hairy. He was very vnfound and vnhealthy, and in his youth was troubled with falling sicknes and other diseases, and afterwards (as we will presently shew) he was ill disposed both in bodie and minde, changing his conditions with the Empire: for before that time, he was cuer held for good. Wherefore it is said of him, that he had been the best seruant, and was the worst and most wicked Lord in the world. The first thing he did after he came to be Prince, was to dissuall & make void the testament of TIBERIVS, which he had made two yeeres before, wherein he made him & his nephew TI-

BERRIVS

BERRIVS his coheirs: whereto the Senate did willingly agree, & euerie man deuised & plotted how to gratifie him and doe him seruice, with such loue as within few daies after he was confirmed in the Empire. Going forth of Rome to recreate himselfe vpon the Sea at the Ile of Caprea, and in other Ilands vpon that coast, they made vows and sacrifices for his health and returne: and writers affirme, that there were slaine 170000. beasts, according to the rites and ceremonies then vsed: And then making shew of a man, and not of a beast (as his deedes did afterwards make manifest) he presently commaunded the ashes of his mother and brethren to be brought to Rome, and there to be sumptuously buried. He then tooke for his companion in the Consulship, which hee would execute, his vnkle CLAYDIVS, brother to GERMANICVS, who in the time of TIBERIVS liued priuate and in disgrace; and young TIBERIVS, (which was nephew to TIBERIVS the Emperour) raising to loue, and affect him: to doe him honour, he made him capitaine and prince of all the Romane youthe. Seeking by counterfeit goodnes and bountie, to draw to himselfe the goodwill of the people; he did twice giue vnto euery bodie (excepting none) a certaine donatiue of money, which they called Congiarius; and to all the Senate, and to all those of the order of Knighthood (which was a degree betwene the communalltie and the Nobilitie) he made a most solemne banquet. And fasting also, that he meant to gouerne with iustice, he commaunded OCTAVIANVS CÆSAR his Institutions to be sought out, which TIBERIVS interrupted and brought out of vse. He commaunded also great playes and feasts to be made in Rome of Sword-playes, who were men which to shew pleasure to the beholders, fought and killed one another; and certaine men on horseback which they called Trians. He also appointed certaine huntings, wherein were slaine a great number of Lions, Panthers, Boares, Beares, and other wilde beasts; and besides this, Comedies and other shewes which were made in the Theater, & other kinds of sports and pleasures to delight the people, whole loue and grace he then affected. And besides that which is already laid (as SYNTONIVS reciteth) principally in the beginning of his Empire, ARTABANVS King of Parthia, who rebelled and was an enemy, came to a conference with the Generall of the Romanes which commaunded the legions in Syria, and fearing the new Emperour whom he knew not, made a peace with him; and passing the riuier Euphrates, which was the bound of the Romane Empire, came in person to adore and to doe reuerence to the Emperours statue, and to the Imperiall standard and Eagle: so as the little, vntill this time, may be reported of CALIGVLA, as of a wife and discrete prince; and the remainder seemeth to be of a senselesse man and a brute and sauage beast. The beginning whereof was one of the greatest fooleries or vanities that euer was seene, which was to make such a feast as was neuer heard of, to shew his greatnes and vanitie, and to be able to walke and treade on the Sea as well as vpon the land: Or (as others say) because he would imitate King XERXES, who passed his armie out of Asia into Europe ouer the streight of Hellespont vpon a wooden bridge, he commaunded to be brought together, and to be new built all the ships he could get, which were infinite; & in a bay or a creeke, which the Sea maketh neere to the haue of Baias in Campania, from one point of the land to the other side of the Bay, which is about three miles distant, hee commaunded a bridge to be made vpon the said ships, set in two ranks, fastned and moored together with anchors, chaines and cables, which made them to stand fix and firme: hee commaunded this bridge to be made of boords, so strong and eenen, and to lay so much earth vpon the same, as it seemed to be firme ground, and one of the streets of Rome. And bringing for this worke a great number of Artificers and labourers, with an infinite charge; he also caused houses and lodgings to be built vpon the bridge, as writeth DION, who relateth this worke more at large then all the rest.

This being finished, and hee with all the Court going thither, with an infinite number of people which from all parts came to see this worke; hee proudly attired in robes of gold and pearle, with a crowne of Oaken boughes vpon his head (which was called *Cinica*) on horsebacke, accompanied with men of warre, and all the Nobles and gentlemen of Rome, entered at the one end of the bridge and road to the other; and lying one night vpon it, the next day hee returned, riding in a Chair or drawne by most excellent faire horses, in manner of a triumph. DION writeth, that the night when he lay vpon the bridge, he caused such an infinite number of Torches, Lant-hornes, and other lights to be lighted and set vp, as the cleerenes thereof did exceed the darknes of the night, of all that side of the mountaine neere adioyning, CALIGVLA boasting that he had made of the night, day; and of the Sea, land. And spending herein two whole daies (in all which time the Sea happened to be still and calme) he said; that Neptune (whom they held for the god of the Seas) did it for feare, and to do him reuerence. The fruite

Peace with the King of Parthia.

A wonderfull bridge, made by Caligula.

F

which

Caligula his gesture and disposition of bodie.

which ensued of this strange follie, was great famine and scarcitie of corne, and other necessities, for that the ships were staied about this bridge, to make the which there were employed an incredible number. Such like benefits as this, did euer follow the actions of CALIGVLA. Wherefore before I speake of the rest, to say the truth, it is to be understood, that many were of opinion, that to this man was giuen a certaine drinke by his wife, whose name was CESONIA, wherewith the made him mad and distract of his wits; shee giuing it him, to the end he should loue her: for hauing been at other times married he had put away his wives; so as his cruelty and riots were by som attributed to his foolishnes & want of wit. Of this opinion is Iosephus in the 18. booke of his Antiquities, and the Poet IUVENAL with SYRTONIVS; and they say that after he had taken this drinke, CALIGVLA slept not by day nor night about three houres; and rising sometimes affrighted, it seemed to him that he saw apparitions and visions: adding this to his peruerse condition and nature, hee suffered himselfe to be led by her, and committed outrages without number or measure, which I know not how to set downe in any order: among which hee shewed himselfe so haughtie and vainglorious, as he despised all men.

In the end (besides that hee was the first of the Emperours which caused himselfe to be called Lord) he purposed to be honoured as a God, or to say better, a Diuell, and made himselfe to be adored, taking first vpon him names neuer thought nor heard of, calling himselfe father of Armes, *Optimus* & *maximus*, with other epithetes, which they gaue to their god IVPITER only. And certaine Kings in his presence which came to visit him, and to doe him honour, being at contention among themselves about the antiquitie and nobilitie of their houses and linages, he interrupted, repeating a verse out of HOMER in the person of VLYSSES, which saith, That neither is, nor ought to be, but one King and Lord; and had then taken a Crowne and Diademe of a King, but that he was giuen to vnderstand, that his owne was a more high estate and dignitie. Neuertheless, he determined with his pride and clation to vsurpe the dignitie which he held for diuine, and caused to be caried before him the statue of IVPITER, & some others, which (as PLINIVS recounteth) the Romanes vsed to haue with heads to be taken off and on, to the end they might serue for diuers gods; and taking away those heads which they had, he caused other heads to be set on, to his owne likenes: but in my opinion it had beene better they had cut off his head and set it thereon. Besides this, he caused a temple to be built, and robe dedicated to his name and honor, and made his statue at Life to be set vp therein, which they called *Iconium*, and he instituted Priests to serue him: and this his image to be every day clothed in such attire, as himselfe did weare. Also he caused Peacocks, Peafants, and an infinite number of other princely birds to be sacrificed in this Temple, as in other Temples of the gods of the Gentiles was vsed; with whom he sought to make himselfe equall: which truly was no great matter: for they all were diuels, Impostures and deceits.

But considering the opinion and conceit which they then held, it was a presumption neuer heard nor thought of, which cameto bee accounted a ridiculous foolishnesse: for presuming much vpon his deitie, hee came forth one night by Moonelight (shee being then at the full) and wooed and made loue to her, as if shee had beene a faire Ladie. Sometimes hee would also goe to the Temple of IVPITER, and ioyning himselfe close to the Image, hee made shew as though hee had spoken in his care: and sometimes hee layd his care to the Image, as though it should speake to him: and sometimes hee made as though hee were very angry, chiding, and threatening to send it into *Gracia*: and afterwards hee would saue himselfe to be pacified, and that he was contented that they two should dwell together: and in this manner hee proceeded to a thousand idle fooleries, although they were diuellish. And on the other side, this man which presumed to displace the gods and to make himselfe one of them, shewed his enuie to men; grieuing to see their statues and memories honored, commanding many of them to be ouerthrowne, and defaced. He practised and was desirous to disgrace the poems of HOMER and of VIRGIL, and in like manner the histories of the excellent historiographer TITVS LIVIVS, and commanded his image to be taken out of the Libraries in Rome, where they vsed to keepe the Images and pictures of great and excellent learned men. Of VIRGIL he said, that he was a man without any wit, and lesse learning; and TITVS LIVIVS he reprooued for a man of many words, and negligent; of SENECA (who in that time was much esteemed, and with great reason) he sayd that hee was faine without labour, and a vvorke made without mixture: and so did he taxe the most sublime and excellent wittes. Besides vvhich, hee tooke from many Patricij and Noblemen of Rome the Armes and Ornaments which they bare of their Linages and Families: and his enuy yet descended

descended to lighter and meaner matters then these, so as there was no man (were he neuer so base) whom hee enuied not for any prosperity or good success that might happen vnto him; as to make men to be haunen, if he saw they had yellow or faire coloured haire.

Now for matters of lasciuiousnesse and dishonestie, truly there is so much to be sayd, as a man may not; neither ought to make the whole relation thereof; to the end that his filthynesse doe not soyle and corrupt our Historie: for it is certaine that he was as filthy and abominable, as his predecessor, TIBERIVS, if not more. Hee was so shamelesse in his incontinencie and lust as he respected neither persons nor place. He abused all his Sisters; of which (it is thought) hee deslowed DRYANILLA being a Virgine, himselfe but a very boy. Shee being afterwards married to LYCIVS CAISIVS LONGINVS, a man of singular degree, hee tooke her from him and kept her openly, as if shee had been his lawful wife, and being sicke he made her heire of all his goods, and his successor in the Empire; but she dying hee sorrowed with impatience. His other Sisters LYTIA and AGRIPPINA, hee neither loued nor respected, but would of ten prostitute them to his owne stale: Caramitis. And in the end hee comprehended them to exile with EMILIUS LEPIDVS, as Adultresses, and priuy toyeasons against his person. Neither was any Roman Maron (how honorable or virtuous soeuer) free from his pollution. He would vsually inuite them with their husbands to supper: and if any one liked him, he would rise from the table, and call her to him into another roome, and there abuse her, and then presently returne againe and bragge of his fowle fact.

In other vices hee was beyond all measure passionate, being extreme in extremities, the one against the other: for he was greedie and couetous in extreme manner; and of the other side, prodigall and a spender aboue all measure. To glut his greedy couetousnes hee invented meanes to gather wealth, and to rob the land and the people: so as there was no kinde of tribute or imposition to be deuised which he put not in practice, even amongst common & dishonest women; and of all suites in law, hee had the fourth part of any sum that was recovered; and if the parties agreed before sentence giuen, he had a certaine portion: and so in all matters wherein any thing was to be gotten, hee tooke a share, even of those which were porters and got money by carrying of burthens vpon their shoulders. And hauing amass'd together an infinite sum, by direct and indirect meanes, hee would lie downe and tumble vpon it, recreating himselfe in his couetousnes: wherein he shewed great simplicitie, seeing how little hee did otherwaies esteeme it, and his lawlesse expences, as the most prodigall man that euer was, which a man may easily iudge by these few examples following. Into the bathes wherein they did vse to bathe, hee caused most precious and sweete smelling oynments to be cast which were of exceeding great price, that they might bathe in them, hot and cold; as in other water. In the leafs and baskets which he made, hee commanded most precious pearles and iewels to be dissolved in most strong vinegar, and to be put into their meate, because the cost should be inestimable: and hee commanded that all the seruices in steede of meat, bread, flesh, fish, and fruires, should be of fine golde for his guests. Besides this, hee sometimes cast among the people great summes of money: whereby it seemeth they had reason, which attribute the doings of this man to foolishnesse, as well as to his ill disposition. There was so great varietie in his actions, affections and desires, as may be gathered by that which is already said, and the rest which we will declare; as on the one side hee contemned the gods, and presumed himselfe to be one of them, and yet he was so afraid of a thunder clap that hee ranne and hid himselfe vnder a bed. Sometimes hee was very familiar, and called men to conuerse with him, seeming to be much delighted with their companie and conuersation: at other times hee shunned them, and retired himselfe to his wokes. He sometimes dispatched matters with such expedition and diligence, as he seemed to be the most quicke and active man in the world, and at other times, with such slacknes and leisure, as he seemed not to be the man which he was before. Many which committed heinous crimes, he punished not: and others hee commanded to be slaine, which had done no offence. He would this day praise one thing: and the next day, he would peraduenture cause him to be slaine which spake well thereof. Finally, he was so variable that (as DRIDON reporteth) men knew not what to doe, nor say, his conditions were so doubtfull. The like hee did in his apparel, in his exercises, and in all his other actions: for procuring one thing, hee would doe cleane contrarie; as we said in robbing and heaping treasure together, hee would spend so prodigally that those treasures should not suffice for his expences. Besides what is already said, authors affirme that hee commanded certaine ships to be built, which were the greatest and most costly that euer were seene, of which all the timber was of Cedar, and the poups and sternes of Iurie set with gold and precious stones, and all the sailes and tackling

were of silke of diuers colours : they were so great, as they had in them halles and gardens, wherein were many trees and flowers : in one of these shippes, he sailed along the coast of *Zeples* one whole day, to disport himselfe. He also began certaine buildings and workes against all reason and humane discretion, and such as seemed impossible. For in the sea he commanded huge pillars and towers to be built, and by land he raised certaine valleyes, & made them equall with the mountaines, heaping vp rocks and earth in them, vntill they were euen therewith. And in other places, he began to digge downe mountaines to make them leuell with the meadowes, presuming to correct the workes of nature.

As *CAIUS CALIGVLA* was fowariable and inconstant, as we have said, so in crueltie only he was constant, vsing it indifferently to all without respect of parentage or friendship : in the like manner he vsed his grandmother *ANTONIA* daughter to *GERMANICVS*, so as the being in despair, tooke poison whereof he died. And the yong *TIBERIUS* Nephew to the Emperor *TIBERIUS*, and sonne to *DRVSVS* (as I haue said) he making shew to loue him, liuing secure and without feare, he sent to kill him by the hands of a Tribune, for no other cause, but for that he vsed a certaine kinde of confection of sweete sauours for his delight: *CALIGVLA* saying, that he did it, for feare to be poisoned. And *SILVANVS*, (who had bene his father in law,) he forced to kill himselfe, only for that he went not one day to sea, with him. Which *SILVANVS* did forbear, because the sea made him sicke. And *PTOLOMIUS* the sonne of *IVDA* King of *Mauritania*, to whom he was neere allied, and *MARC* which had holpen him to get the Empire, and others with whom he was in great league and friendship, in requitall of their services he caused them to be cruelly put to death. To all men generally, both in word & deede he vsed such crueltie, as it would seeme incredible, had not so many and such authors written the same : for he commanded wild beasts which hee kept for feasts and triumphs, to be fatted with the bodies of liuing men, condemned to death. And sometimes causing some to be executed, he commanded their parents and kinned to be present at their execution, and then invited them to eate with him, and compelled them to discourse of pleasant matters. He also qualified his cruelties, with sundrie kindes of deaths which he inflicted, prolonging it, to the end that the torment should be the greater: So as they stood in so great feare of this man, that many (if they had oportunitie) slew themselves rather then they would stay for his sentence : among which the accursed *PONTIVS PILATE*, who condemned to death the giuer of life *IHSVS CHRIST* our Redeemer, was one, who being accused and banished, slew himselfe with his owne hands.

This wretched *CALIGVLA* was so nussed in blood, as he much desired and wished that all the *Romane* people had had but one head, to the end that he might cut off that heade at one blowe. He also held the time of his raigne unfortunate, & complained of the infelicities thereof, for that in his daies there was no pestilence, famine, earthquakes, deluges, spoiles by fire or other misfortunes.

There came by chance one day into his presence, a man who had been banished by the Emperor *TIBERIUS*, of whom hee asked what life hee led in his exile: the other to flatter him, answered, that he spent his time in praying for the death of *TIBERIUS*, to the end he should be Emperor : which when *CALIGVLA* heard (as he had banished a great number of men) he beleued that they all made the like prayer for him, & therefore commanded to many of them as could be found, to be fought out and slaine. Vsing these cruelties and such like, or greater, he made himselfe within few dayes so hatefull, as his death was generally desired, and practised by some : but the conspiracies against him being discovered, it deferred his death, although but for a small time, which was as he deferred, as we will presently declare. But first we will speake of the wars & conquests which he made, wherein he shewed no lesse vanitie then in all the rest. For vpon a sodaine at the end of the third yeere of his raigne, he caused a great number of men of warre to be leuiued, wherewith he departed from *Rome*, giuing it out that he went to make warre in *Germanie* whether he tooke his iourney : whereto he added the ordinarie legions, which were in those parts, and with a shew and apparance to doe some great exploit with his armie, he passed the riuer of *Rhine*: and he began to make warre at such time as it seemed to all men (considering his great number of men, and the resolution wherewith he came) that he would haue overrunne the world, and haue made some great conquest: but he contented himselfe with this, that the Kings son of *Batania* (which is now called *Holland*) being in disgrace with his father, came to his seruice, and herewith hauing done some small harme in that countrie, he returned, and passed the riuer: And after he had giuen some alarmes, he tooke his way with his armie towards the

the sea; and in memorie of his victorie, he there commanded a tower to be built, and all his souldiers to gather abundance of cockle shelles, as the spoyles of his enemies : and then calling his armie together, in such manner as captaines vse to doe after some notable victorie, he made a long oration vnto them, and commended them all, and afterwards he commanded a great some of money to be distributed amongst them, ouer and aboue their pay.

Returning to *Rome*, he sent before, to command that there should be prepared a most solemn triumph; carrying with him to that effect, certaine Barbarians his enemies, such as he could get; but afterwards he altered his determinatio, deferring the triumph vntill another time, and entred into *Rome* in ouacian triumph, and there began againe to execute some of his accustomed cruelties, purposing to haue done greater. Which the world being vnable to endure, many conspired against him : he which did most therein, and the first that began to practise, was a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whose name was *CHEREA* : he died of thirtie wounds which they gaue him, in a vault or secret gallerie, wherein he vsed to passe vsene, from his palace to certaine bathes, hauing most vnworthily raigued three yeeres and ten months, in the nine and twentieth yeere of his age.

The manner of his death, besides *SVETONIUS*, *DION* and others, is written by the true Historiographer *IOSEPHVS* : to whom I referre the curious reader to make an end of so brutish a monster, as was *CAIUS CALIGVLA*.

This happened in the three and fortieth yeere of *CHRIST* our Lord. After that he was dead, there died the same day *CRONIA* his wife, and one only daughter which he had : and notwithstanding that the Almaines which were of his garde fell to armes, & would haue slaine the conspirators, and did kill some of them, yet in the end all was pacified, and his death was generally approved, as of a Tyrant and most cruel Prince, in like maner as the death of such Kings and Princes is vsually approved & pleasing, whose liues haue been detestable and odious. It is certainly knowne, that when *CALIGVLA* was slaine, he had purposed to haue put many to death : for in his closet or priuy chamber, were found two bookes; whereof the one was called the poiniard, and the other the sword, wherein were written the names of a great number of Senators and Knights of *Rome* whom he had condemned to death.

There was also found a chest full of diuers kindes of poysons, such were the relikes and jewels of this wicked man. In this short time wherein *CAIUS CALIGVLA* raigued, the name and faith of *CHRIST* was published and preached in a great part of the world, the holy Apostles *Saint PETER* and *Saint PAUL* preaching the same; and particularly in *Iudea* *Saint MATTHEW*, who first of all wrote the Gospell.



THE LIFE OF CLAVDIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND FIFT ROMANE EMPEVOVR.

(***)

THE ARGVMENT.



Claudius the sonne of *Drusus*, and *Uncle* to *Caligula*, obtained the Empire more through the temeritie of the souldiers, then for any worthe acts done for his country: for *Caligula* being dead the Senate resolved to extirpate the race of the *Caesars*, and to restore *Rome* to her ancient liberties, and a wish many armed men had seized upon the Capitoll. Whereupon he standing in great feare seeing so great a tumult (as commonly it happeneth vpon inuasion in States) and being by nature fearefull, and a coward, he hid himselfe in a secret place of the palace, where being found by a souldier which by chance came to seeke for pillage, he was by him reserued, and hailed Emperor. This souldier being seconded by others who together with the people desired a prince, in the end maugre the Senate they made him Emperour in which dignitie he carried himselfe in the beginning with such modestie and

Caligula more cruel, and in what manner.

*Grand build-
ings.*

*The crueltie of
Caligula.*

*The conquests
and vaine war
of Caligula.*

*Batania,
Holland.*

and humanitie, as all men began to assure themselves of an excellent government: but he continued not long in that good disposition: for through his little care, the naturall vices of his minde encreasing, he despayned the world of the hope conceived of him, and in short space became both luxurious, cruel, a drunkard, and a glutton. He had many wives, but above all the rest Messalina was so incontinent and so infamous, as her filthines cannot be written without vnderstand and immodest words. This Emperor was so forgetfull, as he remembered not in the evening what he had done in the morning by reason whereof he did oftentimes cause those to be called to eat, or play with him, whom he had commannded to be slain: and amongst others, he asked wherefore his wife Messalina came not to dinner: having but a little before caused her to be put to death. He caused with excessive charge the lake Fucinus to be dried up, wherein before that it was drained, he made an infinite number of men (condemned to die) to fight a manle hatt-ail. He subdued Mauritania which rebelled against him: and in his old age tooke his wife Agrippina the mother of Nero: who perceiving that he was not greatly affected to her sonne, as a woman desirous to make him to succede in the Empire, poisoned him in certaine Musburups which he loved to eat, alleging that they were meate for the gods, for that they grew of their own accord, whose death was conceded by Agrippina, whilst she had confirmed her sonne for his successor in the Empire. He lived sixtie and foure yeeres, and reigned fourteene; his death was not greatly lamented, for that his life was not much beloved.



By the death of Caius Caligula, his Vncle CLAVDIVS, and brother to his father the good GERMANICVS sonne of DRYVS and sonne in law to OCTAVIANVS, had the Empire. But the manner how hee attained thereto was very strange, and therefore worthie to be related. The sodaine death of CALIGULA caused great alteration and confusion in the citie of Rome, as soone as it was published. Some would not beleue it, seeing it was done in a secret place, imagining that it was a matter fained by him; thereby to discouer every mans affection towards him. The conspirators, as they did not practice his death to the end that any of them should aspire to the Empire, neither for any other man, but onely to free the common-wealth from so cruell a Tyrant, had more care for their owne safeties then to make chioise of a new Emperor. The Consuls as soone as they were certified of his death, assembled the Senate; and being terrified with the miseries past, resolved to reduce the citie of Rome to her ancient libertie, and to extinguish the name of CÆSARS and the Monarchie, and persevering in this determination, they feiled on the Capitoll, with opinion of the Cohorts of the citie, which had the garde of the palace, who were also of their opinion. But herein were diuers opinions in the citie: for the common people would haue a head and an Emperor, for the hatred which they euer bare to the Senate, and for that the least part of the euils and cruelties committed by the Emperors, fell vpon them; and also for that they enjoyed and tasted of the feasts and larges which the Emperors vfed to make. The men of war of the pretorian Cohorts which were lodged hard by Rome, desired there should be an Emperor; because they were in hope to make choyse of him at their pleasure, and in regard of the rewards and priuileges which they inioyed from the Emperors. But the matter remaining in this confusion, neither the one nor the other knew who to nominate.

It happened that CALIGULA being dead, CLAVDIVS was in so great feare of his life, as he dared not goe forth of the Imperiall palace, neither openly to shew himselfe. But being amazed and in this feare, he went to hide himselfe in the most secret place he could finde, but certaine souldiers running vp and downe to take what they could finde, it chaunced that one of them found him, seeing his feetes: who to the end hee might know who he was, vncouered him, and knew him. And CLAVDIVS imagining himselfe to bee fought for to bee slaine, cast himselfe at the souldiers feetes, desiring him to saue his life: whereof the souldier assured him, & presently resolved to name him Emperor: who gathering together those which came with him, they all did the like: and taking him vpon their shoulders, they carried him in a litter to their Campe; where (trembling in great feare) he knew not to what issue this would come. But he was well intreated in the Campe, & the souldiers agreed to make him Emperor. The Consuls and Senate hearing he was carried to the Campe, in such manner as aforesaid, sent him requiring him by a tribune of the people, to come to the Senate, and there to treat of such matters as should bee for the common good. Whereunto he answered, that hee was there detained by force and could not come. It chaunced that at this time, HERODE AGRIPPA King of Iudea, was in Rome: whom (as is aboue said) CAIUS CALIGULA had restored to the Kingdom, which in right had belonged to his vncle ARCHELAVS, & to his grandfather HERODE, which slew the Innocents.

This

This HERODE shewing himselfe a newter, began to mediate an agreement betwene CLAVDIVS and the Senate, although that secretly he fauored CLAVDIVS, counselling him to be resolute, and not to submit himselfe to the Senate. One whole day and a night was spent without any resolution, during which time CLAVDIVS wauered betwene hope and feare: the next day the people began openly to demande an Emperor, and many abashed the Senate and Consuls; so as there followed much trouble (which IOSEPHVS noteth.) But at length, seeing that the succession in the Empire more rightly appertained to CLAVDIVS, then to any other, they all agreed to make him Emperour: and the Senate went vnto him, and the Cohorts tooke the oath, and did their accustomed homage, hee making many large promises; and so the Senate accepted and confirmed him. And thus he obtained the Empire of the world, who but a day before knew not where to find a place to hide himselfe, for the safety of his life.

When CLAVDIVS attained to the Empire, he was fiftie yeeres old, hauing euer liued poorly and little esteemed, notwithstanding that hee was neer of kinne to the Emperours, and had passed great daungers and perils, without any office or dignitie; hauing some few moneths the Consulship, wherein by CAIUS CALIGULA he was admitted for his companion. He was a man of a tall stature, neither fat nor lean, of a faire and pleasing countenance; and whether he ate or stood, he euer shewed a greatnes, representing maiestie: whereto his faire gray haire was a great ornament. He had so little strength in his knees as he went weakly, and as though he were carelesse. And when he was angry, he was so much alured therewith, as the teares would fall from his eyes, and he stammered in his speech, besides all which, his head did euer shake. He was a sickly man: but being once Emperor, he was cured of his infirmities, except the paine of the stomacke, which sometimes troubled him very much. He was learned both in the Greeke and Latin tongues, and wrote bookes and histories. He also tooke vpon him to adde three letters to the Latin Alphabet: but as a matter superfluous they continued nor.

CLAVDIVS is numbred among the bad Emperours, for his vices and the great cruelties which he committed, suffering himselfe to be gouerned by certaine enfranchised men which were his fauorites: yet he did many things befitting a wortheie Prince, which were profitable, as PAVLVS OROSIVS in some sort seemeth to defend his actions.

Beginning to take the gouernment vpon him, notwithstanding that there were diuers opinions, & many both attempted and spake much against him; The first thing he did, was to giue a generall pardon, and to commaund all things past to be buried in perpetuall silence and oblivion: yet for example, and to feare others to attempt the like, he commaunded iustice to be done on CHERBA the captaine of the conspirators & vpon some of the rest, who suffered death with great courage, and resolution, making mention of BRVVS and CASSIVS, who slew IVLIVS CÆSAR; CHERBA desiring that he might be slaine with the same sword wherewith he had slaine CALIGULA. CLAVDIVS shewed himselfe mercifull to all which had offended him, and were opposites in his election: and disannulled all the cruel edicts made by CALIGULA. He also commaunded to be deliuered out of prison, & to be released from banishment, all those which vniuilly, or for small causes did endure the same: among which he released from banishment CALIGULA'S sisters and neeces. And to HERODE AGRIPPA King of Iudea (in requital of the manes he vsed to aduance him to the Empire) he gaue the Tetrarchie of Galile, which CAIUS CALIGULA had taken from his vncle HERODE ANTIPAS, who had put S. Iohn Baptist to death, and was an actor in the death of our Saviour. This HERODE AGRIPPA was of great state, and honoured in Ierusalem: where putting S. IAMES to death, and persecuting the Apostles and Primitive Church, he was stricken by the Angell of God, and died as S. LUKES reciteth in the Acts of the Apostles. And of these three HERODES died an euill death. Of this AGRIPPA, & his vncle HERODE Tetrarcha, called ANTIPAS (who put Saint Iohn to death, and in whose time our Saviour died; and the other HERODE the great, who slew the Innocents, in whose time CHRIST was borne) I haue twice made mention, because the HERODES commonly breed a confusion in reading of the Scriptures, not distinguishing the one from the other.

Returning to the Emperor CLAVDIVS (I say) that touching the ceremonies, names and titles, which for honour the Romanes were wont to giue to their Emperours, he shewed himselfe very discreet and temperate, & would not accept of many of them: and forbod vpon great penalties, that none should do sacrifice to him, as they had done to CAIUS CALIGULA: and so in the beginning of his Empire, he did these and such like as a good Prince. Among which, one was, that he had an especial care that Rome should be continually well provided of

F 4.

wheat

Clavdivs of-
feth by Herode
de Agrippa.

Lib. 19. c. 30j

Clavdivs his
gillure and so-
dity disposi-
tion.

Clavdivs was
learned in the
Greeke and
Latintongue.

Cherba did
courageously.

Herode Anti-
pas which put
S. Iohn Baptis-
t to death,
died miserably
in exile at Lo-
m in France.
Herode Agri-
ppa a great
persecutor of
the Gospell, was
stricken by the
Angell of God.
Chap. i. c. 1.
Three Herodes.
Herode Alca-
lontra was he
which murde-
red the Inno-
cents, & died of
death naturall.

The Senate
sought to re-
duce the citie
to her ancient
liberty.

The common
people and men
of warre would
haue an Empe-
ror.

The wonderfull
buildings of
Claudius.

Plin. lib. 36.
cap. 15.

wheat and graine, warranting the Merchants against all dangers and pirats by Sea : and here-
in (although afterwards he committed many errors) he was ever diligent and carefull during
his life. CLAVDIVS was also a great lover of sumptuous buildings : among which there were
three so proud and stately, that it seemeth they excelled the most of all that ever were in the
world ; and for such, PLINVS, SVETONIVS, and most authors doe account them. The
one was a marvellous Conduit or Aqueduct of water, which after his name was called *Claudia*,
with which none of the Conduits in *Rome* could compare, either for abundance of water, or
for cost and excellencie of the workmanship : for it was brought fortie miles from *Rome*, by
mines and passages thorough mountains ; and in low valleys, by erecting most high Arches of
a wonderful charge ; and so was it caried & mounted to the top of the highest hills in *Rome*. The
other worke was a Hauens of the Sea made by hand, in the citie of *Osia*, the which was capable
of a great number of ships, made in the firm land ; and afterwards he let the Sea into it (as *Dion*
reporteth) hauing first fortified and made firme the bottome thereof : in truth a marvellous
worke, and such as his posteritie and those which succeeded him werenot able to maintaine.
His third worke (although lesse profitable, yet most costly of all the rest ;) was to drein and
laie drie a great Lake called *Fucinus*, in the countrey of the *Marsi*, a people negre to *Rome*,
which was the greatest Lake in all *Italie* : the which he did (as some say) to bring that water into
the River of *Tiber*, to make it greater with the current thereof, and to driue vp and lay open the
fields, which that water couered, to the end they might be tilled. Which to effect, among other
difficulties and infinit toile, he mined through a very high mountaine of flint, three miles in
length ; a worke which seemed impossible, being (as I said) a mine thorough a rock. Finally,
how great and admirable this worke was, may appear by the time which it continued, and the
labourers which wrought therein, which (as some authors affirme) were 30000 men, which
laboured eleuen yeeres without ceasing ; a matter which seemeth incredible : so as besides the rest,
if *EVSEBIVS* (a most Christian and true author) had not written it, I durst not report nor
beleue it. What end this worke and labour had, shall be related in his place : for (as I sayd)
although it began in the beginning of his reigne, it was ended eleuen yeeres after. I also forbear
to speake of other his buildings, which although they were excellent, yet not comparable to
the above named.

A wonderfull
worke.

Hauing begun and continued these workes, he was not carelesse for the reformation of euill
customes and abuses within *Rome*, and abroad, and in some other matters : wherein if he had per-
seuered, he had bin worthily held for an excellent Prince. But afterwards by reason of his great
liberty, and wickednes of his favorites and such as were inward with him, (by whom he was
much overruled) he became so dissolute, that it defaced and stained all his former actions, as
hereafter shall be declared. Besides that which is already spoken, this made the beginning of
his reigne the more famous, that in the first, second or third yeeres thereof (as *EVSEBIVS*,
PAVLVS OROSIVS, *BEDA*, and *S. ISIDORE* report) *S. PETER* the Apostle came
to *Rome*, and there seated himselfe, after he had preached in diuers parts, but principally had re-
mained in *Antioch* eleuen yeeres : and being come thither, remained there twentie five yeeres,
vntill the end of the Emperour *Nerva*, as shall be specified : they also affirme, that with *S. PETER*
came the Euangelist *S. MARK*, and being by him informed, and enspired with the holie
Ghost, he wrote the Gospell, by whose direction he returned to preach *CHRIST* in *Alexan-
dria*, of whom, and of the other holie Apostles and Disciples of *CHRIST*, of their miracles,
martyrdomes, & what success they had, I make little mention, because (as I haue said) in a pro-
phane historie, as this is, I hold it not fit to insert diuine and holy matters, although that in briefe
there shall be mention made of that which shall be most conuenient for the light of this historie
and the general good.

To returne to our discourse of CLAVDIVS, it passed in this manner, that in the fourth
yeer of his reigne, notwithstanding that the Emperors power was then so great and so much re-
doubted, as no Nation of the world durst beare armes against him : yet the inhabitants of the
Iland of *Britaine*, which *IULIVS CÆSAR* had subdued, did boldly rise in armes, and denie
their obedience and vassalage : which the Emperour CLAVDIVS tooke to ill, as he resolved
in person to vnderake the enterprize to subdue and pacifie them. For which action (besides the
ordinarie legions) he assembled a great Naue by Sea, and a great armie by land ; and purposing
to goe by Sea, he embarked the same in the Port of *Osia*, notwithstanding that the passage was
farre about : but in the beginning of his voyage he was so ouertaken with a tempest, as he was in
daunger to haue been cast away. Wherefore he disembarked his forces in the citie of *Marselles*
in

The Emperour
Claudius his
conquering into
England.

The Brittaines
rebelled against
Claudius.

in *France*, and altering his determination, crossed through *France*, & shipping himself againe night
ouer against *England*, he passed into the Iland with fo great a power, that he easily pacified all :
yet (as *DION* testifieth) he came to a battaile with the Brittaines, wherein he ouercame them. But
the common opinion is as I say, and so doth *GILLES*, an ancient true English Historiographer
of 960. yeeres continuance, record. The journey into *Britannie* being ended to his content, he
sent his Nauy into the Ilands called *Orades*, which lie to the North of *Scotland*, & are now subiect
to the King of great *Britanny*, which within few daies he subdued & made subiect to the Empire :
which vntill that time were vnknowne to the Romanes, as *EVSEBIVS* and *OROSIVS* record.
Hauing performed all these things in the space of fixe months, he returned towards *Rome*, where
he entred triumphing with the greatest solemnitie that could be, & to him was giuen the name of
BRITANNICVS, for subduing the Ile of *Britanny*. To the solemnity of this triumph, *SVETONIVS*
TRANQVILLVS reporteth, that he not only suffered the Governours & Prefects of prouin-
ces to come to *Rome*, but also he releast many others who liued in exile, from their banishment.

For this victorie, he caused a crowne newall to be made, which was vfed to be giuen for victo-
ries by sea, which crowne was of gold wrought with the prowes of gallies and ships, and placed
ouer the gate of the imperiall palace, hard by that which ordinarily did stand there made of
oken boughs, called *Cuius* ; and for the same reason he commanded that a sonne of his, which
hee had by his wife *MESSALINA*, whose name was *GERMANICVS*, should be called
BRITANNICVS : And in this triumph he began to honor with armes & other fauours some
of his libertines, which had been slaues and were enfranchised and set at libertie, and did them
so great honor, as men began to murmur against him, and thereby he made himselfe ill beloued.
For they committed many insolencies and wrongs, by means of their great riches and autho-
ritie : of which the chiefeft and most spoken of, were fixe or seauen, one named *DIONONVS*,
to whom he gaue for his armes, the triumph afore said ; another, whose name was *FELIX*, he
made gouernour and prefect of *Iudea*, *Samarita*, and *Gallie*, by means of the death of *HERODVS*
AGRIPPA, before which *FELIX* we read in the acts of the Apostles that *Saint PAUL*
was brought prisoner. Another called *CALIXTVS*, of whom *PLINY*, *SENECA*, and
CONELIVS TACITVS make mention. Another was *POLYBIVS*, who was a learned man,
whom *CLAVDIVS* himselfe held for his companion, and as it were maister of his studies, to
whom *SENECA* wrote a consolatorie epistle for the death of his brother. Another named
NARCISVS, whom hee made his Secretarie, whom *SVETONIVS* preferreth before all the
rest. Another was *PALANTE*, a man also very famous : to all which he did such fauours and
gaue so excessive gifts, as they attained to such riches, that *CLAVDIVS* vpon a time complain-
ing that his treasure & exchequer was poore, he was answered, That it would be rich enough,
if his freed men *NARCISVS* and *PALANTE* would accompany him, and share with him
in their trade and stocke. Within short space he made himselfe so subiect, and was so much
overruled by these Libertines, and his adulterous and dishonest wife *MESSALINA*, to whom
he was now married (after other wiues which he had had) that by their directions and counsels
he committed many disorders, follies and wrongs, more like their slaue and subiect, then their
Prince and Soueraigne, and suffered others to commit the like ; pardoning such grievous offen-
ces and committing such cruelties, as it would be long and displeasing to right them all. But by
that which he committed against his owne bloud, which I will declare, the rest may be con-
iectured which I passe in silence. One of the first and most notable, was the death of *APPIVS*
SILANVS a worthy noble Roman, who sometimes had been gouernour of *Spain*, and mar-
ried with his owne mother in law, whose death was plotted by his wife *MESSALINA*, and his
enfranchised *NARCISVS*. *DION* writeth, that hauing no cause whereof to accuse him,
it sufficed to commaund him to be slaue, for that *NARCISVS* in a morning came into *CLAV-
DIVS* chamber before he was vp, faining great haste and feare, perswading him to stand vpon
his guard, and to take heed of *APPIVS SILANVS* : for he dreamt that night he was slaue ;
and that *SILANVS* onely had killed him. The Emperour well pleased with the matter, went
to the Senate, acquainting the Senators therewith ; much commending & extolling the loyal-
tie of *NARCISVS*, that he euen sleeping had care of his life and health. After *SILANVS*,
he also put to death his two sonnes in law, *LVCIVS SILANVS* and *POMPEY*, and two of
his owne neeces called *LIVIA*, one of which was the daughter of *DRVSVS*, and the other of
GERMANICVS ; no man knowing any cause wherefore he did it, nor admitting their defence.
And so were a great number of others put to death, all by the counsell and practice of *MESSA-
LINA* and his freed men ; who bare such sway in the gouernment and counsell of estate, as they
sold

A Crowne
newall.

The strange
crueltie of
Claudius.

fold offices, Captainships & dignities; and that which was worse, tooke money for absolutions, penalties, punishments and banishments: finally, all was to be sold for money. And the most part hereof was put in practice, (as some authors affirme) without the prudence of CLAVDIVS, or being acquainted therewith; so great was their power and authority. And in the like manner did hee put some to death, being abused, to please and content these his favorites; so subiect was he to be governed by them.

By means of the great disorders, murders, and grievances, which CLAVDIVS by the counsel and practice of his libertines and his wife MESSALINA committed, he made himselfe to be hated of many, and principally of the better sort; so as some practised his death, and conspired against him: although that for his other good deeds, before repeated, hee was beloved and much esteemed of others. But as those which hated him were more, and boulder in courage; so they feared not to practise his death which they wished him, chiefly two Romane Knights resolved to kill him, and STACIUS CORVINVS and GALLVS ASINIVS, two principal Romanes conspired against him. But the one and the other, being discovered, it was brought to light, and he prevented the danger by executing new cruelties upon the said parties; and upon such as had consented & participated with them: and seeing himselfe freed from this danger, he continued in his evill purposes and cruell courses. In like manner the hanged encasing against him, it happened that FVRIVS CAMILLVS SCRIBONIANVS, who was Lieutenant, and Governor of *Dalmatia* (incited by many principal men of *Rome*) openly rebelled against him: and the legions of that Province consenting with him, he called himselfe Emperour. This put CLAVDIVS into such a feare and amazement, as hee was much dejected and base minded: and as sinne and an evill conscience is one of the chiefest causes that maketh men cowardly and fearefull, hee was so daunted, that CAMILLVS (who rebelled) writing vnto him, and perswading him to leave the Empire and to live private, he remained doubtfull what to do, and caused certaine principal men to consult thereof: So as if the matter had gone forwards, it seemeth that he would haue had small courage to haue defended the Empire. But as CAMILLVS had no more right thereto; then he, & as his purpose was not to redresse the Empire and reforme the evils committed by CLAVDIVS, but to make himselfe lord & tyrant, and peradventure do as ill or worse, God would not suffer it to take effect according to his desire: for it happened that the same legions which had raised & chosen him, repenting of what they had done, the fifth day after flue him, some Authors, (among which are SVETONIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS) report, that herein hapned a strange accident: for the Ensigne-bearers coming to giue their oath and obedience to the new Emperour by his commandement, were not able to remove the Ensignes with the Eagles from the place where they were set; so as moved by this prodigious spectacle, they all concluded to submit themselves to CLAVDIVS deuotion, and to stay CAMILLVS. And so was CLAVDIVS deliuered from this danger, but not from feare and jealousy, but liued ever after in continuall disquiet and feare; inasmuch as being one day in the temple offering his sacrifices (as then was the custome) and by chance finding a sword, which some man peradventure without any ill intent had brought thither, and there forgotten it, he as a man which knew that he had deserved death, fearing all men, thinking that it was brought thither to effect some treason against him, was in such a perplexitie and feare, as presently in great haste he commanded the Senate to be assembled; and with teares in his eyes, he complained vnto them, publishing himselfe to be a man of most miserable condition and unhappie, and that he was at no time nor in any place assured, but in danger; and so held himselfe many dayes retired, and came not abroad.

By means of these things which were attempted against CLAVDIVS, MESSALINA his wife and her favorites and confederates, tooke occasion to put many men to death, and to confiscate their goodes, using other cruelties to all manner of people, alledging that they were guilty of the conspiracies aforesayd, or of some of them; and this in a most wicked manner: for many vpon suspicion without any tryall or prooffe, were condemned and put to death; and to the contrary, others which were guiltie, by bribes and gifts were freed: wherein although that for the most part CLAVDIVS was abused by those he most trusted, yet the blame was layd vpon him, and the world hated him for it. For besides the remisse forgetfulness which he had of all things, and the trust which he reposed in such wicked people, he shewed himselfe cruell and bloodie; for oftentimes he would be present when torments were inflicted, and at the execution of these cruelties: a thing vnworthy of the state & dignitie which he held. He would sometimes also sodainly be in such a rage, as hee seemed to be out of his wits: and so SVETONIUS

Furius Camillus rebelled against Claudius.

Furius Camillus flayed by the Legions.

The wickedness of Messalina.

NIUS accounteth his furie for follie and madnes, notwithstanding that CORNELIUS TACITVS writeth of him, that he was naturallie inclined to pitie and clemencie: so as in truth it is a strange thing to consider of the contrarietie of this mans minde. After all this (as I OSEPHVS, EVSEBIUS, and SVETONIUS affirme) in the ninth year of his reigne, he commanded all the Iewes to be cast out of *Rome*, whereof Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles; and PAVLVS OROSIUS writing the same, maketh a doubt whether they were cast out for their discord with the Christians, or whether the Christians were expelled in the like manner: for SVETONIUS saith, that they were cast out for that there was some tumult about the Christian religion. The next year following there was a most grievous famine in *Rome*, and almost generally in all the world; whereof besides other Authors, Saint Luke maketh mention in the Acts of the Apostles.

CLAVDIVS hauing now reigned nine or tenne yeares, & matters passing there in such manner, as I haue said; yet the state and greatnes of the Romane Empire was not empaiied in his dayes (for hereof it seemeth both he and those which gouerned were careful) but it defended, and in part enlarged it selfe: For besides the pacifying of the Ile of *Britanny*, *Mauritania* also in his time rebelling (which is a Prouince in *Africa*, where there reigned Kings, friends and confederates with the people of *Rome*), he made warres there by his Captaines SVETONIUS PAVLINVS, & GNEVS STIDIVS GETA, as DION witnesseth. Those countries were subdued and diuided into two tributary Prouinces: the one was called *Mauritania Caesariensis*, which for the most part is this day the kingdome of *Fez*, but it extended it selfe so farre as *Argiers*, *Tunes*, and *Oran*; and the other *Mauritania Tingitana*, which is much of that which we call *Morocco*, and *Barbaria*, and the coast of *Zale* and *Azamor*, euen vnto *Arzil* and *Tanzar*. At that time the Prouince of *Numidia* was infested by certaine barbarous Africans, which were overcome by the ordinarie legions. In like manner the Imperiall authoritie was vpheld in the Prouinces of the East, CLAVDIVS placing therein Kings & Tetrarches at his pleasure; as DION recordeth. But besides all this, in all parts (as well as in *Rome*) they indured great vexations and oppressions, and the disorders which his favorites and libertines committed, and commanded to be committed were very great: of the greatest part whereof his wife was the chiefe instrument, who was so incontinent and dishonest, as she was not only a common aduresser, but she also procured and brought many others to be so: and she her selfe would play, and euen enforce men, and was of such credit with her husband the Emperour, and had such power ouer him, as no man durst make it knowne, or giue him intelligence thereof.

The dishonestie of this woman mounted to so high a pitch, that iudging (as it seemed) open adulterie to be but a light sinne, she deuised a wickednes neuer heard nor thought of before in such manner as she did it, which was to be married with another, euen as she was to the Emperour; and putting it in effect, CLAVDIVS being gone forth of *Rome* to *Osia* to doe certaine sacrifices, she married in forme and with the solemnities accustomed, with a Romane, whose name was CALVS SILIUS; whom they affirme to haue been the fairest and properest young man of his time.

The loue which CLAVDIVS bare to MESSALINA was so great, and the power she had ouer him such, as she thought that this might also passe in silence, or that he should dissemble it as he had done many other great abuses. But it now pleased God that she should receive punishment for all her misdeedes, as he oftentimes permitteth wicked men after some great sinnes, to commit other greater, to the end at once to be punished for all. And it was so, that his great friend and favorite NARCISSVS, a libertine before named, discouered this infamous act of CLAVDIVS, with a multitude of other villanies committed by her: who awaking in some sort out of his drowsie slumber and forgetfulness, notwithstanding that this action had put him in great feare; yet after that he was well informed of the truth, he came to *Rome*, finding first before him LVCIUS GETA, who was captaine of the pretorian Cohorts, to confirme them in his seruice; and being arrived, he caused his wife MESSALINA to be apprehended, and many others which were guiltie of this action: and by the diligent industrie of NARCISSVS iustice was done both vpon her and them. And so they were put to death by his direction before that CLAVDIVS commanded the same, notwithstanding that he had so resolutely feared that she with her counterfeite flatterings would so mollifie the heart of CLAVDIVS, as she might obtaine pardon, or that of himselfe he would alter his resolution, whereof he made some shew, as CORNELIUS TACITVS reporteth. It is a marvellous thing to thinke of the neglect and forgetfulness of this CLAVDIVS: for although they came and told him that MESSA-

A general famine.

The two Mauritaniae made tributary Prouinces.

Mauritania Caesariensis, the kingdome of Fez; Mauritania Tingitana, the kingdome of Morocco.

Messalina married with Calpurnius Silius during the life of Claudius.

The death of Messalina.

Claudius mar-
ries his daughter
Octavia.

LINA was dead, he neuer spake word, neither asked by whom, nor how she died; neither then nor after that time seemed he to rejoyce or to be sorrowfull for it; neither spake word good nor bad. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS addeth another thing to this forgetfulness, which seemeth incredible (but he and others of great authority affirme the same) which is, that the next day after that MESSALINA was put to death, sitting downe at the table to eate, he asked how it chanced that MESSALINA came not to dinner? The like hapned at other times concerning those which he had condemned and commanded to be slain, that hauing put them to death one day, the next day he was so forgetfull, as he hath sent for them and called them to his counsell, and others to come to play with him, as they had vsed to doe.

The Emperor CLAVDIVS remaining a widower after the death of his wife MESSALINA, by whom he had one son called first GERMANICVS, & afterward BRITANNICVS, and one daughter whose name was OCTAVIA, hee resolved and gave it out that he would marry no more, for that hee had bene very unfortunate in his wives: and therefore now in his old age hee would not try any more hazards; wherein he spake the truth: for in his youth he had bene twice married, first with EMLIA LEPIDA, who was great grandchild to the Emperor OCTAVIANVS AVGVSTVS; and the second time, with LIVIA MEDVLLINA CAMILLA, of the ancient lineage of the CAMILLI: the first wife, before his marriage tooke effect, hee put away; and the second died of an infirmite the same day which was appointed for their wedding: and afterwards he married with PLETTINA HERCVLANA, whom, after that he had by her one sonne named DRVVS (who died a child) hee forsooke, as dishonest and an adulteresse: and married the fourth time with ELIA PETINA, of the familie of the TVBBRONES, from whom, for some causes and discontents he was also divorced, notwithstanding that he had by her one daughter called ANTONIA. All these marriages he had before hee was Emperour; and when hee tooke upon him the Empire, hee was married to MESSALINA, whose death wee now made an end to relate: and although (as I said) that hee remained a widower, and had protested that he would marry no more, adding thereto that if he did, he gave them leave to kill him: yet afterwards forgetting himselfe (as in former time, of other matters) by the counsell of his libertine and favourite PALANTE, hee lastly married with IVLIA AGRIPPINA, who was exceeding beautifull, being his Niece, and daughter to his brother GERMANICVS, who was the widow of DOMICIVS NERO ENOBARVS, by whom she had a sonne named DOMICIVS NERO, as his father. And for that the marriage with his Niece within this degree of consanguinitie was prohibited and detestable among the Romans, he procured that a law should be made whereby it should be lawfull: and his new wife tooke such order with her old husband and uncle, that within few daies after that she was married, he obtained of him that he should marrie his daughter OCTAVIA, with her sonne DOMICIVS NERO; and that he should adopt him and make him his sonne, preferring him before his owne sonne BRITANNICVS; and that in stead of DOMICIVS NERO he should be called CLAVDIVS NERO, which was performed accordingly. And not content therewith, she procured the death of certaine Romane Ladies, which had bene her rivals for her marriage with CLAVDIVS (notwithstanding that they were favoured by NARCISSVS and CALIGVS, his freed men) the better to maintaine her greatness.

Having in this time finished that great worke of undermining the mountaines, & making those great Caves and Mines to draw the water out of the lake FUCINVS, wherein (as I said) thirtie thousand men had wrought eleven yeares: the Emperor CLAVDIVS decreed, that in memorie thereof, there should be in the same Lake a Naval battaile before that the water should bee let out, which did so much resemble a battaile in earnest, as therein were 24 Gallies, which were built there hard by for that purpose (DION writes there were fifty) which is not very unlikely; considering, the number therein, which, as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth, were 19000 men; many of which were slaves, or men condemned to death or banishment; the Emperour promising those which should preuaile and vanquish, life and liberty, and so they were commanded to fight to the vttermost: and to that purpose the Gallies and men were diuided into equall battailions; and their apparell, ensignes, banners, flagges and streamers were of diuers colours: the one part of them were called Sicilians, and the other Rhodians, as though the warres had been between Sicillia and Rhodes. To see this spectacle, there came an infinite number of people from all parts of Italy, and from out of Italy, which covered all the hills and mountaines neere to the sayd Lake, and the banks thereof. CLAVDIVS with his wife AGRIPPINA, and NERO CLAVDIVS his adopted sonne and Nephew were most richly attired in

in gold, stone and pearle: and so the battaile began, and was maintained betwene them most cruel and bloodie, the poore men endeavouring of either part to haue the victorie, thereby to win life, libertie and honour: and so it was obitainely fought & continued a great part of the day, the one killing and wounding the other; and most miserably vntill at last the one part ouercame the other; and so was ended that most cruell and horrible sport. Which being ended, presently the next day CLAVDIVS commanded the passage of the Lake to be opened: and the water beginning to issue out, it brake forth with so great force and vehemencie, as it seemed that the earth would haue sunk; & it was so violent, as it did much harme in all the borders thereabout, and in like manner great was the feare and amazement of CLAVDIVS and his wife AGRIPPINA, who were there by, notwithstanding that they were ypon sure ground & in safety. This was the end of this costly vanitie.

These things being past in such sort as we haue written, AGRIPPINA seeing herselfe much made of, & beloued by the Emperour CLAVDIVS, being growing proud of the power and fauour wherein she saw herselfe (which are two things which few men can enjoy and vse moderately) she became so proud, haughty & ambitious (following the footsteps of MESSALINA) as she would command alone and beare all the sway in euery thing: whereupon the presently grew to be hated and enuied by some of CLAVDIVS his fauourites, yea and by himselfe; so as he began to be sorrie that euer he married her, or that euer he adopted his sonne in law NERO. Which AGRIPPINA soone discovered, as well for that he began to make much of his young son BRITANNICVS, as for words which he spake to the same effect: for vpon a day he said, That it was true he had euer beene unfortunate in his wives; but none of them had escaped unpunished: with other speeches to the same effect. Whereat AGRIPPINA grew into such feare and suspicion, as to assure her owne life, and the succession to her sonne, she determined to procure her husbands death by poyson, and there wanted no ministers nor meanes to accomplish the same. For although that Historiographers agree not herein, yet they all concurre that poyson was giuen him, such as killed him: & the most part write, that it was in Conshump, which was a meate he vsed to eat with great appetite.

It was the iust iudgement of God that CLAVDIVS should die by eating: for he was so gluttonous and insatiable in eating and drinking (among his other vices) as hee thought no time nor place sufficient thereto, and did euer eate so immoderately, that most commonly surfeiting, he vsed vomits to discharge his stomacke, putting a feather into his throat, a remedy which some gluttonous men doe vse, eating vpon assurance thereof, and carrying themselves more filthily, then if they felt sicke. In which feather some authors affirme that the poyson was giuen him. He died in the sixth & fiftith yeer after the birth of CHRISY our Saviour, in the 14. yeere of his raigne, and the 74. of his age, the 13. day of October about the breake of day, and his wife AGRIPPINA concealed his death the most part of that day: and pretending that he mended, she caused certaine vowes to be made for his health, vntill she had confirmed the Empire to her sonne NERO, according to his adoption, which (seeing they then thought CLAVDIVS to be liuing) was no hard matter to be effected.

In the time of this Emperour CLAVDIVS the Christian faith was preached, and did much preuaile in the world, the Apostle S. PAVL then preaching in Rome from the beginning of his raigne, although with great contradiction and difficultie. There happened also in his time a thing which all authors affirme, and chiefly EYSEBIVS, to be very straunge and wonderfull, which was, that betwene the Ile Thersa and Thersia in the Aegean Sea, there was discovered a new Island of three hundred furlongs in length, where before was nothing but water of an ordinarie depth, and no signe of any Island.

A wonderfull
passime, his
cruell.

The Emperour
Claudius poy-
soned by his
wife Agrippi-
na.

A new Island
in the sea.



THE LIFE AND ACTS OF THE EMPEROUR NERO, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIXTH ROMAN

EMPEROUR.

THE ARGUMENT.



Claudius being dead and his death published, the Senate and people of Rome were sensible to Nero: who by the practise and cunning of his mother Agrippina, was made Emperour. This man for the first five yeeres carried himselfe so well, as all men sayd that a God was sent from heauen to gouerne Rome, notwithstanding that his mother of much cruelty, who ruled the Empire a long time. Nero afterwards growing in yeeres, and beginning to bee disobedient to his mother, grew also in vices, and began to walke abroad by night alone, and to hurt such as he met, whereby he was in some danger, and escaped not un wounded. In his youth he dearly loved an enfranchised woman called Acta, and loved Poppea Sabina, wife to his great friend Otho, whom in the end he obtained and enjoyed. And for that his mother feared her lecherous contrarie to his humors, he became odious to

her: but to recover his former fauour againe, he made great semblance to bee in loue with him, so as it was thought that he had bene vncle of her bodie: but she growing every day more odious, in the end (supposing certaine apparant signes of treason) he caused her to be slaine. After her death, he wholly let slip therein to all shame and intemperate, by which example the people of Rome were also corrupted, and openly practised the like disobedience. He overcame the Parthians, and subdued the Brittaines: after which victories, giving his minde to cruelty, amongst many others, he put his mother Seneca to death, having (besides his wife Octavia) married Poppea Sabina, which he before held for his wife: in the end he made the one to be slaine, and the other he killed himselfe. He caused a young youth named Sporus to be seduced, and publicly married him: And amongst his other infamous practices, in the end he set Rome on fire, and stood with great pleasure to behold it burne. He built so huge a Palace, as it contained a very great part of the citie of Rome, and toke upon him to alter the name of the citie, and called it Neroniana. He so cruelly persecuted the Christians, that besides S. Peter and S. Paul, he put an infinite number of others to death. Under this Emperour, began the warre against the Iewes. Finally growing intolerable, and odious to God & man, first he understood of the rebellion of many nations: & perceiving the enemy to draw neere, and the sentence of the Senate pronounced against him to be apprehended, he was in such feare, that flying secretly from Rome, he was constrained miserably to kill himselfe. He lived 32. yeeres, and was Emperour 14. of whose death so great griefe to his country, so Rome, and to the whole world, as they clad them selves in ioyfull garments in stead of mourning: and in him ended the line of the Caesars.



Such a successor had the Emperour CLAUDIUS, as hee deserved and made choise of; and this was NERO, the most famous man for cruelty that euer was: for although that otherwise he he was very wicked, yet in cruelty he exceeded all measure, as you shall neuer heare any man pronounce NERO, but you shall also heare an addition thereto of Cruell, notwithstanding that he had the most wise and vertuous Schoolmaster of his time, which was SENeca, of whom in his youth he learned the liberal Sciences, wanting no capacitie; whose counsell & precepts were of force, for a time, to suppress his bad inclination, and were the occasion that in the beginning of his reign, he performed many parts of a good Prince, in such sort as

TRAIAN (as many write of him) afterwards said, that for the first five yeeres, NERO was peerelesse. But after that time, setting all shame aside, occasions

vvith

with his power and libertie encreasing, he did things which did so much staine and blemish his good deeds past, as there remained no signe or spark of any goodnes in him. Yet there wanted not some authors, who in part to excuse his actions affirme, that of enuie and malice writers made his vices and faults seeme so odious, among which was Iosephvs in his booke of Antiquities; after that he himselfe had laid open many of his cruelties and parricides. I will write what I shall finde written by most approved authors, & in the order and progreffe of things and time will follow CORNELIUS TACITVS, who in my opinion excelleth the rest. CLAUDIUS being dead, through the treason of his wife AGRIPPINA, as wee haue mentioned, after that she had by her authoritic and cunning gotten the peoples good will, and taken away all occasions that might hinder her sonne in attaining to the Empire, she published his death, which vntill then he had commaunded to be concealed. At which time NERO came forth of the Imperiall Palace, accompanied with BERRYS, the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, who was very priuate with AGRIPPINA, and also had the command of that Cohort which had the ordinarie guard of the Palace, and proclaiming him Emperour, they carried him to the Campe, where by all the Cohorts, he was ioyfully receiued: and hauing made a speech, and promising great donatiues to the fouldiers, he was by them presently carried backe to the Senat, where all the Senators, conforming themselves to the will of the men of warre, obeyed and receiued him for Emperour with the ordinarie and accustomed solemnities, giuing him names and titles of great maieltie: among which, he refused the name of *Pater patriæ*, because he was of opinion that that title agreed not with his yong yeeres, being then but seuentene yeeres old. And so NERO obtained the Empire, which he ought not to haue had; and there wanted not some which murmured, that an adopted son should be preferred before a legitimate and naturall son; and would haue had GERMANICVS called also BRITANNICVS, and not him: But these men were not of power to withstand him: for as he was obiect in Rome, so was he in like manner in all the provinces of the Empire. Hethen presently commanded the obliques of CLAUDIUS to be solemnized, (as the custome was) with great pompe; and according to the superstitions of that time, they canonized him among the gods.

Great was the ioy wherewith NERO began his reign, aswell for the discontentment of the government past, as for that change and innovations are euer pleasing, and deliue commonly bringeth good hopes, which were confirmed by his outward shew and apperances in the beginning. First he promised to gouerne according to the rules and institutions of ALEXANDER CÆSAR, and began both in word and deede to shew himselfe, or (to say better) to shew himselfe, to be liberal, pitifull, iust, milde, and tractable; doing fauours, and moderating the impositions and tributes of the prouinces, diuiding amongst the people of Rome, and the pretorian fouldiers, a huge sum of money and corne, bestowing other donatiues vpon them: and to the Senators which were poore, he assigned pensions out of his exchequer; vsing all men with such humanitie and courtesie, as it seemed there was no reason to feare any thing of that which afterwards ensued. He likewise shewed great clemencie & pitie, in the execution of iustice and punishments; so as one day, a warrant being brought to him to signe, for the putting of one to death; he making shew to beverie sorrie for it, said, I would to God that I could not write: which words as though they had proceeded from a pitifull inclination; his maister SENeca doth highly praise and exol. He entertained in like manner all men louingly and friendly, and in his disposals and exercises, he permitted any to be present: so as it seemed that God had sent them such a prince as they desired. And aboute all in the beginning of his reign, he honored & bare great respect to his mother, and gaue her greater power and command in the gouernment; then indeede he ought or was fit: for the truth is, she was a cruell woman, proude and haughtie: who through the counsell of PALANTE (one of CLAUDIUS enfranchised men before named) without the consent of NERO, she caused IONIVS SELANVS Proconsul in *Asia*, to be slaine, for the hatred he bare him; the like she did by NARCISVS another famous Libertine, whom she also greatly hated. And her cruelty had extended further, but that SENeca and the Prefect BERRYS, and another eminent man whose name was FRANTIVS (by whom NERO in the beginning of his reign was much ruled) did oppose & crosse AGRIPPINA in her wicked practices, as farre as in them lay: but she had such authoritie in all causes, and ouer them which had the managing thereof, as it could hardly be done, as long as she continued in good grace with her sonne.

The state standing in these rearmes, newes came to Rome, that VOTOORVS King of the Parthians leied forces to make war against the Empire, practising to make his brother King of

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Armenia,

1410.

During the Reign of the Pretorian Cohorts.

Nero was Emperour at seuentene yeeres of age.

The countries first victims of Nero.

In his second booke of elements.

Agrippina caused Silanus and Narcissus to be slaine through the counsell of Palante.

Warres with the King of the Parthians.

Nero in his first five yeeres was a good Emperour.

Peace with the
Parthians.

Calpurnia and
Claudius Phre-
nicus, Nero
his favourites.

The death of
Britannicus.

Open contention
between Nero
and his mother
Agrippina.

Armenia, in which province from the time of *AVGVSTVS CÆSAR*, the Romans had authority to place Kings at their pleasure: so as vpon this occasion the warres began in the second yeere of the reigne of the Emperor *NERO*; who sent *VINIDIVS* with new legions thither, beside the ordinarie legions which were in *Asia*, vnder the command of *DOMITIVS CORBVLVS*. But the war was then continued but a while; for a peace was concluded, *VOLOGESVS* desisting from his attempts & giuing certain principall men in pledge for the keeping thereof, which we commonly call hostages. About this time began *NERO* to shew himselfe somewhat alienated from his mother, and desirous to abate her great power and authority, beginning to shew her lesse obedience then formerly he had done: for he then fell in loue with a base enfranchised woman (but she was very faire) whose name was *ACTA*; notwithstanding that his wife *OCTAVIA* was verie faire and a vertuous ladie. And herein to haue his will, against the will and liking of his mother (who sought to crosse him in his loue, to the end that he should not be free from her power) he began to take into his fauor *OTHO* a Noble man, of whose family there had bin Consuls, and *CLAVDIVS PHENICVS*, the sonne of one of the most powerful enfranchised men in *Rome*; and these wrought means for him to obtaine his beloued *ACTA*, which opened a passage to many other accidents which followed, whereby he began to be disobedient to his mother, who had so great power ouer him and all others: And he commaunded the enfranchised *PALANTIA*, (who was a great fauorite of hers) to be depofed from all government in the Imperiall estate.

AGRIPPINA seeing this, she attempted by al means possible, to recouer the grace which she had lost with her son: sometimes by giuing him counsell; at other times by entreaties and flatteries, accompanied with threatnings and feares: among which one was to do great honor, and to bestow many fauours vpon *BRITANNICVS*, who was the Emperor *CLAVDIVS* his son, and then about 14. yeeres old: imagining that through feare and suspition of this man, *NERO* would returne to her obedience: but his wicked minde freed him not from that danger, by those means which she conceived, for he deliuered himselfe thereof, by giuing him poison, whereof the poore *BRITANNICVS* died. Whereat *AGRIPPINA* was much amazed: but being either vnable or unwilling to suppress her pride, she persseuered in this controuersie with her son, and presumed to contend with him (although vpon unequall termes). Whereupon *NERO* setting all shame and respect apart, commaunded her guard of Germanes to be taken from her, and she to be lodged out of the palace, doing her other open disgraces, forbidding certaine persons to haue recourse vnto her, or to visit her: and he himselfe went very seldom to see her, and that very coldly, and with little respect. And being thus out of fauour (as few keepe true friendship with such as are dejected and in disgrace) the most of her friends forsooke her: and one great Matrone whose name was *LIVIA SILLANA*, vpon a priuate grudge (producing false witness) wrongfully accused her to haue conspired against her son the Emperor, and that she practiced to haue made *RVBELIVS PLEAVTVS*, Emperor, who by his mother descended from the Emperor *AVGVSTVS CÆSAR*. And the matter was so handled, that *AGRIPPINA* was in some danger, vntill the accusation was found to be forged and the witnesses suborned, and this *LIVIA* the twister of this web, escaped with light punishment which was but banishment. This gaue encouragement to a wicked fellow called *PETVS*, to accuse *PALANTIA* also falsely (alibertine many times before named) and *BRVVS* the Prefect, who were seruants and fauorites to *AGRIPPINA*, alledging that they practiced to depose *NERO*, and to make *CORNELIVS SYLLA* Emperor: but this also was discovered to be forged and false, and for this offence *PETVS* and his false witnesses were only banished. All which passed in the third yeere of *NERO* his reigne, Saint *PAVL* the Apostle being then prisoner in *Rome*, who a little before was sent thither by the commaundement of *FESTVS*, gouernour of *Indie*; who succeeded *FELIX* aforesaid: In which imprisonment (although he went abroad at libertie) he was detained two yeeres.

As the Emperor *NERO* grew in yeeres, so began he to waxe more vaine and vicious, and to discouer his bad inclination: for by night he would goe disguised vp and downe the streets in *Rome*, and would hurt and abuse such as he met, comming out of their houses; wherein he committed many notable insolencies, and offended many: and he himselfe being vpon a time vnknowen, was in danger to haue been slaine, being sore wounded. And as the vices and defects of Princes, although that in their absence they are condemned and open murmur at them; yet in their presence they are most commonly excused, and sometimes applauded: So *NERO* his fauorites did not seeke to withdraw him from this dangerous vice and insolencie: but they ad-

uised

uised him to goe no more abroad without a guard: whereby they were the occasion of farre greater riots and disorders, then before: And some dissolute yong men (saining themselves to be the Emperor)ooke occasion to doe the like, so as there were infinite violences committed by him and them, by means whereof there was no small scandall and tumult in the citie, although that in the rest, vntill then there was indifferent good order in all things; and iustice was administered orderly in *Rome* and in the provinces; and the people did dissemble or had patience with the lightnes & insolencies of *NERO*, by reason of the distribution of money and other things, which he made generally to all; and for certaine taxes and impositions which he commaunded to be abolished.

The fift yeere of his reigne being come, which as it seemed would haue prooued prosperous and peaceable both in particular and generally, *VOLOGESVS* King of the Parthians began anew to arme against the Empire, for the same reason and cause concerning the kingdome of *Armenia* before spoken of. And *CORBVLVS*, who was Proconsul in *Asia*, sent to intreate the Emperor that the ordinarie armie which he had, might be reinforced and increased; for that by reason of the long peace, his legions were growne more slothfull & lesse seruicable then was needfull for so dangerous a warre; and were also diminished, some by death, and manyouldiers were waxen old: for which *NERO* tooke order, that new companies should be leuiod, and sent vnto him, and with them one of the legions of *Germanie*, which were euer held for the best and most experienced, as those which lay on the frontiers against the most fierce and valiant enemies. And so began the warres with the Parthians, wherein after some great encounters, and skirmishes which passed, fortune and victorie being variable, and winter being come, *CORBVLVS* sent a captaine whose name was *PACTVS ORPHITVS*, who with a good part of the armie had the garde of certaine straights and passages, whereby the enemy might enter the countrey, whom he commaunded that in any case he should not giue them battaile: and he lodged himselfe in the Plains with the rest of the armie. But *ORPHITVS*, quite contrarie to that which was commaunded him, by the enemies prouocation ioynd battaile with them, and was therein ouercome with great losse to the Romans: for which, *CORNELIVS* was exceeding sorrowfull, and it was no lesse grieved at in *Rome*. Whereupon *CORBVLVS*, reinforcing his legions, tooke the field before the ordinarie time, and very resolutely followed that warre: wherein passed many things which *CORNELIVS TACITVS* reciteth, and I for breuitie omit, to retume to *NERO*, of whom from henceforth there is no good to be spoken: I say then that while as his captaines made warre against the Parthians, he gaue himselfe ouer to sensualitie without contradiction in *Rome*, falling in loue with the wife of his great fauorite *OTHO*, who in time came to be Emperor, called *POPPÆA SABINA*, and by some *POPPÆA*, a most beautiful woman & of high parentage, endowed with many graces & good parts, but dishonest and incontinent; and to the end that *NERO* without any obstacle might haue her wholly to himselfe, giuing to her husband *OTHO* this reward in requitall of all his good seruices, he sent him into *Spain* to be gouernor of *Lusitania* now called *Poringall*, and he freely gaue himselfe ouer vnto this *POPPÆA*, forgetting and abhorring his owne wife *OCTAVIA*, and his other about named friend, *ACTA* a Libertine whom he had much loued. Wherewith this *POPPÆA* became so proude, that she taking leome to be his friend, very instantly entreated and desired the Emperor, that diuorcing himselfe from *OCTAVIA*, he should marrie her: and seeing that *AGRIPPINA NERO*'s mother, who supported and defended *OCTAVIA*, was a great lee hereto, she endeoured all she might, to encrease the discord begun betweene the mother and the sonne. Against which, *AGRIPPINA* vfed all the means that she possibly could deuise to recouer the good will of her sonne, as to procure him to commit most detestable incest with her owne selfe, from which he was withdrawne by the means of *SENECA*, as *CORNELIVS TACITVS* reporteth: yet *SENECA*'s faith, that the onely feare of his mothers power and presumptuous boldnes withheld him from it, although other authors doe not wholly cleere him from this sinne. Howsoever it was, by *POPPÆA*'s great practices and his owne wickednes, he so much abhorred his mother, as he determined to kill her: but as it was a matter most odious, so he would haue it done covertly: and first he attempted & practiced it with poison thrise: which taking no effect and perceiving that she was defended by Antidotes and preseruaturs, he provided a bedchamber for her with such an arched roofoe, as being easily vntoynted, the frame might fall in peeces in the night vpon her being asleep. When this designe could not be kept close; but was revealed by some priuie thereunto: she then dauid a ship so artificially made as it should sodenly split in sunder, that either by the wracke or the fall of the fore-deck

Warres with
the Parthians.

Poppea Sabi-
na Nero's
friend.

from might perish: This was contrived by the direction and counsell of one of his sea captains whose name was *Nicostratus*: and the plot was laid that three should be drowned in the sea on the coast of *Calabria*: whither *Nero* (saying an reconciliation with her) caused her to goe, and vnder color to doe certaine sacrifices, he himselfe went thither also. But this plot taking no effect, wherein certaine of her company were drowned, and she with great danger escaping, the seeing that secret practices availed not, he resolved to put her to death openly: and to that end (through the counsell of the said *Nicostratus*) he caused it to be bruted abroad that one by whom she had sent him word of the shipwrecke and danger wherein she had been at sea, would have killed him; & for this purpose there was a poiniard let fall at his feet, he which brought it faining, that by his mothers commandement he came to have slaine him. Vnder this false pretext onely, he commaunded certaine Tribunes, of which this *Nicostratus* was chiefe, to kill her: who being come where *Agrippina* was, she presently vnderstoode the cause of their comming: and seeing them vnneath their swords, authors write, that shewing them her belly, she said, strike me here first; for this part hath deserued it, seeing it conceiued and brought forth such a monster as *Nero*: and so she died of some of the many wounds which were giuen her. And *Nero* who was in a place there by, came to see his dead mother, and stood beholding her naked body as if it had been the body of a beast, praising and dispraising her parts and members. And thus did the wicked sonne murder his wicked mother, who cannot be excused, but that she for her wickednes deserued the death which she died: And it cannot be denied, but that herein *Nero* shewed most abominable crueltie, for nature doth abhor that a sonne should punish & be executioner to his owne mother, moued thereto by his owne wicked & cuill disposition.

Doublelesse, it is a strange thing to thinke of the loue vvch this woman bare to her sonne: for it is written of her, that before he vvas Emperour, it was foretold her by an Astrologer, that he should be Emperour, and that he should kill his owne mother: whereto she answered, Let him haue the Empire, and then kill her and spare not. So great was her pride and ambition, that to the end the might be mother to the Emperour, she would put it in hazard to be slaine by her owne sonne: and so both the one and the other were accomplished. Nowwithstanding that the Souldiers, Senate and people, applauded him for this foule and odious Matricide, yet was he euer after terrified with the sting of Conscience for so tole a fact, and as he often confessed, was haunted with the apparition of his Mothers Ghost, and tormented by the Furies. To this of his Mother, he added the murder of *Domitia*, his Aunt by the fathers side: who being an aged woman, and lying sicke of a colicuenesse, coming to visit her, and the vsing loosing speeches vnto him, he commaunded the Physicians to plic her fill with stronger purgatives: so he before she was fully dead, seized vpon her goods, and supprest her last will, that he might enioy the whole.

The Emperour *Nero* having performed so great an exploit as the murdering of his mother (so much are Princes blinded with flattery & adulation, that notwithstanding all the world did see and understand the matter, and how all had passed, yet most men in his presence approved and applauded the same: and there were many vowes and sacrifices made to their gods, for that he had escaped such a treason, and for the discovery thereof, making him belceve that they held it for truth) cloaking his wickednes under this colour, he came to *Rome*: where seeing himself at liberty, and free from the controulement of his mother (whose authority was ever great) he began to abandon all shame, giving the reins to his beastly appetite, and to all kinde of filthinesse and most abominable luxurie; which was such and so horrible, that, to keep such honest decorum in our History as is requisite, and not to offend the ears of chaste Readers, I purpose to passe it over in silence. Wherein he spending great part of the time, all the rest he employed in lasciuious Comedies and other libidinous exercises, and oftentimes in banquets and feasting, which lasted all the day and the night also. He was prodigall in all things, especially in his rich and sumptuous attire. The ornaments of his Palace, and his expenses and prodigalities were such, as the like had neuer been seen. In Comedies and publike Shewes (most of which were most vile and dishonest) hee acted a Part in Person: and would that the Noble young men of *Rome*, and some of the principall young Ladies, should be present to hear and see the same. And, above all, he was so inclined to Musick, and so much affected it, as, besides that hee was skilfull in that Art, he gloried so much in singing, as many times he refused to eat for hurting his voice; and to cleer it and make it better, he purged himself, and used other remedies and medicines. Some write of him, that to that effect he wore a plaister or sheet of lead upon his breast.

Finally,

Finally, *Nero* forgetting the dignitie and maiesty of his estate, gaue himselfe ouer to base and vile exercises and vices, the which for that they were so filthy, are not at all described, and which afterwards brought him to the sinke of all sinne and cruelty, as we will declare. And as the Subjects, for the most part, do imitate the fashions and behauiour of their Princes & Lords, so presently in *Rome* and out of it, they began to practise and follow their vices and follies, wherein the Emperour spent his time; and the Lawes, good customes, Arts and Sciences began to be corrupted and forgotten. Wherefore, he made himselfe an enemy, and odious to all good men, although then there were but few, as if it often happeneth.

While as hee busied himself in these base actions, the warres which his Generall *Corbulo* began to begin with the Parthians, about the Title of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, never ceased. In which, after sundry exploits of war, the Romans prevailing, the Parthians were wholly driven out of the Province of *Armenia*: and *Nero* nominated and sent thither for King thereof (as a Subject to the Empire) *Tigranes*, who was nephew to *Archelaus* sometime King of *Cappadocia*, having a long time continued in *Rome* in base and poor estate. This man was by some of the countrey received and entertained with good approbation; and others, which held for the King of *Parthia*, repined thereat, as commonly it useth to happen in such cases. Wherefore there was given unto him an ordinary guard of foot and horsemen, and some of the Roman Cohorts to aid him to defend that Kingdome. *Corbulo* being victorious came with his legions into *Syria*: which hapned in the seventh year of the Reign of *Nero*. About this time there was so great an Earthquake in many parts of the world, as many great Buildings fell; and the City of *Laodicea* was therewith wholly ruined and laid waste.

Within fewe daies after, the Ile of *England* and *Scotland*, then called *Britannia*, rebelled against the Roman Empire, being unable to endure the infolencies and oppressions of the Roman Legions lying there in garrison, *Paulinus* *Syetonius* being their Generall: for, from the diseases and vices of the Head, *Rome* did flowe disorder and corruption through all the Provinces which were members thereof. The cause of the insurrection in this Iland proceeded from hence: *Paulinus* being desirous to win honour, and envying the fame which *Corbulo* had gotten in the East, who was daily victorious in the war against the Parthians, hee wanting neither courage nor discretion to doo the like, but matter and occasion, and seeing, that in the Ile of *Britannia* there was neither time nor hope for his purpose, leaving such troops and garrisons there as hee thought sufficient, he went from thence with a great Fleet to make warre in an Iland neere to *England*, then called *Mona*, and now *Man*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation. And notwithstanding that all succeeded well in that journey, yet, during his imploiment there, the Britains, chusing among themselves a Captain, a man of great account and reputation, called *Pharasvatus* or *Prasvatus*, with the Title of a King, as they ordinarily had in that Iland, although it were subject, they rebelled for their liberty, killing all the Roman souldiers they could finde, who had shut themselves up in a Temple: and, afterwards overthrowing a Legion which came to their aid, they slue the greatest part thereof, and compelled *Pavus*, who had the command in the absence of *Paulinus* *Syetonius*, to flee to their Camp: wherthey presently besieged him, and so were Masters of the Field, *Calpurnius* (who, for the Emperour, was then Governor of the Iland) seeing himself unable to defend the same, with the greatest speed that possibly he could fled into *France*, and abandoned the Iland. And the Britains took such order, and used such expedition in this warre against the Romans and their Adherents, as within fewe daies in diverse places there were slain 70000 men. *Paulinus*, being advertised of this great disaster, having effected that which hee had attempted of his own authority, with all speed possible returned into the Iland with his troops, where he assembled together those which had continued constant in the Emperors service; and the remainder of the Roman souldiers which were left, and, reprehending some, and encouraging others, without any longer delay hee went to seek his enemies, and their Captain *Pharasvatus*, who were now growne so hardy, as they came to seek him, and did so assure themselves of the victory, as they brought their wives in Wagons and Carts, to see the battell which they meant to fight. Which, *Paulinus* *Syetonius* refused not, but, like an expert captain, took such advantage of the ground, and marshalled his men in such fort, and in the battell fought so valiantly, as hee obtained the victory; yet was it one of the most fierce battels, and fought with the greatest obstinacy, that euer was seen: for, of the Conquerors there died a great number; but of the conquered (as *Cornelius Tacitus* reports) there were slain fewe lesse than fourescore thousand men. But *Gildas*, an ancient Historian born in the

G 4

same

Niceus wrote upon him for charge to kill Agrippina.

Nero put his mother to death by the hand of Agrippina.

The horrible crueltie of the sonne, and disreputable ambition of the mother.

Wars with the Parthians.

Rebellion in Britain.

The Ile of Man.

The Romanes in power by the Britons.

A great battell.

Princes are euer abused by flatterers.

same Island, sets down a far lesse number; who, saith, that there were slain but thirty thousand. With this great victory, and with the new supply which NERO sent, the Romans prevailed in that Ile, so as from thenceforth it remained in peace.

While these things were in action, NERO daily increased in his vices and wickedness: and besides the above-named, he began to put in practice many new cruelties, commanding many to be slain upon light occasions, and some without any; notwithstanding that his School-master SENECA, and Burrus the Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts, did hinder and mitigate the same all they might. But in the ninth year of his Reign Burrus died; and SENECA, being brought into suspicion with NERO (besides that virtue is ever hateful to the wicked) began to withdraw himself from intermeddling with the affairs of the government: and as the Physician leaveth to apply medicines to the Patient, of whose recovery there is no hope; so did he forbear to converse with NERO, or give him any counsell, faining his old age and want of health to be the cause thereof. And in like manner (as saith CORNELIUS TACITUS) others, which had any spark of ancient Romans in them, withdrew themselves; being unable to endure the sight of what passed, and NERO committed. At this time NERO commanded PULVILLUS SALLA to be slain in France, who was one of the most famous men of his time; and another whose name was RABELLIUS PLAVTUS, a worthy and eminent man; in whom was found no other fault, or cause wherefore he should be slain, but that hee was veracious, and therefore beloved of all men; and, being such, upon a time when NERO was so sick as it was thought he would have died, the people of Rome fixt their eyes upon this man, naming him for NERO's Successor. Upon which occasion, NERO banished him from Rome, and then resolved to release him from banishment by causing him to be slain. And after this manner he slue in those daies a great number of other Romans, which these Authors doo name, and I leave out as a matter odious; putting them to death through cruelty and envy, without any other cause.

A little after this, growing impudent through his customarie sinning, he divorced himselfe from his wife OCTAVIA; and not content to put her away, he took another mans wife, & presently married POPPEA, whom (as we said) he held for his friend, having first taken her from OTTO who was her husband, and not contented to put away his good and virtuous wife, he caused her to be falsely accused of adulterie, having plotted with NICETUS, his Sea-captain (who murdered his mother AGRIPPINA, who as it should seeme was a man fit for such services) that he should confesse himselfe to be the man which had committed adulterie with her. And notwithstanding that this was plainly discovered to be a fiction, he for a colour banished NICETUS, and OCTAVIA was also banished, and afterwards slaine by his commandement: so as to the innocent was given an vniuersall punishment, and to the traitor a fained correction. At that time he also commanded the famous Libertine PALANT to be slaine, for the desire he had to his estate: for in the time of NERO it was more dangerous to be rich, then to commit offences; and many were slaine because they were rich, and few were punished for their euill deeds.

NERO committing these and many other such like enormities; VOLOGESVS King of Parthia, taking it in scorn that his Brother TYRIDATES should be dispossessed of the Kingdom of Armenia, and that it should by the Romans be giuento TIGRANES, beganne to leuie his Forces; and, determining to renew the warre, he sent his Brother to recover that Kingdom; the which he soon effected, and seized upon many countries and parts thereof. Against whom, CORBVLVS (who was Lieutenant in the East, and had made the last warre) with all expedition sent two Legions for a supply to King TIGRANES: and the warre beginning very hotly on either side, the Emperour, at the earnest request of CORBVLVS, sent new Troops to reinforce the Armie against the Parthians, and CASONIUS PLETVS for their Leader; who, with the greatest speed he could, with many companies and great preparation for the warres, departed NERO, and, following his journey, came where CORBVLVS attended his coming: who diuiding his Troops with CORBVLVS, each of them by himselfe followed the warre apart. In proceesse whereof, CORBVLVS governed so valiantly and with such discretion, as he not onely defended the limits of the Empire in that part which fell to his lot, but passed the River Euphrates, and surprized some holds in his enemies Country. And CASONIUS PLETVS with lesse judgement or experience, but more vain-glory, promising great matters of himselfe, began the warre. In the beginning whereof, with appearance of good successe, he entred Armenia; and, extending his power farther than he ought to have done, passed the Mountain Tan-

nus, taking some townes without consideration whether he were able to hold the same or no; and sent of his troupes into diuers places with a desire to get and to doe more then he was able to accomplish, or was fit to be done: So that (as CORNELIUS TACITUS writeth) he gouerned himselfe so ill, that when as VOLOGESVS came against him, there fell to many disgraces vpon him, and he so vnadvisedly encamped himselfe, as he was besieged by VOLOGESVS in his camp; in such sort as being vnable to stay for the succours which came from CORBVLVS vnto him, wanting both courage and discretion to defend himselfe, hee came to a shamefull and dishonorable composition for the Roman reputation, with the King of Parthia: which was, That the King giuing him leaue to depart out of the countrie with his armie; he should abandon the province of Armenia; & deliuer vp all such holds as he had taken: all which was performed accordingly, and he very shamefully went out of Armenia, in great disgrace, and with no small losse of his Armie. The Emperour being aduertised hereof, sent for him to come to Rome, and to leaue his legions with CORBVLVS: and when hee was come, he insisted no other punishment, but in a word or two called him dastard and coward; adding, that he would speedily pardon him, least the feare of punishment should kill him.

CORBVLVS remaining Generall alone (notwithstanding that the Parthians were growne proud by reason of their late victorie) prosecuted the warre in such manner, as they motioned treaties of peace, and sent Ambassadors to Rome, where after sundrie Embassies and some truce taken, in the end a peace was concluded, profitable to the Parthians, although in shew and ceremonies honorable to the Romans: which was, That TYRIDATES should remaine in possession of Armenia, but should giue ouer the title and royall ensignes, vntill he had been at Rome, and there personally receiue the same at the hands of the Emperour NERO. To confirme this agreement, he came into the Romanes campe, and in presence of all the armie, humbled, and prostrated himselfe vpon the earth before NERO his image, and taking the crowne from his head, he set it at NEROS feet: and afterwards being solemnly entertained and feasted, appointing a time for his coming to Rome, he left a daughter which he had, for assurance thereof; and so departed to visit his brothers, VOLOGESVS King of the Parthians, and PACORVS King of the Medes, and to prepare all things necessary for his iourney. Which although it were not so soon performed as it was appointed, and that there passed some things in the meane season, as we will presently specifye, yet to the end that we leaue not this matter vnperfected, it shall be fit (although somewhat afore the time) to speak of TYRIDATES his coming to Rome, for it was a solemne matter and worthy to be remembered: which was thus.

As NERO was aman desirous of fame and vaine glory, so by Letters and great promises he invited TYRIDATES to come to Rome; which he performed, being greatly accompanied, and was most honorably entertained: NERO attended his coming with sumptuous provision made by the Senate and people, set vpon a high throne, with all the shew of maiestie and greatnes that could be deuised; at one end whereof, were all the Pretorian Cohorts and men of warre, armed with faire and rich armor. TYRIDATES coming to the place where the Emperour NERO was, being alighted from his horse, he mounted vp the staires to the scaffold where he sate, and coming neere him, fell at his feet; but NERO taking him by the right hand, raised him, and tooke from his head an ornament which he ware, and did put thereon a diadem or crown of a King, vsing herein other stately ceremonies. TYRIDATES being crowned with this solemnitie, after certaine feasts which were made in Rome, hauing remained there some dayes, departed towards his countrie, carrying with him, an incredible masse of money, which the Emperour gaue him for his Iourney. A peace with the Parthians being confirmed in this manner, NERO gaue himselfe more to his old vices then he did before, and to doe the same more freely, and to be at more liberty and farther off from the authority of the Senate, he departed from Rome, with the most solemne and magnificent court and attendance that euer was seene; although the greatest number were conformable to his conditions. The report of this iourney was, that he went into Gracia, to cut the necke of a land in Achidia, vvhich is a narrow passage betweene the Egean and Ionian Seas, vvhich makes Peloponnesus, now called MORIA to be as it were an Island. And in his iourney, in Naples and in other parts, without shame, he shewed himselfe on the Theaters and Stages, and acted a part in Comedies, as one of the Actors or Players, and sung Tragedies and Fables, and waite many prizes and crownes, which were rewards giuen in those controuerfies. Being come into Gracia, in this great action for which he came, he did no more but appoint a day to begin his vvork: and hauing made a speech to his people, he tooke a tooke in his hand vvherewith he began to digge the earth, and making

Peace with the
parthians.

Tyridates
crowned in
Rome by the
Emperour Nero,
with great
solemnity.

Nero his iour-
ney into Gracia.

Nero put away
his wife, and
married another
man.

New war with
the Parthians.

this beginning, he suddenly (no man knowing any cause) left off what hee had begun, without order for doing any more; and presently returned to *Rome*. Wherein he entred in triumph; as if he had wonne some great battell, demanding it for the victory above-written: wherein hee came mounted upon the same chariot wherein OCTAVIUS AVGVSTVS had triumphed, compassed about with Musicians and Plaiers, such as represented fables and tragedies upon stages, being brought from all parts of the world for that purpose. And within fewe daies after this, he pretended another journey into the Kingdome of *Egypt*; and, all things beeing in a readinesse for that purpose, through a certain divination he gave over his journey. NERO, beeing come to the beginning of the eleventh yeer of his Raige, became so impudent, giving himself wholly over to sensuality, that he did any thing without blushing or changing colour, and gave leave to an infinite number of others to doo the like: and his wickednes mounted to so high a degree, that SVBTONIVS testifieth of him thus;

Super ingeniorum paragoia. Et naptiarum concubinas, vestali virgini Rubria nimis iniuit. Asten libertam panium abfuit, quia in isto matrimonio sibi coniungeret, summis suis consularibus viris, qui regio genere oriam peierarent. Pueri Sporti, ex seclis scilicet etiam in muliere naturam transfigurare conatus est, cum dote et flammis per seclum naptiarum celeberrimo officio deductum ad se, pro uxore habuit. Existit, cuiusdam non infelix iocum, bene agi potuisse cum verberis humanis, si Domitius Neronis pater talem habuisset uxorem. Hunc Sportum Angustarum ornamentis excoluit, lectisque vestibus, et circa convectus meraculique Gracia, ac max. Roma circa sigillaria comitatus est, identidem excoluit. Nam matris concubium appetisse, et ab obrectatoribus eius, ne ferax atque impotens mulier, et hoc gratia genere praevaleret, deervitum nemo dubitavit, utique postquam meretricem, quam semis erat Agrippina similitudinem, inter concubinas recepit. Olim etiam, quater lectica cum matre veheretur, libidinis in seclis ac maculis vestis prodium affertant. That is to say,

Besides his unnatural abusing of boies free-born, and the keeping of mens wives as his concubines, he deflowred RYBRIA a Vestall Virgin. Hee would have married ACTE or AETIA, a freed woman; suborning some, who had been Consuls, to swear, that she was roially descended. There was a Boy called SPORTVS, whose genitories he cut off, trying to transforme him into the nature of woman. Him he caused to be brought unto him as a Bride, with a Downy and a yellow Vail, after the solemne manner of marriage, and a goodly Train attending on him; whom he maintained as his wife: whereupon one said pleasantly, that it had been happy for mankind if DOMITIUS his father had wedded such a wife. This SPORTVS, adorned with the ornaments of an Emperresse, hee accompanied in a Litter through all the Cities and Towns of *Greece*, and afterwards at *Rome*, up and down the streets; STIGILLARIA kissing him often. He had a desire to lie with his owne mother, but was terrified from it by some which hated her, lest that proud and insolent woman should by this favour growe too mighty, whereof no man ever made doubt; and the rather, for that afterwards he entertained a harlot among his concubines, very like (as it was reported) to AGRIPPINA. It is also said, that in former times, as often as he rode in a Litter with his Mother, he used her incestuously: the which did appear by the spots upon her garment.

Amongst all his dishonest and filthy pollutions, hee never forgot the fiercenes and cruelty of his minde, shedding blood, and killing an infinite number of men; and made boast and vaunted thereof, saying, that none of his Predecessors in the Empire, did ever knowe their owne power, but he. And when One in his presence said, as a by-word, When I am dead let the world be burned: Nay, quoth he, let it be before I die. Of so ill and envious an inclination was this man to all mankind: which did fully appear by that which he did within a little while after, which was, to set the City of *Rome* on fire; as SVBTONIVS, EVSEBIVS, EVTHROPIVS, PAVLVS OKOSIVS, and ISIDORA, affirm: yet CORNELIVS TACITVS maketh some doubt thereof, whether it were done by chance, or by his commandement; and yet himself saith, that no man durst quench the fire for fear of him: and all affirm, that it lasted six daies and seven nights, and that NERO went up to the top of a high Tower to behould this spectacle, which was very pleasing to his sight: where he stood singing certain verses of HOMER, which contained the burning of the City of *Troy*. And the fire did consume so much in the City of *Rome*, as TACITVS writeth, that of foureteen great quarters which were in the City, onely foure escaped free; and of the ten, three were wholly consumed and burnt to the ground; and in the seven there was never a house whereof the greatest part was not burnt, and many wholly consumed. Finally, they were innumerable, and not to be imagined, the houses, temples, riches, the spoils of victories, the clothes and merchandizes, and other things, which this fire

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consumed, and so that end that the Reader may the better understand it, he will consider that *Rome* was the greatest and most populous citie in the world; much frequented by strange Nations, and the most rich and beautiful that ever was, the which in that time did draw unto it and swallow up all the mony and riches of all the provinces subiect unto it; by taxes, tributes, impositions, bribes, and tyrannies; and by all other means, he in quoniam et vultu plom 1599. This lamentable desolation being ended; there was not left in it any street, but all in a hold him to be the author thereof, although they durst not say so; and that he desired to halle the ruines for the stones, pillars, and other things which escaped the fire, he would not suffer to be carried away by the owners, but took them for his building of his owne palace and houses, which some daies before he had built: and part thereof being burnt with this fire, he afterwards reedified and made without comparison fairer & greater than before; so as it seemeth an incredible matter, what PLEINY, SVARTIENS, and GORDIANVS write of the greatest thereof; to whom I refer the Reader for the particular description of that Palace; because it is a matter wondrous, and which only was sufficient to shew the riches of *Rome*. For it stretched from Mount *Alatine* to Mount *Esquiline*, which, as it seemeth, were distant a good deale more than a mile in breadth, it contained in it ponds of water so great, as they seemed to be gulfs of the Sea, compassed round about with buildings and lodgings; it had in it all; besides gardens, and orchards, excellent hills and woodds; wherein were all manner of wild beasts, Morceaux the halles and dining chambers; besides being built of Marble, Alabaster, Jasper, Topazes, and other excellent stones; the timber-works thereof and the scelings were inlaid with gold and Iuorie, and mother of Pearle; and some stones of price. And some of these high places and chambers were round, and made with such art, as the floor remaining firme & fixe, the rooke & vaults thereof went continually round like the skie; in such sort as some birds were made and some of these rooms were wrought with such art, as there were in them certaine ventalls and alimbiques of gold and Iuorie, which at certaine times did cast off sweete flowers, waters, and precious oyles. This house likewise had bathes of sundry waters hot and cold, and other ornaments and excellencies, such and so many as would be tedious to recite; wherein, and in other buildings which he made, he spent an inestimable treasure, and in other which he began, which were strange and marvellous, the which for brevity I omit. And although (as is sayd) he had commanded the Citie of *Rome* to be set on fire, yet being thus burnt, he void all diligence to reedifie it againe, in better forme then it was before, and had determined to alter the name thereof, and to call it *Neroniana*, after his owne name. But this his care sufficed not to cleere him of the infamy which he had purchased among the people, for commanding it to be set on fire.

After all this, the Emperour NERO by the instigation of the duell, in whose power remained his sinnes (the number of Christians in *Rome* then encreasing, through the preaching of the Apostles, S. PETER and S. PAUL, who then were there) heard his like being grieved with the holines and purenes of the Primitive Church, resolved to persecute the same; and putting it in execution a great number of Christians, both within and without it, were put to death by his commandement. And this was the first general persecution which the Church suffered. And although that after the death of CHRIST there wanted no persecutors (yet was it neuer persecuted by the Emperours publick edit vntill this time. Wherein, how great the constancie of the Martyrs was, & what sundrie kindes of martyrdomes they endured, CORNELIVS TACITVS an infidel Historiographer, and an enemy to Christians, yet true in his historie, besides other Christian authors, shall beare witness: who (like a Gentile murmuring at them) reciteth the persecution of the Emperour NERO: whereof SVBTONIVS also making mention, saith, that a verie great number of Christian men and women were put to death: And among other cruelties, burnings, crosses and other kindes of death, he reporteth that they were throwne to the dogges, to be torne in pieces: and to the end that dogges should be the more eager against them; they covered them with the skinned of Beares and other wild beasts. This persecution of the church SVBTONIVS and CORNELIVS TACITVS set downe in this place after the burning of *Rome*, in the eleventh yeere of the Emperour NEROES rainge: yet EVSEBIUS and other authors note it to bee in the last yeere of his Empire, wherein died the blessed Apostles S. PETER and S. PAUL by his commandement. But it may be; & so I beleue, that this persecution lasted till then, which was little more then three yeeres; or whether it were only at this time, it pleased God to preserve his holic Apostles vntill the time above said.

After that the Emperour NERO had executed this cruelty against the Christians, which

was

A description of
Nero's
Palace.

The first persecution
of the primitive
Church.

Rome first
by Nero.

was the greatest that he ever used; there followed in *Rome*, and in the marches thereof, one of the greatest plagues of pestilence that ever was in the world; by the permission of God was it to be believed, for he cruelly used against the Christians. But there was no amendment in him, neither any repentance of the injuries which he had done; but waxing worse, he again began his intolerable exactions in all the Provinces, which were such and so many, as they became unpeopled, and many places were wholly ruined and desolate. For the ordinary rents (though the summe were incredible) being insufficient to maintain his prodigalities and immense expenses, because they cannot be related at large, it shall suffice to make some brief mention thereof, the better to perceive the cause of the rest. Besides what, without measure, hee consumed in his Buildings and Vasan works; and in the curious workmanship of his famous house, which was a matter incredible, in all the rest, his disorder and excess was incredible. First, he appalled himself with most rich attire, and ordinarily consumed at dice and at other games great summs of money. When he went a-fishing (whereunto he was much affected) and for his pleasure went to the sea or any river, he commanded the nets to be made of gold-thread, and the cords of most excellent fine silk. In his progresses which he made out of *Rome* (which were many) besides an infinite number of people of his Court which followed him, he never had lesse than a thousand Wagons drawne with Mules for his Wardrobe, excellently wrought and garnished; and those which led and governed them were apparelled in rich attire, of gold; silver, cloth of gold and silk; even unto the Mules shoes, which were of silver. Then the games and plaies which hee presented were such and so many, as it cannot bee valued what they might cost; for, besides those which in *Rome* were ordinary, as, the Sword-plaies, combats, huntings of Lions, Elephants, Bears, Panthers, Tigers, and other beasts; the Comedies and Tragedies which in the Theaters and Amphitheatres were represented, and the sports on horseback, and with chariots of diverse forms, in the circuits and places of *Rome*, which were many and more frequent, and with greater magnificence than ever theretofore, he invented new sports with chariots drawn with Camels, and Elephants with Castles on their backs, with other new inventions & strange devices; which to bring to passe, it behoved a man to compass the world: as was his *Naumachia*, a fight with Gallies upon the water; making a Lake for that purpose by hand, which they also called *Naumachia*, drawing water from the Sea to fill the same; and therewith fishes to swim therein, because it should be more natural and at life. Then, in the donatives which hee threw to the people; for him which could first catch them (of money they call'd *Misilia*) he would not give such as were ordinary, as other Emperours did; of money, birds, and other things of small value; but therewith he commanded rich apparell, gold, silver, rich stones and pearls to be given; and, to increase this in all superfluity, of things which could not be throwne abroad in their kinde, he caused certain Tables to be cast, wherein was set down what hee should have into whose hands they came, in wheat, heards, or slaves; which extended so far as to give heritages, fields, houses, islands, and other matters of great price. By all that which hath bin said, he that will may see his prodigality, and may imagine what his expenses might amount to in other matters. So as this accursed man had no vice wherein hee would not bee extreme; and so would hee be in spending and wasting, as he was in robbing and spoiling the people: Which his prodigality as it was gratefull and pleasing to the vulgar sort, so I presume it was the cause why they so long endured his tyrannie and wicked disposition.

But, as these things were intolerable, after the eleventh year of his Raigh many of the prime Noble men of *Rome* conspired against him: the head and chief whereof was *Caius Piso* (the most Noble man by birth, parentage and vertue, which at that time was in *Rome*) and according to his name, this conspiracy was called *Pisoniana*. But it was discovered before it took effect; and, in stead of the remedy which was hoped for, it opened the way to the Emperours cruelty: for, upon this occasion he put to death so many, and of all sorts, noble and ignoble, as well those which were guilty, as those which he would hold for suspected, as they were without number: among whom, died the witty and excellent Poet *Lycanus*, and his Manker *Senneca*; albeit he had sworn to him very devoutly (when as he often made sute for leave to depart the Court, and yielded therewithall his goods into *Nero's* hands) that he had no cause to suspect him, and that he would rather lose his owne life, than do him any harm. And fear and flattery were of such power (which things commonly concur) that the Senate determined to doo sacrifice, and to give solemne thanks unto the gods, for the health and safety of *Nero*, and his delivery from this conspiracy; and they ordained feasts to be made therefore, and that the Month of April should lose his name, and be called *Nero*; and that there should be a new temple

temple erected to the God of health, and other such like things. After this there was another conspiracie, the captaine whereof was a Romane Knight, whose name was *Vindex* or *Vindex*: but as the diuel would help and support his seruant *Nero*, so it was also discovered, & the confederats were by him brought to their death and many other vpon that occasion. The conspirators had their tryall, and pleaded bound in chaines; some freely confessed it; and others added that he was beholding vnto them for it, being impossible to cure him by any other means (infected as he was and dishonored with all kinde of impieties) but by death: The children of the condemned were expelled the Citie, and afterward poisoned or starved. After which he grew so fearefull, and therewith so cruel, as from thenceforth his greatest studie and practice was to put men to death, vpon any occasion whether forged or true, according to his phantasie. And so he slew a great number of noble men (as *Sextonius*, and more at large *Cornelius Tacitus* reports.) Being nulled in these cruelties, he forgot not his other vices and fewd exercises; among which one was to come personally into the Theater, and there to contend and strive for the prizes which were given to him that best could recite or sing verses and tragedies, and for other rewards of Musick which were giuen in that time, as if hee had been the poorest Musition or singing man in *Rome*. And coming one day very merry for a victorie which he had obtained in these Theatrical lulls and contentions, he took some displeasure against his beloved wife *Poppaea*: and as he was very proude and ill conditioned, he gaue her a spurne on the bellie, whereof being with child she fell so sicke as she died; and he, who was the cause of her death, was exceeding sorry for it. There was no kinde of Alliance or Coniunguntie, how neere soeuer, but it felt the waight of his bloudie hand. *Antonia* the daughter of *Clavdys*, refusing after the death of *Poppaea* to be his wife, hee slew, vnder colour that she went about to conspire against him; and to alter the state. Hee also murdered all others that were in any sort allied vnto him: Among the which, *A. Plancius* was one: whole bodie having by force filthily abused against kinde before his death. Let my mother now, said he, kisse my successours sweete lips; giuing it out that hee was her deere darling, and that she encouraged him to aspire to the Empire. His sonne in law *Rufinus Crispinus*, sonne of *Poppaea*, being yet very young; for that it was reported of him, that in game he would play for great places of commande and dukedomes; he gaue charge to drowne him in the Sea, when he should be there fishing. After all this, in the thirteenth yeere of his raigne, the prouinces being no longer able to endure his tyranny, and much lesse the armies which were in them; they began to mutine and to thinke vpon meanes how they might rebell against him; as within short space some of them did, which was in the 13. yeere of his raigne. Moued vpon the like occasion, the Iewes rebelled against the Empire, God permitting that they should be the first, and should continue in their rebellion, for a publicke and euident punishment which should be inflicted vpon them, for the putting of our Saviour *Christ* to death. For this warre which was begun against the Iewes, *Vespasian* was appointed General, a man very famous both in peace and warre, and who afterwards was made Emperour: he had for his lieutenant (which is the second place after the General) his sonne *Titus*, who in proceesse of time was also Emperour. *Vespasian* began this war very resolutely, and it was afterwards one of the most famous that euer was in the world; wherein as shall be declared, the citie of *Ierusalem* was wholly destroyed. This historie is excellently well written by *Iosephus* a Iewish historiographer, who serued in that warre, and was taken prisoner by *Vespasian*; and by *Eusebius* a Iew by birth, but a christian by profession; besides many other authors which treat and write thereof.

Vespasian having taken some Cities in *Iudea*; the enuie and hatred, daily increasing against *Nero*, with the causes which he gaue of the same, all Nations conspiring to rebell against him; the prouinces of *France*, and the legions which were there, began first chusing *Iulius Vindex* for their captain. The newes hereof came to *Nero* being then in the citie of *Naples*, whither he went for his vertuous recreations; such as he was accustomed to vie: whereat he seemed not to be much moued, and (as it was surmised) it offended him not, because that thereby he might haue occasion to rob and spoile all the prouinces of *France*. But the newes still encraving, he began to stand in some doubt, and came to *Rome*, where he was certified that a part of *Spain* called *Tarragona*, was also risen against him, with *Sergius Galla*, proclaiming himselfe Emperour; who was a man very famous for his noble linage, charges and dignities which hee had worthily executed. Which he did, as some write, being perswaded thereto by letters from *Iulius Vindex* who (as *Inovius* said) was in armes in *France*.

H

With

The excessive prodigality of Nero.

Gifts given by Nero.

Piso conspired against Nero.

The Senate did sacrifice for the health of Nero.

Nero killed his wife Poppaea.

The Iewes rebelled against Nero.

In short time as against Nero.

With these newes of *Spain*, the Emperor *NERO* was so much troubled, as after that hee had lien a good while (as though he had been dead) without speaking any one word, he rose vp as a man desperate, and tearing his clothes, he knocked his head against the walles, not demanding, nor receiuing counsell or comfort from those which would haue giuen it him. And this furie being past, he began to take order for the leuying of forces, and to require succors and aides: but he was so much hated of all the world, as no man came very willingly to his seruice, rather perswading one another to the contrary: Things standing in this state, as *NERO* busied himselfe about leuying an army, discouering in himselfe what cruelties and punishments hee might inflict, there came certaine newes vnto him, that the legions which lay vpon the frontiers of high *Germanie* whose captaine was *RUFVS VIRGINIVS*, were also in armes against him, as well as those of *France* and *Spain*. With this newes *NERO* lost all courage and hope to defend himselfe: and the Senate and people of *Rome* were therewith so much troubled, as without any leader, but only of their own meere motion by common consent, they determined to abandon *NERO*, and refuse to yeeld him any obedience: whereof ensued his death which was shamefull and vile, as he deserued, which was in this manner.

SEYTONIVS writeth, that when the newes came of the insurrection of the legions, *NERO* was at dinner; and that presently when he heard it, he threw the table to the ground, and in despair to defend himselfe, taking certaine poison in a boxe of gold, he withdrew himselfe to certain gardens which he had, where he deuised sundrie waies and meanes to escape this present calamitie; sometime thinking to flie out of *Italy* to the King of *Parthia*, with whom he was in a great league of friendship euer since the coronation of his brother *TIRIDATES* King of *Armenia*, otherwhiles he thought to yeeld himselfe to *SERGIVS GALBA*, and to craue mercy at his hands: but finding no helpe nor remedie in either (for few were they which repaid him, or came at his calling) he was of opinion to goe forth into the publike places of assembly in *Rome*, clad in mourning attire, and there to craue pardon for his ill forepassed life; and if they should not grant him to continue in the Empire, yet at the least that they would bestow vpon him the government of the kingdome of *Egypt*; and to this effect, were found certain orations already drawne in his closet; but he durst not put this deuice in practise, fearing to be slaine by the people; so great already was the tumult in the Citie. Passing that day and part of the night in these doubts and feares, he laid himselfe vpon his bed, although hee tooke little rest, determining with himselfe the next day to put in execution that counsell which should seeme most profitable. And hauing slept a little, he awoke about midnight, and was giuen to vnderstand that the Cohorts which had the guard of the palace were gone, and had forsaken him. Amazed at so great an alteration, he sent for certaine of his best and most confident friends to their houses: but as betwene wicked men there is no true friendship, neither was there any due to him, neither had he deserued any, so from none of them hee receiued any good answer: wherefore with some of his seruants, and those very few (protected by the darkenes of the night) he went forth of his palace, and in person went to many of their houses, at none of which they would open the doores, neither giue him any answer: so as hee who within few daies before was feared and adored of all the world; returned sorrowfull, despised, and in feare of all men. And returning to the lodging from whence he came, he found it ransackt and spoild euen to the very boxe of poison which he had refused for his last refuge. Which when he saw in despair of his life, and desiring to die, he began in great hast to call for a certain sword player which serued him, whose name was *SPICELVVS MIRMILO*, and commanded him to kill him. And as neither this man, neither any other would doe it, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, Now I perceiue that I haue neither friend nor enemy. And in this furie, he went with a determination to drowne himselfe in the Riuer *Tiber*: and making a stand, he asked of those which were with him, where he might hide himself, vntill that he had bethought him what to doe. Presently an enfranchised man of his, named *FALCON*, offered to keepe him secretly hidden in a farme which he had 4 miles from *Rome*. And so *NERO* taking this for his last refuge, mounting on horsback, being barefooted and in his shirt and wastecote, with an old sullied ouerworne cloake cast vpon him, and so holding a handkercheif before his face, in the darke of the night hee went out of *Rome* with foure men only, which did beare him company, in the most couert and disguised manner that possibly he could: And with great feare and trouble came to the village whither they carried him; and leaving his horse hidden among certaine trees, he went covertly through certaine Canes and Reedes, and before that hee came to the house whither hee was to goe, the same *FALCON* which brought him, counselled him to goe into a Caue

Nero despair
of himselfe.

Nero brought
into extreme
miserie.

which was there, where they vsed to dig sand: whereto he answered, that hee would not burie himselfe aliuie; in the end he went into the house, creeping in on all foure at a hole which they made through the wall; and coming into a chamber, he cast himselfe vpon a poore bed which was there, and being both hungrie and thirstie, he desired to haue something to eat: but there was nothing to be had but a peece of browne bread and a little water; the bread he would not eate, but he dranke of the water with wonderfull feare and sorrow to see himselfe in that place.

As these things passed with *NERO* (as I haue said) as soone as it was day, his flight was presently discouered, and the Senate assembled, and by their common consent hee was adiudged an enemy vnto his countrie, and being condemned to die, was commanded to be fought for euerie where: to the execution whereof, the men of war of the Pretorian and Viban Cohorts, consented by perswasions and promises which were made vnto them. With which newes, the determination of the Senate being published, a seruant to the said *FALCON* which brought *NERO* to his farme, went out of *Rome*, to giue him to vnderstand thereof: for he knew the secret way. And being come where the Emperour was, hee found him making preparation to kill himselfe, through the perswasion of those which came with him, seeing that there was no other meanes for him to escape. He hearing the sorrowfull newes of his doome giuen by the Senate, To be an enemy to the State, and that he should be punished *Mors Matorum*, betwixen he demanded what kinde of punishment that *Mors Matorum* was? And when hee vnderstood that a man so condemned was to be stript naked, his head set fast in the stocks, and his bodie scourged with rods to death: He was so terrified therewith, as hee took the pointiards which he had brought thither, and feeling their points and edges, hee made shew to doe that which they had counselled him: but growing fearefull and a coward, hee put them againe into their sheaths, faining that his farrall houre was not yet come. And sometimes he prayed and increased some one of those which were with him, to kill himselfe, to the end that he might follow his example: At other times he would reprove himselfe for his base minde and want of courage, vntill at last hearing the noise of certain horsemen, which by the commandement of the Senate came to seeke him, he set a poinyard to his throat, wherewith, with the helpe of one of his seruants, he wounded himselfe, of which wound within a little while after, hee died; making such gestures and countenances, as made all those which were present amazed therat. And so ended the enemy of mankind, the venom and poison of the earth (for so *PLINY* calleth him) after that he had ruled the Empire foureteen yeeres, and being of the age of two and thirtie yeeres, in the seuenth yeere after the birth of *IESVS CHRIST*. This *NERO* was a man of a goodly constitution, neither high nor low, of a faire countenance though somewhat wanton; his eyes greenish, a round visage, reddish haire, with a thick and full neck, he had a great belly and little legges, and was of a sound complexion: for notwithstanding that he was giuen to all vice and excess, yet in foureteen yeeres that hee reigned, he was neuer but thirfe sick.

His death being known in *Rome*, the ioi which the Senate & people conceived, was incredible; and all came forth into the streetes to congratulate one with another, with bonnets vpon their heads, which was a signe of libertie; for so did slaues vs to weare when their masters made them free. But with all this (as *NERO* had been a great feaster, a spender, a giuer, and was subiect to other vices, vvhich many men loued more then other mens vertues) yet there were some vvhich for a long time honored his sepulchre and did ordinarily set flowers vpon it. And the King of *Parthia* sent his Ambassadors afterwards to *Rome* to confirme the peace and amitie: vvhich with great instance, earnestly desired that the remembrance of *NERO* might be held in honour and reuerence. And as vaine and idle people vs to loue false reports; many beleued that *NERO* was not dead, but that he lay hidden and should returne againe to the Empire, as though he had been enchanted. Saint *AVGVSTINE* also in his booke *de ciuitate Dei* saith, that some were of opinion that *NERO* was antichrist; vvhich vanity gaue occasion that twenty yeeres after there rose a man in *Asia*, naming himselfe *NERO*, vvhich caused great trouble and alteration, being assisted by the Parthians: although that in truth there remained no house of *NERO*, neither son nor daughter, adopted or naturall, and he was the last Emperour of the house and familie of the *CAESARS*, founders of the Empire; so in him ended his lineage, notwithstanding that the name continueth vnto this day.

SEYTONIVS writeth, that there were many signes fore-shewing the fall and end of *CAESARS* house in *NERO*, but among the rest there were two most euident: As *LIUIA* once

The Senate
to seeke out
Nero.

Nero flew him
selfe.

In Nero was
ended and con-
tinued the
lineage of the
Caesars.

after her marriage with A V G V S T V S went to see a farnie house of hers, an Eagle soaring over her head, let fall a white Hen into her lap, holding in her bill a Laurel branch. And thinking it fit to haue both the fowle kept, and the Laurel set in the ground, behold, of the one there came many chickens all white which multiplied daily; so as the verie house was called *Ad Gallinas*: And of the other there sprang fo faire a row of Bay-trees, as all the CÆSARS when they did ride in triumph, gathered from thence their Garlands: and the manner was, when they had triumphed, presently to prick downe others in the same place; and it was obserued, that a little before the death of euerie one, the tree, by him planted, did also die. But in the last yeere of NERO both bay-trees withered at the roote, and all the Hens died. And soone after the Temple of the CÆSARS being strooken with lightning, the heads of all their statues fell downe at once, and A V G V S T V S scepter was shaken out of his hand.



THE LIFE OF SERGIUS GALBA, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND SEVENTH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.



Sergius Galba succeeded Nero, and in his old age was advanced to the Empire. This man was of the Noble Family of the Sulpitij, very intemperate in his diet, and of no great good fame concerning Sodomie, and gouerned the Empire by the counsell of three of his familiars. Before his coming to the Empire he subdued many Provinces, and was very severe in the execution of martiall discipline. He was learned in the liberall sciences, but chiefly very expert in the lawes. He was unfortunate in his children: for those which he had dyed before him; and he whom he adopted, whose name was Piso Licinianus, was slaine a little after him. This old man dyed through the sedition of Orcho, who sent certaine Soldiers to cut off his head in the publick market place, whether he came armed to repress the tumults. His bodie was left to the mercede of the people; yet in the end was buried by one of his bondmen. Hee liued twenty and three yeeres, and gouerned the Empire sixteen moneths and fourteen dayes. His death seemed to be verie acceptable to the people, as to those which are euer desirous to see alterations.



NERO being dead in such manner as we haue declared, to the great ioy (and with a generall consent) of all men, SERGIUS GALBA was created Emperour: who in the time of NERO was nominated and proclaimed by the Armie which was in Spain; and hee was the first that receiued the Empire from the hands of the Armie, the Senate consenting thereto and approouing the same; hauing no Affinitie or Alliance with the House and Family of the CÆSARS, neither by Blood, nor yet by Adoption: For, alwaies vntill this time the Empire succeeded by inheritance and succession from one to another, being either kinsmen by Nature, or else by Adoption. Now to declare the life and fortunes of

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SERGIUS GALBA before he was Emperour, would require a large discourse; for he came to it at the age of 72 yeers, and enioyed it not one whole yeer: so as seeing that I write an Imperiall historie, I will not for so short a discourse (as was his raighe) make fo long a preamble. Let it suffice for him, and so much as shall appertaine to our historie, to know, that SERGIUS GALBA was of a most noble familie in Rome, descended from the S V L P I T I J, by surname G A L B A, and from other noble and ancient families; whereof, although men speake diuerfly, yet he was wont to boast, that by his father he was descended from I V P I T E R, and by his mother from P A S I P H A E, wife to M I N O S king of Creta; of whom is reported that notable fable of a Bull. And you shall also know that in his life time he had obtained many Magistracies and dignities in Rome and abroad, whereby he wonne great credit both in peace and warre: for being borne about the 46. yeer of the raighe of O C T A V I A N V S, A V G V S T V S, or within little more or lesse, he liued after in the times of T I B E R I V S, C A L I G V L A, C L A V D I V S and N E R O; and was well knowne and honoured by them all; which could not be, without great wisdome and valour, to support and increase his honour in times of such confusion; and vnder so tyrannous Princes, although imitating them, he eschued not some of their vices, for which hee was noted and defamed. So as speaking indifferently of this Emperour, we may say, that hee was betweene good and bad, and so it seemeth that C O R N E L I V S T A C I T V S noteth him; yet P L Y T A R C H, who writeth his life grauely and at large, amongst other defects in his raighe, saith the fault vpon the time, and the euill conditions of men in that age, and of G A L B A hee treateth as of a good Emperour. And he and others write, that he was learned in the liberall Sciences, and much inclined and giuen to learning and knowledge, particularly in the lawes and customes. He was but once married, and then with a Gentle-woman, whose name was L E P I D A: who being dead, and two sons which he had by her, he would neuer marrie any more. And this shall suffice for the notice of the person and qualities of G A L B A. Now let vs speake of his raighe, which although it were short, yet it was not so in the accidents which happened.

After that G A L B A had rebelled in Spain, in such manner as is said, and that the title of Emperour was giuen him, and by him accepted; in the meane space vntill N E R O died, and a little before he knew of his death, he was in great trouble and danger: for although that presently in the beginning all went well with him; and he tooke a house and held the state of an Emperour, taking a guard, and chusing for his counsell, with whom he might confesse and consult of matters of importance, certaine of the principall and wisest men of the legion whereof hee had the charge, and had giuen offices and dignities, and the inhabitants of the province made their repaire to him to doe him seruice: yet vpon a sodain all was in combustion; for part of the Cohorts began to repent them of what they had done; and were ready to haue abandoned him. And it also happened that a certaine seruant to one of N E R O's his custanlished men, hauing been procured thereto, resolved, and mist but a little to haue slaine him, in a passage as he was going to certaine bathes: And about all, the death of I V L I V S V I N D E X which then ensued, troubled him mo³; who, as we said, rebelled in France, and had induced him to make himselfe Emperour, which V I N D E X slew himself, for that his troups had fought with R V S V S V I R G I N I V S his forces, who was captain of the legions in Germany which also rebelled; which battaile was against the will of both the commanders, and I V L I V S V I N D E X his forces being overcome, and of them 22000 slaine, he therefore killed himselfe.

These newes, being added to the former, did fo trouble G A L B A, as he was in despair both of the Empire, and of his life. But about this time (for, it was in a manner all at one instant) newes came from Rome of the death of N E R O, with certain notice, that the Senate and Pretorian Cohorts had chosen and accepted of G A L B A for Emperour. Which newes one I C E L I V S a Libertine brought him; for which he afterwards did him many fauours: and messengers increasing, much people with these tidings repaireing to his seruice, he took his way toward Rome, accompanied with men of warre. And vpon the way V I R G I N I V S R V F V S, Captain of the Legions in Germany, sent to yeeld him his obedience; who until then had shewed himselfe neutrall, attending the will of the Senate, notwithstanding that he had declared himselfe against N E R O. This old (although new) Emperour, travelling towards Rome (as it commonly hapneth in things that are done with little consideration) his coming to Rome was nothing so pleasing as his election: for, before him there came certain newes, which gave occasion of discontentment, that he was not onely cruell, but also covetous; as Princes are much noted both in their doings and sayings. And it was also reported, that such Cities of Spain and France as had not in time repaired unto him to offer their seruice and obedience, hee had condemned

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The image of
Sergius Gal-
ba.Galba, learned
in the liberal
Arts.Newes which
put Galba into
despaire.

in great summes of money, and had charged them with great tributes; and that of some of them hee had commanded the wals to bee throwne down, and the Governours to bee put to death. Which reports of his cruelty and covetousnes were confirmed and augmented at his first entrance into *Rome*: for, when he would have forced the mariners and sea-men (whom *NERO* had inrouled in a Legion, and made lawfull fouldiers) to return againe to their former estate and condition, and they (making refusal) called insolently for their Eagle, and other military Ensignes, hee not only sent a troop of horsemen among them, who trod them under their feet, but also executed every tenth man. In like manner the Cohort of the Germans, which in former times had been ordained for the guard of *CÆSAR*'s person, and had been alwayes found very trusty and faithfull, he discharged, and sent them home into their Country, without any recompense for their service; pretending that they were better affected to *CNÆIVS DOLOABELLA*, than to him.

Being in *Rome*, with this secret discontentment, although with publike joy and solemnity, he began to take upon him the administration and government of the Empire, and did some things as a wife and worthy Prince, and took good order to assure himself against those which had rebelled: for, in *Africa* he caused *CLODIVS MACER* to be slain, because hee practised to make a combustion in that Country, by the means of *TREBONIVS GRATIANVS*; and for the same cause he commanded to be slain, in the Frontiers of *Germanie*, *FONTEIVS* a captain, whom *VALENS FABIVS* and *CORNELIVS AQVINVS*, Lieutenants to the Legions in *Germanie*, slue. And in *Rome* *NERVIDVS SABINVS*, a Prefect, was put to death: who, after *NERO* was dead, practised to make himself Emperour. Which executions although they were not to be blamed, yet they did discontent and grieve many. Also the common people, being affected to the feasts and dissolute sports of *NERO*, and being accustomed thereto, loved better those his vices, than the ancient virtues of *GALBA*.

The Pretorian and Virbane Cohorts, seeing that the Emperour *GALBA* did not performe the promises which were made vnto them, began likewise to murmur; yea and to repent them to haue yielded him their obedience. They were also much discontented, for that he had brought with him a legion of Spaniards, and lodged them certaine daies in the citie; where-with they held themselves wronged. But that which made him to be hated and abhorred of all men, were his favorites, which principally were three, in equall in conditions and behaviour, but equall in power and credit with him; the one of them was called *TITVS IVNIVS*, and had bin his Lieutenant in *Spain*, and then was Consul; the other was *CORNELIVS LACVS*, an infamous man and ill beloved, whom he made Pretorian Prefect, which was the greatest dignitie and authoritie next to the Emperours; the third was *ICELIVS MARCIANVS*, who had brought the newes into *Spain* of the death of *NERO*. By the counsell of these men he was governed, the short time that his raigne endured. And this was such, as without any constancie or resolute staiednes (as became a Prince) he did things many times one contrarie to the other, according to the will of some of them: so as sometimes he shewed himselfe severe and rigorous; and at other times slow, remisse and negligent, condemning some vnheard, and pardoning others without any reason, at the instance of those men. And as they for their desert were ill beloved; so commonly with the Prince which is governed, all those which haue not the like authoritie with him, are discontented; by this reason he made himselfe ill beloved. Whereof this was a helpe, that hee sought to moderate and diminish the excellent gifts and rewards which *NERO* was wont to give without measure or reason, seeking to apply it to his owne benefit, allowing but a tenth part out of it; and with this strict condition; That if any actors upon the stage, wrestlers or other Champions had sold any such donations formerly given vnto them, the same should be taken from the buiers, seeing that the parties who had sold the same, had spent the money, and were not able to repaie it. And to encrease the peoples hatred and discontent, when as they called on him for Iustice, and to haue *HALOTVS* and *TALOTVS* executed, the onely men of al *NERO*'s Instruments who wrought most mischief, he saved them from danger, advancing *HALOTVS* to a Procuratorship, and rebuking the people for their cruelty against *TIGELLIVS*.

And besides what is already said, his ynwieldie old age began to be had in contempt, so as every man durst presume to murmur at him, and to doe any thing against his authoritie. Matters standing upon these tearmes in *Rome*, those abroad were in as little rest: for seeing that the Armie and province of *Spain* had made an Infection and chosen an Emperour either of envie or discontentment, there were in most parts mutinies, factions and desire of alteration; and princi-

principally in the Romane armie which was in high *Germanie*, the captaine whereof was *RIVVS VIRGINIVS*; before named: for these legions waxing proud, by reason of the victorie which they had obtained against the armie of *IVLIVS VINDEVS*, and making no account of *ORDRONIVS FLACCVS*, who was their Commaunder, and Lieutenant to *VIRGINIVS*; holding themselves for suspected, and in disgrace with the Emperour *GALBA*, because they were the last that came to his service, they determined to bee the first that should leave the same. And the first day of Ianuarie being come, wherein they did vse to sweare, and to doe homage of fidelitie to the Emperour, they refused to doe it to him, but to the Senate; and sent to the Pretorian Cohorts at *Rome*, to let them vnderstand, that they would not obey that Emperour who was created in *Spain*; & that the Senat should chuse such a one whom they thought fit; whereto they remitted them selves: Yet *SVERONIVS* faith, they referre this choise to the same Cohorts. The legions in *Germanie* standing upon these tearmes, those in low *Germanie* were as little obedient, whose captaine was *VITELLIVS*; who having founded the good wil of the fouldiers (notwithstanding that hee was sent thither by *GALBA*, & had received that charge from him) through a desire to raigne violating his faith (as *VITELLIVS* *CÆSAR* was wont to say, that for rule it was lawfull to breake any faith) he practised to get the Empire to himselfe. And for as much as he afterwards came to be Emperour, it shall not not be amisse to giue the reader to vnderstand what hee was. This *VITELLIVS* was a man of great reputation and authoritie; which hee had gotten in the offices and Magistracies which he had held in *Rome*, and abroad, in the time of the Emperours *CAIVS CALIGVLA*, *CLAVDIVS* and *NERO*, with all which he had been very priuate, more for his vices, and some abilities of his person, then for any virtues. With *CALIGVLA* he was in grace, for that he was a great *Amiga*; for so were they called which had the charge and rule of chariots and waggons: with *CLAVDIVS*, for that he was a great gamester: with *NERO*, for the same, and such like qualities. And besides this, as he was very subtil and cunning, so hee obtained in those times great dignities and offices, of Prefect, of priesthood, and also to be Viceconsul in *Africa*, which hee wisely executed: and in the end *GALBA* gaue him this command in *Germanie*, where hee succeeded that which we will declare. His principall descent was from the familie of the *VITELLI*; whereof because there are sundrie opinions, some making it very ancient, and others to be of later time, I will make no question thereof: the same happened to his fathers and ancestors, for some said that he was of meane degree. *SVERONIVS* in his life treateth thereof more at large, to whom I referre the curious reader: for, what is spoken, sufficeth for my purpose, thereby to vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.

The Emperour *GALBA* being aduertised of all that had passed in the armies of *Germanie*, and knowing that besides his age, he was not respected, for that he had neuer a sonne that might succeed him, hee resolved to put in execution what he sometimes before had proiected, which was to adopt and chuse for his sonne, some personage of such age & authoritie, as might be sufficient and capable of the Empire, & who in his life time might protect him, & after his decesse succcede him. His favorites, & such as were priuate with him, vnderstanding this his determination, each of them apart pretended to giue him a sonne of his chusing, so as there arose strife and contention amongst them vpon this occasion. *OTHO* gaped after it and thought to haue obtained this adoption (it was he, from whom we said, that *NERO* tooke his wife *POPPEA* and sent him into *Spain*) alleaging for his desert, that presently after *GALBA*'s rebellion against *NERO*, he was the first that came to his service. A great part also of the Pretorian and Virban Cohorts fauoured him (which Historiographers indifferently call the Armie which lay neere to *Rome*) and most of all *TITVS IVNIVS* assisted him, who was one of *GALBA*'s fauorites, and was Consul with him that yeere: so as *OTHO* did assure himselfe that no other should be adopted but hee. But *GALBA* being fully resolved to that which was most expedient for the good of the common-wealth, without any other respect, & likewise disliking the disposition of *OTHO* (which sented of *NERO*'s conditions) he took no regard of what was said vnto him; but vpon a day when no man thought of any such matter, being in the Senate, hee tooke *PISO LYCINIANVS* by the hand, who was a man both wise and vertuous, and in whom did concur all the qualities and good conditions that might seeme fit and requisite for an Emperour; and calling him sonne he adopted him, after the manner then accustomed; and with a great traine, in great pompe, he went with him to the Campe, and made the Armie to sweare obedience vnto him, and to receive him for *CÆSAR*: which hee did without giuing any rewards to the fouldiers, or promising them ought, whereto they were accustomed; but

The legions in Germanie yet refused to doe homage to Galb.

Galba resolved to adopt one to succcede him.

Piso adopted by Galba for his fame and justice.

only made a grave oration with great majesty, after the antient manner: and so it was coldly accepted among them, they performing more with silence, than with any signe of gladnes: either in countenance or in speeches; and with the like coldnes he was accepted by the Senate: for, now *Kome* was not capable of equity, or the antient integrity. *GALBA*, having made this adoption, conceived that it would have been the mean to haue preserved and protected his life: but it proved in effect to be the occasion of his confusion and utter ruine. For, *OTHO*, seeing himself deceived in his hope of adoption, and finding the souldiers well affected towards him, for the hatred they had conceived against *GALBA*, resolved to effect his purposes by force and treason: which hee presently practised by all means possible with the Pretorian souldiers, by great gifts, and greater promises which he made unto them. And he so cunningly handled the matter (for, so little faith and loyalty was used in those daies) that in lesse than eight daies hee had plotted his treason; and it was concluded, that they should rebell, and create him Emperour (as they did) with the death of poor old *GALBA*, which was performed in this manner:

GALBA being with certaine his priuate friends in his palace doing sacrifice; this *OTHO* being there with him, he stole secretly away from him to a place appointed, where a number of souldiers of the Pretorian Cohorts attended his coming; who took him vpon their shoulders, calling him Emperour, and drawing their swords (to give the greater terror to the people) went with him towards their campe. This being related vnto *GALBA*, who doubted not any such matter, it extremely perplexed him; and as his counsells were sudden, so were they inconstant & variable. For some were of opinion that his best course was to put himselfe in arms, and to go publickly abroad; for with his presence he might haue staid the tumult from proceeding any further; others, that it were best for him to fortifie himself in the Capitoll, and there to stay till he should see to what issue the matter would grow. The poor old man wavered, and was doubtful what resolution to take, the messages which were brought him were so diuerse: for, some made the matter nothing; and others, very dangerous. In the end, deceived by a false report which they brought him (that the Army had not only refused to receive *OTHO* for Emperour, but had slain him) he rode armed with his guard, and some others which repaired unto him, even unto the principall place in *Rome*, where all the people were assembled to see what would be the end of so great a combustion. At that Instant there entred on the other side a great troop of horsemen which *OTHO* had sent from the Camp (where he was chosen Emperour) against *GALBA*, to kill him: who although they came with that resolution and charge, yet coming within his sight, and knowing him, they stood amazed a pretty while, as doubting what they should doo. At this time was *GALBA* most perplexed, not knowing whereon to resolve; and the multitude and prease of people was so great about him, as they swaid him sometimes to one side, and sometime to the other: and, as it commonly hapneth in such accidents and tumults, that then the counsell is praised and approved when the time is past wherein it might have been put in execution; and, standing irresolute whether he should return to the Palace, or shut himself up in the Capitoll, having had sufficient time for either; now, when he would have done the one or the other, hee could not: For, being abandoned by the greatest part of those which did accompany him, they who were sent by *OTHO*, set upon him, after they had stode a good space doubtfull (as I said) and there slue him. *PLVTARCH* writes (although some others report it after another manner) that when as those which came to kill him drew neere unto him, he thrust out his head, to the end they should cut it off; willing them to doo it, if so it were expedient for the Good of the Common-wealth, and of the Roman people. And so it was stricken off, and set on the point of a Lance, and presented to *OTHO*, and from him was carried up and down the Camp; and his body remained in the place without a head, for any man to tread upon, untill at last it was buried by a bondman of his. And the same day, by *OTHO* his commandement, was *PISO* *LVCIANVS* put to death, whom *GALBA* (as I said) had adopted for his sonne and successor: and so was *TITVS* *VINIVS* also, who was Consul; and others of his Favourites, whose heads were all carried to the Camp to *OTHO*, whom all men now obeyed for Emperour: and, being laid together with *GALBA*'s head, every one gloried to have embred his hands in their blood. No mans death did *OTHO* so much reioyce at, no mans head did hee view and review so unsatiably, as *PISO*'s; whether hee thought himself then freed from fear and care, *PISO* being his enemy & concurrent; or that the remembrance of Majesty in *GALBA*, or acquaintance with *VINIVS*, had moved him to compassion.

And so ended the life of the Emperour *GALBA*, having held the Empire only seven months. His death was in the year of our Saviour *IHSVS* CHRIST 71, and 73 of his age. Hee was a

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man of a good constitution of body, greenish eyed, hauke nosed, very balde: and by reason of the great paine of the gowt wherewith he was afflicted, his fingers and toes were weak and crooked: he was a great feeder, very incontinent, and giuen to women.



THE LIFE OF MARCVS SILVIVS OTHO, FIRST OF THAT NAME, ANDEIGHT ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGUMENT.



OTHO borne of a Noble Family, took the Empire after *Galba*, although his euill fortune would not suffer him to enioy the same long: for at the same time that *Otho* was made Emperour in *Rome*, *Vitellius* was proclaimed Emperour in *Germanie*. And for as much as the one would not giue place to the other, in the end they came to blowes: and after vnicie battles, *Otho* being the los'r, not knowing what other course to take in his aduersitie, slue himself, which although he med not answerable to the life which he had led, which was more like to the life of a woman, then the courage of a man. This man governed the Empire four moneths, and dyed in the xxx. year of his age. He was so deere to his owne souldiers, that whilst his bodie was burning after the manner then of the Romanes, many of them slew themselves with their owne hands.



His Raigne of *GALBA* (of whom we haue now ended our discourse) of *OTHO*, and *VITELLIVS* his successors, of which we are to treat, were so short, so turbulent, so confused, & gotten by such wicked and vnlawfull means, as more properly they might be called Tyrants, then Emperours, and so some writers tearme them: neither do they put them in the catalogue of Emperours, of which are *Saint ISIDORE* and *BEDA*. And the great Magician *APOLLONIVS* *THIANEVVS*, who liued in that time vied to say, that *GALBA*, *OTHO*, and *VITELLIVS* were *Theban* Emperours: and the reason was, for that the *Thebanes* held the Empire a verie small time, and so did these as little the Empire of *Rome*. *PLVTARCH* in the life of *GALBA*, compareth them to Kings in a Tragedie, which last no longer then the time that they are represented vpon the Stage. But howsoeuer it was, they obtained the names of Emperours; whether the Senate gaue it them for feare or flattery, I will not decide: But paising on with *PLVTARCH*, *CORNELIVS* *TACITVS*, and the rest which write of them, I say that the same day wherein *GALBA* was slaine, there was no man of any account which went not to the Campe where *OTHO* was, to yeeld him obedience and to flatter him, as their soveraigne Lord and Emperour, commending the Cohorts and Army for that which they had done, in putting *GALBA* to death, and for the election of *OTHO*.

OTHO was a man very valiant and witty; and was the sonne of *LVCIVS* *OTHO* who had bin Consul, of an ancient and honorable familie; and was so like vnto *TIBERIVS* in his gesture and countenance, that some held him for his sonne. His mother also was of a noble house, and so were her progenitors and auncestors. Hereof writeth *SERVATIVS*, and *PLVTARCH* in the life of him: by which and by *CORNELIVS* *TACITVS*, may be vnderstood what was the course of his life before he came to the Empire, or had the name of Emperour; which in briefe I haue before declared, & therefore hold it needlesse to make repetition thereof. *OTHO* besides the occasions which he had to rise against *GALBA*, they write that he had this for one,

which

Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, called Theban Emperours, and compared to Kings vpon a Stage, in a Tragedie.

Otho his descent.

Otho's mother, his pretorian Bands against Galba.

Galba was slain by the direction of Otho, and his head presented vnto him upon the point of a Lance.

which was, that an Astrologer which he carried with him when he was sent by NERO into *Spain*, did foretell and assure him that he should be Emperour of *Rome*. Being in the Camp in such manner as before is recited, compassed about with Senators & the principall men of *Rome*, he came to the Senate; having first commanded the Pretorian Prefect of the citie to assemble the same: where besides the ordinarie blessings and applauses, they gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, and all the other titles and preheminences which the other Emperours desired to haue. And hauing there made a briefe Oration, wherein he set them vnderstand that he was compelled and forced to take vpon him the charge of the Empire, promising to gouerne the same by the counsell and aduise of the Senate, he went from thence through the midst of the place (which was all bloudie and full of dead bodies) to IVPITERs Capitoll, and thence to the Imperiall Palace: and so was OTHO aduanced to the Empire; who was the first that by the Cohorts (which were the Army lodged too neer the City of *Rome*) was chosen and made Emperour, and from whom came the custome to create Emperours, after they had forsaken GALBA: before which time they were ever the Emperours ordinarie guard. This was an accursed and most pernicious introduction for the Roman Empire, and for the Emperours themselves, as experience did afterwards make manifest.

OTHO, to perform his promises, and to make a good beginning and shew of a good Prince, hee commanded much consecrated goods to bee restored to their owners, and to such men as NERO had banished; and did other things in like manner, which were exceeding pleasing to all the people, in such sort, as they took such love and liking to him, that they continued evermore faithfull unto him until his dying day, although in truth his life continued but a short time after. While these matters passed in *Rome*, the Legions and Army, which both in high & lowe *Germania* (as I haue said) were disobedient to GALBA, their Captain VITELLIVS having by gifts and promises purchased their favour and good will, after some treaties (which TACITVS and PLYTARCH describe at large) concluded to create him Emperour, and (without attending the will and pleasure of the Senate) they made him so: for as in a manner, at one instant, OTHO was advertised thereof, and VITELLIVS knew what passed in *Rome*.

The German Legions, presuming that VITELLIVS (whom they had chosen) should continue Emperour, pretending that they had as great authority to create an Emperour as the Legions in *Spain*; the Senate in like manner, the Cohorts, and army at *Rome* pretended to haue the supreme power, & that in them rested the absolute authoritie to choose and create the Emperour, which was OTHO only. And although that OTHO by this means seemed to haue the greatest interest and best tide: yet whether his guiltie conscience did put him in feare, or that it grieved him to thinke of the evils which were likely to ensue (as he afterwards shewed) he sought means by letters & messengers to come to a composition and agreement with VITELLIVS; but nothing was concluded: and the dissension daily increasing betwene them, either partie made preparation for the warres. And certaine tidings being brought that VITELLIVS his forces came marching towards *Italy*, vnder the conduct of two Captaines, whose names were VALENS and CECINNA (VITELLIVS remaining behind them attending more aile) OTHO departed from *Rome* with a faire and well ordered army, of all the Roman Nobilitie, the Pretorian Cohorts, and the Legions which were in the Nauiques by sea vpon the coast of *Italy*, which he sent for to that effect, and such others as he then could leuie: and in this manner he marched from *Rome* verie mightie in number of men, though not much accustomed to train'd vp to the warres, leaving FLAVIVS SABINVS, brother to VESPASIAN, for gouernour, who (as is said) followed the warres against the Iewes; and so he continued his iourney against VITELLIVS, whose forces were already come to the Alpes, to the number of 70000 men, whereof fortie thousand were commanded by VALENS, and the rest by CECINNA, VITELLIVS remaining in *France* expecting the remainder of those in *Germany*, and the Legions of *Britanny* which also came to do him seruice. These two Armies drawing neere the one to the other, the ciuill war began betwene them, and was very cruell in many parts; so to say better, that warre was prosecuted which was begun betwene GALBA and NERO. *Rome* for a good space had not bin infested with any ciuill dissensions, although it escaped not free from sundrie calamities, by reason of the wicked Princes which reigned there; by which means the present miseries which were very great, brought the battailes fought betwene MARIVS and SILLA, IULIVS CAESAR and POMPEY, AVGVSTVS and MARCVS ANTONIVS, and others which depended thereon, into remembrance; with which these whereof we now treat may well make comparison, both for alteration in estates, for number of men, and effusion of blood;

OTHO was the first that was made Emperour by the Pretorian Cohorts.

Vitellius made Emperour by the Legions in *Germany*.

Warre betwene Otho and Vitellius.

I cannot say whether for continuance of time, in countries and prouinces, or no: for after these warres began, there died by the sword foure Emperours (as it hath bin, and shall be declared) which were NERO, GALBA, OTHO and VITELLIVS, besides VINDIX, and other Noble-men which were slain; and besides VINDIX Legions, which (as we said) were overthrowne in *France*, there were great encounters and battels fought, and extreme cruelties committed. And these warres lasted untill VESPASIAN came to bee Emperour, no part of the Empire remaining free from this fury; whereof I can set down but the summe and most notable accidents which hapned therein.

OTHO, coming to the City of *Brixellum*, upon the side of the River *Pa*, remained there, sending his Forces before him, vnder the conduct of good Captains; who were ill obeyed by their souldiers, being growne proud for that they had made an Emperour; imagining, that no man ought to haue the command of them. The like want of obedience was in VITELLIVS Army, and for the same reason: and, the warres waxing cruell betwene these two Commanders and their Armies, they made such haste, as leaving apart the great skirmishes and other encounters, there were within fewe daies space two or three notable battels fought betwixt them: one of which was neere to the City of *Placentia*, the other, neere to *Cremuna*, and the third neere to a place called *Castor*, in which were slain a very great number of men: and in all these three battels OTHO his Captains and the Romans had the better, although that of either side the word was, *Rome* and the Empire.

After which, VALENS and CECINNA, who were VITELLIVS Lieutenants (which untill then had made warres apart) joined their Forces together, reinforcing their Armies with new souldiers and supplies; determining to set up their whole rest in one battell, if the enemy would give it them. At that time (as PLYTARCH reporteth) OTHO, very joyfull for the victories obtained by his Captains, came to his Army at *Bebriacum* (where then it lay) neere unto *Cremuna*; and, seeing that his enemies (notwithstanding they had been put to the worse, and were routed) made shew to desire to fight again, took counsell whether that of his part he should doo the like or no. The greatest part, and wisest men, were of opinion, that he should prosecute the warres without hazarding any battell; for that his enemy endured want of many things, and with their losses past had likewise lost much reputation; and many Countries were revolted from VITELLIVS, and held for OTHO: besides that, VITELLIVS could send them little relief; and, on the contrary, his Army was well provided of all things necessary, and *Rome* and all *Italy* were wholly at his devotion. And, besides all this, the Provinces of the East stood firm for him; and the Legions in *Servia*, *Bulgaria*, *Hungarie*, and *Austria*, were vpon the way coming to his aid: so as he had no reason so often to tempt his fortune, and therefore hee ought to weary his enemy by delays, or else to stay for greater power; wherein there was no doubt of victory. But those which were haughty, and desirous to fight, alleaged many reasons to the contrary; that he ought not to lose the occasion, and the good successe of fortune, neither to suffer VITELLIVS to come to his Army, and to free it from the fear wherein it was; with many other reasons, to the end a battell might be given. And OTHO, being inclined thereto, approved it, and commanded the same to be put in execution: for, in truth, hee did so much abhorre the war, as he held it for a lesse evil to lose the victory, than long to stand in suspense. And being resolved vpon this counsell, he returned to *Brixelle*: for it was agreed, that hee should not personally bee in the battell; and so his Army went to seek VITELLIVS his Forces, which were not farre off. And, as of either party they were desirous to fight, so they came to a battell; where, in the beginning, OTHO his Army was deceived by a shew of peace which his enemies made: whereupon they gave the charge very slowly, and Authors report the manner thereof very diuersly, as it useth to happen in the like accidents: but all affirm, that both the one and the other fought valiantly, saving the Pretorian Cohorts, which were those in whom OTHO reposed his chiefeest trust; through whose default and cowardise, OTHO lost the battell, and VITELLIVS was Victor, and (with great slaughter of his aduersaries) became Master of the Field.

OTHO his Captaines with such others as by flight escaped from the battaile, retired themselves to their campe, and fortified the same, in hope to haue been relieved by their Emperour; notwithstanding that many fled to sundry parts: but he, hearing the newes of the overthrow of his Armie, brought by those which fled vnto him: And among the first that brought this disastrous newes was common Souldier, who when he reported the overthrow of the Army, and could purchase no credit, but was taxed with vntruth, and that he had runne away through

Four Emperours slain in the ciuill warre.

Battels betwixt Otho and Vitellius.

feat

feare and cowardise, he fell vpon his owne sword, at O T H O 's feet: at which sight he cried out: That he would no more draw such valiant fouldiers, and so well deseruing, into danger. Notwithstanding he knew that in the campe there were sufficient forces, and that he had opportunity to temporize, and to stay for the legions which came out of *Mysia, Hungary, Austria, and Dalmatia* to his aid, and were neere at hand: yet he regarded not any of those helps, but with his owne hand resolved to end the ciuill warres, which as it passed for that it is a notable action, although I shall be somewhat tedious I will declare as *PLVTARCH* and *TACITVS* write it, and *SVENTONIVS TRANQVILLVS* also after the report of his owne father, who was then present, which was thus: The heauy tidings of this overthrow being published, all those which were in the citie (which were many and very good men, and the greatest part of the Senate of *Rome*) came to O T H O 's lodging, fearing and suspecting that which afterwards ensued, by reason of that which they had vnderstood by him before: all which with shew of great courage offered to die for his seruice, and endeouored to animate and comfort him: but all this (notwithstanding that he knew a great part of his armie yet remained, and that more forces were coming vnto him, and that there wanted neither courage in his fouldiers, nor means to continue the warres) sufficed not to alter his resolutions, so much did he abhorre ciuill discord and contention. And giuing answer to all the reasons & perswasions which they yfed vnto him, he made vnto them a very notable Oration, signifying, that hee would neuer haue begun the warres against *VITELLIVS*, but in hope of peace, which he had sought and procured before he took Arms, and that he had no use for those legions and forces which they said came to his aid, seeing that his enemy was neither *HANNIBAL* nor *PYRRHVS*, or any other common enemy to the people of *Rome*; but Romans themselves, and the Lords thereof: so as the Conquerers and Conquered did wrong their Countrey if they contended any longer, seeing that the joy of the victory was to the losse and prejudice thereof: And that hee could no way so much aduance the Roman Empire by winning battels in war and contention, as by making a sacrifice of himself for the peace thereof, seeing that by his death onely a generall union and concord would ensue: wherefore he was content that *VITELLIVS* should bee Emperor without any more bloudshed, and he desired no revenge nor rule, to the ruine of his Citizens, neither to diminish the Common-wealth by the losse of such Armies; and that as others had purchased honour and fame by well governing and supporting the Empire, so hee would likewise procure himself a good name by leaving it resolutely, to the end hee would not damne himselfe it. And, finally, speaking these words, and giuing other good reasons, permitting and perswading all those which were with him to go and serue *VITELLIVS*; night being come, he retired himself to his chamber: where he commanded all his money and jewels to be taken out, which he diuided among his servants and friends. Which although they would not accept, yet he commanded them to go to their rest: and he did the like, laying first the sharpest of two Rapiers which he had, under his beds head: and, being laid in his bed, he slept part of the night, in presence of those which were in his chamber, the door standing open; and, awaking about the break of the day, and seeing one of his servants remaining, hee commanded him to goe forth. And, then presently taking the Rapier in his hand, he thrust himself under the left side with such force as the wound was mortall, giuing one only groane, which was heard by his servants, who hastily ran vnto him, and found him struing with death, and died presently vnder their hands. By those which were present, & such as presently repaired thither from all parts of the citie to him, there was so great lamentation made for him, as it seemed the heauens had rent asunder: so much was this man beloued in so few daies. And his bodie was presently burned, according as the custome then was. And so ended the Emperour O T H O manfully and resolutely, according to the opinion and law of the Romans: scarcely foure moneths after that he had usurped the Empire, in the 38. yeere of his age, and the 71. after the birth of *CHRIST*, leauing after him neither sonne nor daughter. He was a man but of a small stature, and had crooked feet; but he was so neat and curious in attiring himselfe, as the care which he tooke therein, was more becoming a woman then a man. He cuer wore a petting, and suffered no iot of his beard to grow, shauing it every day, and so yfed such other effeminate toys, much dissonant from the manly resolution which he shewed at his death. Manie of his soldiers which were about him, when with abundance of reaseth-y had kissed his hands and feet as he lay dead, and commended him for a valiant man, and the onely Emperours that cuer was, presently selfe themselves nere vnto his funerals fire. And manie which were absent, hearing of his end, (oppressed with griefe) flew one another. Finally, manie who in his life cursed and detested him, being now dead, highly commended

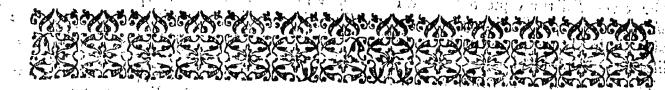
Otho his
Oration.

Otho diuided
his money and
jewels among
his servants and
friends.

Otho thrust
himselfe.

commended him; so as it was an ordinarie speech, That *GALEA* was not slaine by him for that he affected Soueraintie, but because he desired to restore the Common-wealth to her lost libertie.

The newes of his death & of the victory was brought to his enemy *VITELLIVS* in *France*: who hauing intelligence of the losses which his captaines had receiued; was coming with all the forces that he was able to make, to ioyne with them, and to reinforce the armie. In those daies, *LIVIVS* who was *S. PETER'S* successor, held the chiefe seate in the Church of *Rome*, where there was a Church and congregation of Christians; which made their prayers to God for those vvch persecuted them.



THE LIFE OF AVLVVS VITELLIVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND NINTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.



After Otho, Aulus Vitellius, borne of a Noble Family, succeeded in the Empire, wherein his was unfortunate: for he reigned the same but 8. moneths. This man was of a cruell disposition, and of a boonwillfull minde. In his time Vespasian, being in the East, was made Emperour by his Soldiers; who coming to a battaile in Italy against Vitellius, took him prisoner: and binding his hands behinde him, leading him (publickly) halfe naked, and his face all durty, they flew him with many wounds, in the same place where he had put Sabinus, Vespasians brother, to death. Hee liued 57. yeeres, and reigned (as is aboue said) little more then halfe a yeere.

By whose misery it plainly appeareth how variable the motions of fortune are, and that oftentimes a kingdom is lost through the same meanes whereby it was vniuersally gotten, as appeareth in this Emperour: for Vespasian did by him as he had done by his Predecessor Otho.



the contention for the Title of Emperour continued betwixt *Otho* and *VITELLIVS*, as by that which is already said may be vnderstood: *Otho* being dead, all yielded to *VITELLIVS*: which hapned in this manner: The great lamentation made for the death of *Otho* being ended; all the men of warre, both Legionarie and Prerorian, with all the rest, made repair to the lodging of *VIROINIVS*, who had been Commander of the German Legions, who fought against *VINDEX* his Army when they both made a mutinie against *NERO*. And, being all assembled together, they entreated him to take upon him the name of Emperour; offering him their seruice, and to die in the action; and if that hee pleased not to accept thereof, yet at the least that hee would be their Ambassador to *VALENS* and *CERCINNA*; and obtaine their pardon of them. *VIROINIVS RVIVS*, who was a wife and valiant man answered them vvith the best vvords he could deuise; alleging that to him it seemed follie to accept of the Empire from the hands of those which were ouercome, hauing refused the same of the German Legions, which now were victors, wherein the life of *NERO* they had offered it him. And as concerning the ambassage which they requested him to performe for them, he gaue them a doubtfull and vncertaine answer, still putting them in hope, vntill that he was gotten into his lodging, and out againe at a backe dore, and so retired to a secret place where hee hid himselfe vntill that furie was past. But a certain man of note whose name was *RVIVS*

I

GALEVS,

GALLVS, afterwards accepting of that iourney, went to VITELLIVS his Captaines to treat thereof, and peace and pardon was graunted, as well to these men as to the armie ouercome neere *Bedriaco*, and so all came to the obedience of VITELLIVS in his absence. The like was done by part of the Senate which came with OTHO, and was then in *Modena*. And in *Rome*, when as the death of OTHO was known, FLAVIVS SABINVS (being Prefect of the citie) assembled the Senate, who conforming themselves to the time (which was now to profer service and to flatter) with the accustomed solemnity proclaimed VITELLIVS for Emperor, giuing him the title of AVGVSTVS, and *Pater patriæ*, with other honourable titles and Epithets, resolving to giue great thanks, and to commend the Armie for that which was done. Thenewes of all this came to the new Emperor VITELLIVS in *France* vpon the coast of *Italy*: which how pleasing it was to him, may easily be imagined; wherewith he hastened his way with admirable pompe and pride, his soldiers in all the cities as they passed, committing many disorders and inuolencies.

Vitellius con-
firmed Empe-
rour by this Se-
nate.

The German Legions which were in *Italy*, grown proud through the victorie which they had obtained, and for that they were the Authors of VITELLIVS his Empire, committed outrages neuer scene nor heard of in that countrey before, whereof the spoils and losse vvhich these people sustained was inestimable, as TACITVS and SVETONIVS report: And VITELLIVS, coming full of pride for his victorie into *Italy*, either could not, or would not remedie these disorders. And that in some sort he might seem to doe iustice and shew himselfe a Iusticer, he caused all the Pretorian Cohorts, which had been actors about the death of GALLA, and making of OTHO Emperor, to be disarmed and deprived of the name and honor of Souldiers, and commanded their armes to be taken from them, and one hundred and twentie of the most guiltie he condemned to death, and being sought and found out, a iust sentence was executed vpon them, if it had proceeded from a iust Iudge. VITELLIVS, thus marching towards *Rome*, desired to see the place where his Captaines obtained the victorie against OTHO, his Armie, and being but *fortie daies after the same*, the fields lay full of dead bodies which were yet vnburied; and as many of those which were with him could not endure the euill smell thereof, the cruell tyrant reprooued them, saying, That there was no sweeter sent in the world, then the smell of an enemy when he is dead, and especially of a citizen: A speech doublelesse very inhumane and cruell; the which is written to be abhorred, and ought to be read with the like affection.

The cruell speech
of Vitellius.

VITELLIVS being come to *Rome*, as vpon the way many scandals and outrages were committed by the sundrie nations which came with him, with infinite robberies and spoiles done in the countrey, so was his entry into the citie fearefull and terrible: for he entred into it as into an enemies countrey which had bene conquered, mounted vpon a great horse, clad in militarie and warlike habiliments, the Senate and people of *Rome* going before him as though that he had triumphed ouer them; compassed about with standards, with the Eagles, and sundrie other ensignes, and his whole Army both of foot and horse, armed in the best armour and furniture that could be gotten. In this manner he went to the Capitoll to make his prayers to IVPITER, and afterwards he went in the same manner to his Palace: and the next day commanding the Senate to be assembled, he came thither; where he made a fit speech, magnifying with little wit or discretion his acts and adventures, and promising great goodnes of himselfe; and by them was humble answered, obeyed and honoured as Emperor, and their soueraign Lord.

Vitellius his
entrie into
Rome.

Departing from the Senate and taking his way towards his palace, all the people of *Rome* (being accustomed to flatter and to make offers of their seruice) met him, making shew of great ioy, applauding and blessing him: and as new accidents euer bring good hopes, so all were of opinion that VITELLIVS would proue a good Emperor. These fit solemnities being ended, he made himself presently to be chosen high Priest, and perpetuall Consul; and took to himselfe certain dignities, such as he thought good, and commanded that Magistrates should be chosen for ten yeers before hand: so absolutely and tyrannously purposed he to have usurped all things, if time would have sufficed him. And, thinking by his industry to have prolonged his life, he banished out of *Rome* and all *Italy* all the Iudiciall Astrologers called Mathematicians, because they had said, that his Raig should not continue one yeer compleat. And hee was so incensed against them, as, if Information were made against any one, hee presently put him to death without hearing the Partie. Presently after the making of his Edict for their banishment by the first of October, there was a Writing set vp in the open market place, to this effect: Wee give warning by these Presents unto VITELLIVS GERMANICVS, that by the Calends

Vitellius
banished the
Mathematicians
from *Rome*.

of the said October, he be not extant in any place wherefoeuer. After this, falling to his old humors and licentious inclination, he began to giue himself to the practices and vices of NERO, and such like; which were plaies and dishonest sports vpon Theatres, with public feasts; wherein he consumed an infinite treasure, desiring to make the beginning of his Empire acceptable and pleasing. In which time he made so great banquets, as neuer any Emperour had done the like before him: at which, was given to his guests (which were a great number of people) such things as neuer were thought or heard of; wherein he spent inestimable summes. SVETONIUS writes, that he sometimes commanded one, and sometimes another, to invite him: in which feasts they spent at the least ten thousand crowns. But, above all others, one supper was most stately, made by his Brother the day he entred into *Rome*; at which there were two thousand choice Fishes, and seven thousand Fowle. At which supper, to make it more magnificent, hee did consecrate a Charger of a huge capacity, and called it MITHRAVS'S Shield: in the which were the Livers, Brains, and Tongues, of rare Fowles; with the spawn of Mulletts, which hee had caused to be fisht from the Carpathian Sea to that of *Spain*.

During these pleasures (and afterwards) hee executed great cruelties; in such sort, as, if his Raig had lasted long, he would have made himself equall with NERO, whom hee did imitate: for, he did put many to death contrary to all law and equity, seeking forgeries and false accusations against them; with some of which he had held strict friendship and familiarity: one of which, coming to visit him being sick, and calling for a little water to drink, he with his own hand cast poison into the cold water, and poisoned him. At another time he commanded two young men being brothers to be slain, for no other cause, but because they came to intreat him to pardon their father, whom hee had condemned to die. And on a time a Roman Knight being caried by his commandment toward the place of execution, he commanded him to be slaid, because hee said he had nominated him for his heir by his Will and Testament: and seeing his Will, and finding that jointly with him he had made a bondman of his, whom hee had enfranchised, his heir with him, he commanded him to be slain, and the poor Libertine also, without any other occasion. An Vsurer, coming to salute him, and to doo his duty, he delivered him to the executioner to be put to death; and presently called for him back again: But when as the standers-by commended him for his clemency, hee commanded the Partie to bee slain before his face; saying, that he would feed his eyes. Hee also used the like cruelties vpon some poor and mean people; of which vpon a time he commanded a great number to be slain, for no other occasion, but for that in certain sports which were used on horseback, and in chariots (wherein were sundry men apparellled in sundry colours) they took part with those which were clad in green, which was called the Præstian faction; hee being affected to the contrary colour, which they called Venetian, which was grey: which two colours and factions (although there were white and red also) were the chief among all the rest. And amongst these colours the good liking and favour of the Roman people was so diuided, as this affection extended it selfe euen to the Emperours themselves: as now to VITELLIVS, who fauoured the grey colour; as NERO and CALIGULA before him had affected the green: and sometime (as it shall be hereafter declared) about these vanities there followed great riots and murders.

Cruelties com-
mitted by Vi-
telli.

These and other such like cruelties and tyrannies committed VITELLIVS in *Rome*, and some of his Captains and Favourites did no lesse: for, having obtained the victory, euerie one reuenged himself on him whom he hated; and sometime they fained displeasures, thereby to haue a colour under which they might rob and spoil the innocent: such are the fruits of ciuill war. Besides this, the violences and oppressions which were committed in *Rome* were very great, and in the marches thereof by the men of war which he brought with him, and were lodged in the Countrey, staying to see him settled in the Empire.

While as VITELLIVS made so ill a beginning in the City of *Rome*, suffering himself to be led and governed by Libertines, and such as were odious to all men; after that *Italy*, *Spain*, *France* and *Africa*, were come to his obedience; in the East the Legions which were there for the defence thereof, although that in the beginning they refused not his Command, yet they presently did beginne to mutine, and very shortly after resolved to make VESPASIAN their Emperour, who at this time (as is aforesayd) made warre against the Iewes, which began about the end of the raigne of NERO; They having rebelled, being abused with an olde fabulous Prophecie, which they did constantly beleue, That by the appointment of the destinies about such a time ther should come some out of Iurie, who should be Lords of the whole world: but the euent did shew it was meant by the Roman Empire. The issue thereof passed in such manner as followeth:

VESPASIAN, who for his worthy acts in his life past, was much esteemed, in this war gained greater estimation: for he obtained many victories, and besieged and took many cities in *India*, and *Paxestina*; vntill that at last being ready to besiege the citie of *Ierusalem*; the Emperour *NERO* died: and vnderstanding of his death, and being doubtfull what would ensue, he continued the warre for a space, vntill he might see who should succede in the Empire: and knowing that *GALBA* prevailed, he took no care to proceede any further or to oppress the citie, but preferred what he had gotten, & kept the enemie in awe, observing what course the new Emperour would take: and so he sent his sonne *TITVS* to *Rome*, to treat of this business, and to offer him his obedience. Who being hindred by contrarie weather, when he came to the coast of *Achaia* in *Gracia*, he was aduertised that *GALBA* was slaine by the direction of *OTHO*; wherefore he held it for his best course to returne to his father, and so he did: and as *OTHO* his raigne continued but foure moneths as is aboue said, and in the same followed the ciuill warres betwene him and *VITELLIVS*, *VESPASIAN* continued as a general although that he acknowledged *OTHO* for Emperour, vntill that *VITELLIVS* obtained the victory, and *OTHO* was slaine; which was nothing pleasing to him, neither to the Captaines in the East, neither to their armies, for the dislike they had that so vicious a man as *VITELLIVS* should be Emperour: and so that day wherein they sware fealtie to their new Emperour, with the accustomed solemnitie, in presence of *VESPASIAN* (*CORNELIVS TACITVS* writeth) that the Legions performed it with great silence and heauienes. And *VESPASIAN* prosecuting the warre with great honour and fame, and hauing now resolved to besiege the citie of *Ierusalem*; the murmuring and discontentment so much increased against the new Emperour *VITELLIVS*, as well in the armie which *VESPASIAN* commanded, as in those in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, and other ordinarie Legions in the East; as they all fixed their eyes vpon *VESPASIAN*, resolving to create him Emperour against *VITELLIVS*: whereto was a great helpe, the certaine newes which came that the Legions in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, had the same resolution: for (as is before related) they came to the aide of *OTHO* when his armie was defeated, and he flew himselfe: and continuing in the same resolution, they disobeied *VITELLIVS*, desiring and nominating *VESPASIAN* for Emperour. In such sort as vpon these motions, there passed some messages and letters betwene *TIBERIVS ALEXANDER*, who was gouernour of *Egypt*, and *LICINIVS MUCIANVS* gouernour of *Syria*; who concluded that *VESPASIAN* should be Emperour, although that he refused it. And this matter being begun by *TIBERIVS ALEXANDER*, who was gouernour of *Egypt*, in the citie of *Alexandria*; *VESPASIAN* was in his absence proclaimed Emperour, and al the Army confirmed the same with great applause, doing their accustomed homage: which happened the first day of Iuly in the seauentic and two yeere after the birth of *CHRIST*. And this was accounted for the beginning of the raigne of *VESPASIAN*; and within eight daies or little more or lesse his Armie did the like, entreating him first to accept thereof: and he refusing and gaine saying it (as *EGESIPIVS* and *IOSEPHVS* doe testifie) they forced and compelled him with their drawne swords threatening to kill him if he refused the same. Hauing accepted thereof and performed all the solemnities requisite in so great an accident, *VESPASIAN* as a valiant and excellent prince, with the like wisdom and valour as he had lined being a subiect, began to shew himselfe a Lord; and to provide for all things with great authoritie and iudgement, sending Ambassadors, and writing letters to all parts of the world.

And within few daies after this, all the armies and prouinces of the East came to his obedience and seruice; and the like in *Europe* did those of *Mysia*, *Bulgaria*, *Serua*, and those of *Hungarie* and *Austria* then called *Pannonia*; and also those in *Slauonia*, then called *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum*, whose ancient names I will sometime vse vntill such time as they shall lose the same. The like I haue done and will doe in most of the prouinces of the Empire. All things happening so prosperous and luckily to *VESPASIANVS*, hauing resolved with *MUCIANVS* gouernour of *Syria*, *TIBERIVS ALEXANDER* gouernour of *Egypt*, and with his owne sonne *TITVS* what was best to be done, it was decreed that *TITVS* should continue the warres against the Iewes, that *MUCIANVS* with the greatest part of the Legions, should with all speede take his iourney for *Italie*; and that *VESPASIAN* should goe to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* to make provision from all parts, and with a greater power passe ouer into *Italie*, there to make an end of the warre; if it were not before hand finished by *MUCIANVS*. This being concluded, it was commanded to be presently put in execution. But while as *LICINIVS MUCIANVS* was trauellling towards *Italie*, *ANTONINVS*, who was Generall of the Legions in *Illyricum* and *Dalmatia*

Vespasian made Emperour, which was the first time that he was compelled to accept thereof by whom men use to make Emperours.

Antonine captain of the Legions in Slauonia came into Italie againe.

matia, hauing intelligence of what had passed, desiring to doe *VESPASIAN* some great seruice, and to shew the hatred which he bare against *VITELLIVS*, marched in great hast with his Legions, and such as he could leuie in *Mysia* and *Pannonia*, and came to make warre in *Italie* against the Emperour *VITELLIVS*, who was in *armes*.

Of the election of *VESPASIAN* and of other things (as we haue said) and of euery particular which had passed, within few daies *VITELLIVS* had aduertisement, who spent his time in *Rome* in banquetting and riot, although that he could not long enioy the same. And desirous to make resistance against so great forces, he began to leuie the greatest power he was able, besides those which he had already, the which he yet had not discharged: and knowing with what haste and resolution *ANTONINVS* commander of *Illyricum* came forwards, without staying for *LICINIVS MUCIANVS*, who came with as great speede, he sent *VALENS* and *BERGINNA* his Captaines before named, who had serued him in the warre against *OTHO*, with so great an armie and power, as seemed sufficient to make head both against him and *LICINIVS MUCIANVS*. He also provided extraordinary fleets and Captaines for the Seas. Thus the warre begun, but it would be too long to repeat all the particular accidents which happened: the effect was, that the two armies approaching the one neere to the other, there grew a heauesie that *CRICINNA* one of *VITELLIVS* Captaines praised some agreement with *VESPASIANVS* Commanders: which being knowne in the armie, he was slaine by the old souldiers. *ANTONINVS* hearing this, as he had a great desire to fight before that *MUCIANVS* should come (after sundry great encounters and skirmishes, which happed betwene them) came to a maine battaile with the Vitellians, neere to the citie *Cremona*: which was fought with such furie, and was so bloudy and cruell, that of *ANTONINVS* his side vvhv vvas Conqueror, there pvere slaine 4500. men, and of the Vitellians, vvhv were ouercome about 30000.

Antonine's tail.

This great victorie being obtained, *Italie*, which vntill then had been vvholly at the deuotion of *VITELLIVS*, and took his part, vvas suddenly diuided, and many Cities sided vvhv *VESPASIAN*. It is an admirable thing, and worthy of an excellent History, to recite the accidents which happed within few daies, and the cruell warre vvhich *CORNELIVS TACITVS* writeth more at large than any other, the vvhich I cannot relate for breuities sake, which I obserue. But the issue vvas, that *VITELLIVS* Captaines, vvhv were ouercom and escap't from the battaile, reinforcing their Army, and gathering together their Souldiers, made what resistance against *VESPASIANVS* Captaines they were able, although they were not of force to stop their passage to *Rome*, as hereafter shall be declared. For, *ANTONINVS* being Victor, with the same greatnes of mind, and expedition vvhv he began the war, endeouored to obtaine the victory, seeking means to put it in execution. As soone as *VITELLIVS*, being in *Rome*, was giuen to vnderstand of the ouerthrow of his armie, affrighted with such newes (although that hee neuer gaue ouer his vices and beastly courses) he made election of new Captaines, which were *IVLIVS PRISCVS* and *ALPHRIVS VARRON*, who with thirteene Cohorts should guard the passage of the *Appennine* mountains; & should also seek to stop *ANTONINVS* his passage for *Rome*, and *MUCIANVS* also, who as it is said, was already arrived in *Italie*. And of the rest of his forces which he held for the guard of the citie, he made his brother *LVCIVS VITELLIVS* Generall, and vvhv all possible means to leuie men of all sorts. But the successe was such, as feare made *VITELLIVS* desire to come to some composition and agreement howsoever: And being offered by letters from *ANTONINVS*, who was victor, and also from *MUCIANVS* that if he would quietly resigne the Empire, his life should be granted him, and a place with meanes sufficient for his maintenance; thereto he gaue care and took counsell thereupon, with *FLAVIVS SABINVS*, *VESPASIAN* his brother, who in all these troubles remained in *Rome*, and neuer withdrew himselfe from *VITELLIVS*, hauing also with him *DOMITIANS*, *VESPASIANVS* youngest sonne, who afterwards was Emperour: and it was concluded in the temple of *IVNO*; where he swore and promised to renounce the Empire, and would presently haue put it in effect, as he twice protested openly: so great was his feare. But those which were of greatest authoritie about him did so much oppose it, and chiefly the Pretorian Cohorts, as hee took heart againe, and alred his determination.

When *FLAVIVS SABINVS* vnderstood (to whose house were drawne together a great number of the chiefest noblemen of *Rome*, as to his brother, whom they made account should be Emperour) he was much moued therewith. And knowing that in the behalf of *VITELLIVS* there came some to murder him in his house, being induced thereto by those which were with him, he went forth of his house with strong hand, although with lesse power

A conspiracy offered to Vitellius, and he was killed by the soldiers of the Empire.

then was requisite for so great an action, and retyred to the Capitoll (which was the chiefe strength of *Rome*) and seiled on the fame, where he was presently besieged by VITELLIVS his friends. And as it commonly happeneth, Many will giue honourable and graue counsell, but there are few will thrust themselves into danger, neither lend their hand to put it in execution: so, few of those which had perswaded him to enter into this action, came to his aide, or made any repaire vnto him. The next morning he was assaulted with great furie, in the defence whereof was no good order, but rather little agreement: and as in such misfortunes and disasters it happeneth, all will direct and command, but few will execute; so as by the meanes of ill fighting and worse direction, the Capitoll was by force entred and burned, and all those which were therein, slaine, and FLAVIVS SABINVS taken prisoner, who within a little while after was put to death by the commandement of VITELLIVS; and yong DOMITIANVS his nephew and sonne to VESPASIAN, escaped by flight, and so might SABINVS haue done that night (as CORNELIVS TACITVS reporteth) if he would haue come forth of the Capitoll: for there was no sufficient guard to haue hindred him: but he with too little iudgement, and too much presumption was lost, as is said.

After the death of SABINVS, VITELLIVS hearing that ANTONY drew neere to *Rome* with his forces, he again began to seek some agreement; and to that end sent letters and messengers vnto him, and he grew so fearful and dejected, as hee sent the vestall virgins, who were virgins enclosed like Nuns in a Cloister, which was the most religious and most ceremoniously guarded of any thing in *Rome*. But ANTONY, beeing incensed for the death of SABINVS, would give no ear to their words, neither come to any composition; but kept on his way untill he came neere *Rome*, where VITELLIVS his Forces attended him, resolutely determining to defend themselves. So there being, both without and within, a very great number of the best souldiers in the world, ANTONY assailed it in three parts, and VITELLIVS his people fallied out against him in as many; and there began at each of them one of the most cruell fights in the world: which CORNELIVS TACITVS describets excellently well; affirming, that it lasted the greatest part of the day. And, in the end, that City (which was the Head and Lady of the world) was taken by those which were her owne natural Subjects; and they which were subdued endured that which in like cases happeneth, and much more; as, slaughters, spoilings, violences, and extreme disgraces, as against enemies whom they deadly hated for the death of SABINVS, for that he was their Lords Brother, and for the obstinacy and fury wherewith they had fought.

When VITELLIVS saw that the City was entred, thinking to escape by flight, hee went forth of his Palace; and, finding no safe way (I knowe not with what hope) he returned thither again; and, finding it abandoned without guard or defense, in the best manner he could he hid himself in a secret place: where he staid not long before he was found by a Tribune. And beeing taken by him, without attending any further determination or counsell, they bound his hands behind him, and cast a rope about his necke, and, tearing his clothes from his back, half naked they led him through the streets of *Rome*, untill they brought him to the principal place, where by the way they did him an infinite number of indignities and disgraces, pulling his hair behinde him, as they used to malefactors; and, setting a dagger under his chin, that hee might be seen of all men, some casting dirt and filth in his face, others calling him Incendiarie & glutton; and some reproaching him with the defects of his body: and there hee was slain by the souldiers (no man being able to avert for certain, who either began or ended) and cast into *Tiber*. And this was the end of this tyrannous Emperor, and with him died his brother LVCIUS VITELLIVS, and one only son which he had at his death. He had not been Emperor much about eight moneths, as most authors affirme, although that SVETONIUS setteth downe a longer time: for he maketh his account that VESPASIAN was chosen Emperor in the East, in the eight moneth of VITELLIVS his raigne, which was some moneths before his death, which was in the 57. yeere of his age, and the 72. yeere after the birth of our SAVIOR. What hapned after his death shall be referred to the historie of VESPASIAN, seeing that it was in his time. VITELLIVS was so tall, and so corpulent of body, as he was therewith deformed. His face was verie red, by reason of the much wine which hee dranke, and was very corpulent: he went lame of one leg, through a bruise which he had received by a wagon.

THE

THE LIFE OF FLAVIVS VESPASIANVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.



*V*itellius being ignominiously slaine, the good Vespasian attained to the Imperiall dignity, who restored tyred *Rome* to such rest, as it seemed to haue recovered her ancient dignity and greatness, from whence the vices and wickednes of many former Emperours had made it to fall. This man, before that he attained to the Empire, was no lesse wise then valiant in Art Militarie: so as he grew to be so excellent, as notwithstanding hee was not borne of any very Noble house, yet for his vertues he deserved to be made Emperor. In his time were ended the warres of *Ierusalem*, vnder the government of his sonne Titus. He made many Provinces tributary to the Roman Empire, which untill then neuer yielded obedience. He beautified *Rome*, not onely by repairing the ruines, growne by the fire, made by Nero; but he also built a new Amphitheater and Temple, which hee adorned with faire marble, and most beautifull Statues: for in his time painting and carving flourished. He was very courteous and milde, and amongst his other vertues, this was one: to forget injuries, and not to regard what malicious tongues said of him. He was very cleanly, and neat of his bodie. In his diet he was very temperate, and fasted one whole day in euery moneth. He was noted for no other vice but auarice, wherof he excused himselfe, alleging, that he found the Imperiall Treasurie empty, through the pilling of former Tyrants. He liued 69. yeeres, and reigned some, and dyed of the flux. Truly, it seemeth this Emperor was borne for the good of the Roman Common-wealth; to the end, that after the crueltie of so many Tyrants it should not be wholly ruinated.



*A*s fair weather cometh after tempests and storms: so was the Raign of VESPASIAN after the troublesome and stormy times of the detestable Emperours TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, NERO, and the tyrannies and civil warres of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIVS: wherewith the Roman Empire was so diuided and shaken, as it was ready to come to ruine, if VESPASIAN had not upheld and supported the fame by his goodnes, valor and wisdom. VESPASIAN was of the Family of the FLAVII, mean and lowe, and not honoured with any titles and dignities. Hee had, long before these civil combustions, tokens prefiging Sovereignty. First, within a Countrey Farm belonging to the FLAVII, there stood an old Oak consecrated to MARS, which at three child-births of VESPASIA, sodainly put forth a bough at every birth. The first was small and withered soon (for a daughter then born died within on a yeer): the second grew & continued long; but the third came to the bignes of a Tree. Whereupon SABINVS (Father to VESPASIAN) told his owne mother, that hee had a Nephew born which should be CÆSAR. Being in *Achaia*, hee dreamt that he and his should prosper, when as NERO had a tooth drawne: and it hapned, that the day following a Barber shewed him a tooth of NERO's, newly drawn. And TOSITHVS, being taken in the Iewish Wars, and cast into prison, maintained constantly, that hee should be shortly set at liberty by him, but he should be Emperour first. These, with many other prefiges, confirmed his hopes to obtain the Empire. He was 59 yeers old when hee was chosen Emperour; and came to be knowne, and to winne reputation and credit in the times of CLAUDIVS, CALIGULA, and NERO; and he obtained offices and dignities in the wars, and in the government of Cities. In *Thracia* he was Tribune of the souldiers; and, beeing Questor or Treasurer, the Ile of *Creta* (now *Canidia*) fell to his lot. He was Edil and Pretor in *Rome*, and afterwards was Lieutenant to the Legions in *Germanie*: and from thence he was sent to bee

*Rome entred,
taken, and sack-
ed, and by whom*

*The death of Vi-
tellius.*

Anno Dom. 71.

*Vespasian's his
neg.*

*Vespasian's of-
fices & dignities*

Governour and Generall in *Britanny* when it rebelled, where (as *Eutropius* and *Svetonius* report) he fought above thirty times in battels and skirmishes, in his owne person: so as for his desert there were Arms and triumphant ornaments given him, such as they did use to give to such as did triumph. After all which, he was Consul in *Rome* two months in the end of a year, and was afterward Proconsul in *Asia* in the time of *Nero*; and in the end was sent thither by him to that warre against them: the which he followed when-as he was chosen Emperour against *Vitellius*, his Army compelling him thereto, as it is already observed. He had at that time two sonnes, the one called *Titus* who was with him, the other *Domitianus* who was in *Rome*: both which he had by *Flavia Domitilla* his lawfull wife, daughter to *Flavius Liberalis*; by whom hee had had a daughter which was dead, whose name was *Domitilla* also.

And this is the summe of his life before he came to the Empire. But, returning to our History, it passed in this manner: *Vitellius* being so reproachfully and ignominiously slain in *Rome*, although with his death the warre ceased, yet the furies and effects thereof were not ended: for, the Conquerors committed so many slaughters and spoils upon those which had taken *Vitellius* part, as there was no part of *Rome* wherein was not effusion of blood: so as that City endured (by means of this battell) the like or greater misery, than in the wars and proscriptions of *Marivs* and *Silla*, or any other whatsoever in times past. But, as soon as *Mucianus* came to *Rome*, who was the chief Commander sent by *Vespasian*, and that *Domitianus* was returned, who ever since the death of his Uncle *Sabinus*, and the burning of the Capitoll, lay hidden; these murders and revenges ceased, and there beganne some order to be taken in the Common-wealth.

The Senate was assembled, and the government of *Vespasian* was accepted and approved, and there were given unto him the names and titles which were usually given to other Emperors, and messengers with all diligence were sent unto him, to advertise him of the victory, and to yeeld obedience in the behalfe of the Senate. And for that (being absent) he could not take order and provide for the estate of *Rome*, his sonne *Domitianus*, *Mucianus* and *Antonius* which then were of greatest power, began to manage the government, not without confusion and emulation betweene them, vntill the coming of *Vespasian*, which by reason of the dangerous failing in the winter time was deferred. The only thing he wanted (being as it were a new unexpected Prince) was countenance and authority, and a kind of royal Maestie, which also followed suddainly vpon this occasion: Being in *Alexandria* (attending a seasonable time for his passage to *Rome*) there was a certaine man of meane qualitie starke blind, and another lame, both which came together when as he sat on his Tribunal, craving help for their infirmities, it being foretold them by *Serapis* in their dreames, that if *Vespasian* did but spit in the blinde mans eyes, hee should recover his sight; and the others leg should be made strong, if he would but touch it with his heel. He doubted much of the successe, and therefore durst not put it in practice: yet in the end, by the perswasion and importunity of his friends, before the whole Assembly he tried both the means; and they were both cured, as *Svetonius* writes.

Domitianus was called *Cæsar*, and made Pretor of *Rome* with Consulary authority; and, because he was the Emperors son, had the preeminence and chief place in all matters, although he proved not afterwards to be such as he ought to have been: for, besides that hee was vicious, he was disloyall and disobedient to his Father. The Senates Embassadors, and others which were sent from *Rome*, found *Vespasian* in the City of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, with his Legions and men of warre ready to passe into *Italy* against *Vitellius* (knowing nothing, that he was dead) and staid there with the King of *Parthia's* Embassadors, which offered him 40000 horsemen. In like manner, there were Ambassadors from other Kings and Tetrarchs of the East (some subject to the Empire, and some free) which came to the like intent: but, seeing there was no such need to draw so great Forces to *Rome*, he gave great thanks to the King of *Parthia's* Legats, and the rest of the Kings for their offers, and resolved to take his passage as soon as conveniently he might: And so, as a wife Emperour, forgot not to take order for the defense and extent of the bounds of the Empire, resolving to send his son *Titus* to make an end of the warres begun by him against the Iewes and the holy City of *Ierusalem*: to whom besides the ordinary Legions, he gave three other Legions; wherewith *Titus* continued the warres with great resolution: and, by Gods permission, the Iewes were in his time, by the hands of the Romans, and through their owne civill dissension, vanquished even to their total confusion,

fusion, as hereafter in briefe shall be declared. *Vespasian* could not so soone depart from *Alexandria* as he desired, by reason of the stormie and vntempestuous weather by Sea, vnfit for Navigation, in which time there arose in *Rome* great troubles, emulations, envie, and contentions betweene *Mucianus* and *Antonius*, each seeking to be preferred before other: *Mucianus*, for that he was the chiefe commander sent by *Vespasian*, and had borne great sway in his election; and the other, for the great victories which he had gotten in his service against *Vitellius* and his Captaines. The bad practices of *Domitianus* were also partly cause of these tumults, who could not be easily restrained; considering who he was. But the revuets and infurrections which then were in *Germany* and part of *France*, did much more trouble them that swayed the government: for all was in combustion, and in Armes against the Empire, which had a former originall in the time of *Vitellius*, although that then wee could not relate it. The original and occasion thereof was in manner as followeth.

In the province of *Battania*, now called *Holland* (a province in low *Germany*, which the *Rhine* diuiding it selfe maketh an Iland) there was an audacious man, of great credit among them, whose name was *Clavdius Civilis*, who vnder colour of taking part with *Vespasian* against *Vitellius*, when the warre began between them, leuied some forces of that countie, and induced the *Frislanders* and their captaine, whose name was *Brinco*, to do the like; and being thus in armes, they assailed those of the Roman Legions which held for *Vitellius*; and taking them at vnawares, slew many of them, being left weak by reason that *Vitellius* withdrew the greatest part of the forces from thence when hee went against *Otho* as before hath been mentioned: So as they drave all the Roman garri- sons out of that province, and there happened afterwards many encounters and skirmishes of eyther side, vntill that *Vespasian* preuailing in *Italy*, *Flaccus Hordebonius*, being for *Vitellius* captaine of those legions in *Germany*, was slaine by his owne souldiers, proclaiming *Vespasian*, & so the legions remained without order of commander. *Clavdius Civilis* with the forces of *Holland* and *Frisland*, ioyning with another captaine called *Classicus*, imagined that in the confusion of those troublesome times, they might free their countries; or to say better, make themselves Lords thereof, as many have done: and drawing to their faction certaine of the legions which remained firme for *Vitellius*, they made an infurrection against *Vespasian*, publishing that he was dead, in such sort as with- in few daies, some cities in *France* reuolued, so as it was feared that some great alteration would haue ensued in the Empire. Which, as I said, put *Mucianus* and *Antonius* in great doubt; for *Domitianus* who should haue had the greatest care, spent his time in his vices and pleasures. After many counfels and consultations held about this businesse, *Quintilius Cerialis* was sent for Generall into those parts: who both valiantly and wisely followed the warres, and reduced those legions to the seruice of the Empire, who being abused, had ioyned with *Clavdius Civilis*; and obtained notable victories although hardly gotten and very bloudie, which *Cornelius Tacitus* sets downe at large. Being in the heate of this warre, holding it to be of great importance, *Mucianus* and *Domitianus* departed from *Rome*, with the greatest power they could raise, to giue reliefe and ayde where neede should require: who being come to the *Alps*, they had intelligence that *Cerialis* had obtained another famous victorie in a great battaile, by means whercof, and of the fame of their coming, all those countries yeelded their obedience, and the *Germanes* laying downe their armes, desired peace. Notwithstanding this, *Domitianus*, although there were no neede, had a desire to march forwards, and to take the government and forces which *Cerialis* held and commanded, and wrote sundrie letters to him requesting the same: whereupon he was suspected, that his intent was to rebell against his father, and so writeth *Cornelius Tacitus*. Others suspect that he did it of enuie against his brother *Titus*, and to make himselfe equall with him: But his practices, whatsoever they were, took no effect. For, *Cerialis* dissembled and would not yeeld his command and government vnto him, and *Mucianus* hindered his passage from going any further: for *Cerialis* within few dayes had pacified the countie, and *Domitianus* returned to *Rome* to receiue his father, who (he knew) was coming, and within few daies came, hauing sayled from *Alexandria* to *Rhodes* in ships, and from thence in galleies, and passing all along the coast of *Grecia*, visited all the cities thereof which were in his way, till his arrivall in *Italy*, and so came to *Rome*, where he was most solemnly receiued (which *Iosephus* most elegantly relateth.) For, as his coming had

Tumult in Rome

An infurrection in Holland.

Domitianus suspected.

Vespasian's counting 16 Rome.

had been long desired and wished for, so was it very gratefull and pleasing to all men, and he presently began to do things conformable to the desire and hope which they had conceived of him, in ministering justice, in reforming the lawes and customes of *Rome*, rewarding those which had served him, and pardoning and punishing with singular clemencie those which were his adversaries: in conclusion, he made a good and laudable beginning of his Empire, and persevered and ended therein, as shall appeare.

Jerusalem besieged by Titus.

In the meane time while as the Emperor *VESPASIAN* parted from *Alexandria* and came to *Rome*, his sonne *TITVS* prosecuting the warres against the *Iewes*, hauing subdued the countrey round about, he came and besieged the Citie of *Jerusalem*, at such time as from all parts of the world an incredible number of *Iewes* were come into the Citie, to celebrate the feast of the Paschall Lambe. Of the siege and destruction thereof, because it was a matter of great moment, and prophesied of before, and was famous afterwards, it shall not be amisse in few words to declare the end thereof; and for as much, as in truth, it was the most strictly and obstinately besieged, and best defended Citie that euer was in the world; the *Iewes* persisting in their obstinacy and rebellion, by Gods permission, in reuenge of the death and passion of his only sonne *IESVS CHRIST* our Saniour God and man: all which *IOSEPHVS*, *EOBSEPPVS* and *CORNELIYS TACITVS* write at large, to which I remit the curious reader, besides many others which are more briefe: being by *TITVS* besieged in such manner, as no man could fallie forth, or enter into it. For the effecting whereof, not contenting himselfe with the multitude of his men of warre and prouision, within fewe dayes he compassed it round about with trenches and ramparts, such as were sufficient, making the souldiers of his army set their hands to the work: so as he besieged it in this manner the space of five moneths, in which time there were so many assaults, skirmishes and slaughters, as by the numbers of the dead, which we will set downe, may appeare: and such as I neuer read or heard that the like had passed before any Citie; with such obstinacy and resolution the besiegers assailed it, and the besieged defended themselves. In all which *TITVS* performed the dutie of a most excellent Captaine and a valiant Knight; sometime giuing direction and commanding, and also when neede required fighting, that, as *IOSEPHVS* testifieth, in this conquest he slew twelue *Iews* with his owne hands. The hunger which afflicted the Citie of *Jerusalem* in this siege, is wonderful to reade: for, all ordinary sustenance being spent, although they made the greatest spare thereof that was possible, they gaue themselves to eate all things that might yeelde any taste, without any difference, good or bad, eating the flesh of horses, asses, dogs, cats, rats, snakes, adders, and other vncleane and strange things, as it seemeth incredible to all humane reason: But this giueth it the more credit, for that all writers both Christian and Heathen affirme, that there was a mother which killed and ate her owne sonne, whom she had at her breast. Finally, after the death of an infinite number by sword and famine, vpon the eight day of September (hauing been besieged about five moneths, and about foure yeeres after the warre was begun by *VESPASIAN* in the rainge of *NERO*) the Citie of *Jerusalem* was entred by force, and a great number of those which were therein slaine: and so had they all been, but that *TITVS*, moued with compassion, commanded the execution vpon women, and such as bare no armes, to cease. But although that this slaughter was stayed, yet in the prouince and the citie there died of hunger and the sword (as *EVSEBIVS*, *PAVLVS OROSIUS* and other authors affirme) fixe hundred thousand men able to beare armes. And if we shall giue credit to *IOSEPHVS*, who was an eye-witnesse to most part thereof, there died eleven hundred thousand; and there were Captiues which were sold, nintie seuen thousand. *EOBSEPPVS*, who is of no lesse credit and authoritie, agreeth with him in the number of the captiues; but in the number of the dead, he setteth downe 100000. lesse, which seemeth to be an error but in the letter: both which doe yeeld the reason of so great mortalitie to be, as is said; for that so great a number was gathered together in *Jerusalem* to the feast at Easter, and had retired thither as to the head of all that prouince, there to die or defend the same. Also that famous Temple was burnt, and those strong and stately walles of the famous Temple of *Salomon* were throwne downe, and all the Citie laid waste, desolate and wholly ruined, as sundry Prophets had before prophesied.

Salomons temple destroyed.

And this iust and deserved destruction of *Jerusalem* happened in the second yeere of the Emperor *VESPASIAN*, and the fourth yeere after the death of *CHRIST* our Lord, and the seuentie three after his birth, being (according to *EVSEBIVS* and *PAVLVS OROSIUS*) one thousand one hundred and two yeeres after that the Temple was first built by *Salomon*.

and five hundred nintie & one yeere after that it was reedified in the time of *K. DARIVS*, hauing been destroyed by the Babylonians. In this account I follow *EVSEBIVS* his computation, to auoid disputation about the difference which is among Writers. All affirm, and it doth plainly appear by *PLINY* and *CORNELIYS TACITVS*, that *Jerusalem* had never been so rich, nor so populous, nor so sumptuous in wals, temples and buildings, as at the time of *CHRIST* his passion, and when it was destroyed. And so that City and the holy Temple were overthrowen and laid euen with the ground, nor one stone remaining vpon another; according as our Saviour *CHRIST* had told his Disciples; they shewing it to him; and extolling the greatnes and building of that Temple, as the holy Euangelist reciteth more at large: and so it lay untilt the Emperor *ADRIAN* began to reedifie it, although not in the same place, neither such as it was before; as hereafter shall be declared. And so that Prouince, which had been gouerned by the Romans as their friends, and in a manner free, was made captiue and tributarie; and the *Iewes* being captiues were sold and dispersed through all parts of the world.

Jerusalem destroyed and laid waste, so that there remained not one stone vpon another.
An. Dom. 40.

The Iewes taken in Jerusalem, sold and dispersed over the world.

This warre being ended by *TITVS* in such manner as is specified, his Father and all *Rome* greatly rejoyced thereat, and to both them the triumph was granted by the Senate, because they both had followed that warre. And *TITVS*, leauing all things in good order in the East, came victorious to *Rome*. And, within fewe daies after, both the Father and the Sonne entred triumphing with one of the most solemne and stately triumphs that euer was seen in *Rome*. The which he that will see more at large, shall finde it written by *IOSEPHVS* in his seventh book of the wars of the *Iewes*.

Vespasian and Titus came to Rome in triumph for the wars of the Iewes.

While as *TITVS* was busied about the siege of the City of *Jerusalem*, the Alanes, a people of *Scythia* (of whom hereafter we shall speak much) had their abode about the lake *Meotis*, neer the River *Tanais*: who in very great numbers abandoned their Country, it being barren and vnfertile, or for that it was not sufficient to sustaine them, and came into the Territory of the Medes, robbing and spoiling that Country; and marching forwards came into *Armenia*, where they did the like. *TIRIDATES*, King thereof, fought a battell with them; wherein he was overcome, and by great good fortune escaped by flight. Which when *TITVS* understood, hauing then fully ended his enterprize against *Jerusalem*, he marched with his Forces to the relief of *TIRIDATES*, to assist a King who was vassall and friend to the Empire; and came to the City of *Antioch*, as *EOBSEPPVS* writeth: but the Alanes, vpon the onely report of his coming, returned to their Country, contented with what they had gotten by theft. *VESPASIAN* being in *Rome*, enjoying the Empire in peace, had his son *TITVS* continually with him, hauing had good experience of his wijsdome and milde disposition: he did most matters by his counsell, and after his opinion; and in all things held him for his companion in the Empire, and made him his fellow in office in the Censurie and Tribunacie; and afterwards in seuen Consulships together.

Tiridates King of Armenia overcame and put to flight the Alanes.

VESPASIAN, continuing as he had begun the whole course of his life, neuer omitted any thing that was fit for a good and excellent Emperour, as well in preferring and enlarging the Empire, as in beautifying and reforming the same; in correcting the abuses and euill customes, as in execution of Iustice and other vertues: and chiefly he took great care for the publicke edifices and buildings, wherein he spent much treasure; and made the Capitol which *VITELLIVS* had burnt (when his brother *SABINVS* was slain) to be reedified and new built, farre more stately and beautifull than euer it had been. He also repaired the City of *Rome* of those ruines which yet remained since it was burnt in the time of *NERO*, as in his life we haue declared. Besides this, he built a most stately Temple to the goddesse *PALLAS*; the workmanship whereof was so rich, so exquisite, and so excellent, as the like had neuer been seen in *Rome*. For, touching the painting, caruing, and inlaying, all the most excellent workmen of the world (these Arts being then at the height) shewed their skill, and left memorials of their handworking, as *PLINY* writes; and *IOSEPHVS* (who was an eye-witnes) affirms, that men came from all parts of the world to see the riches and excellencie of this Temple. *VESPASIAN* also built an Amphitheatre, of singular and most rare workmanship; which is yet at this day to be seen in *Rome*, although ruined and defaced: which is a building of marvellous and sumptuous greatnes, round in form, as if two Theatres were joined together like to half circles: in the middle of which were represented the plaies, Iewes, wrestlings, fightings with wilde beasts, and also combats of sword-plaiers: And every thing was wrought and framed in such manner, as by means of their seats it was capable of an infinite number of people, without any hindrance one to the other; which we may comprehend by the Theatre which *OCTAVIANVS CAESAR*,

The good deeds of Vespasian.

so did **TITVS** cleer himself of the suspitions conceiued against him, with the brightnes of his vertues and worthy actions. He came to the Empire at the age of 39 yeeres, and somewhat less; in which he followed the warres, and gat great experience both in peace and war. First, in his infancy he was brought up in learning and other vertuous exercises, and thereby grew to be very learned both in Greek and Latin, and expert in many Arts. He was a very good horseman, and most skilfull in Musick; a very good Singer, an eloquent Orator, and could make verses with wonderfull ease and facility. He had a singular memory, and was endued with an excellent wit, and was so speedie in writing in ciphers and abbreviations, as he excelled all his Secretaries and Notaries; and would so well counterfeite any mans hand and writing, as it was said of him, that he might have been a notable counterfeiter or forger.

Being endued with these graces and sufficiencies in his youth, before his Father came to the Empire he bore Arms in the wars, and was Tribune both in *Germany* and *Britanny*, and purchased the reputation of wife and valiant. After which, being come to *Rome*, hee used to plead and defend causes and actions (which was then the exercise of the most eminent men); and afterwards in time he was made Questor or Treasurer. In proceesse of which time hee married twice: the first, with **ARACIDIA** the daughter of a Roman Knight whose name was **TRIVLLVS**, who had been Prefect of the Pretorian Legions; and, after her death being a widow, hauing neuer a childe, he married the second time with a woman of great blood, whose name was **MARTIA FVLIA**, whom hee afterwards put away, hauing first had a daughter by her.

The warres beginning against the Iewes, he went thither with his father, hauing the command and charge of a Legion: and matters succeeding in such manner as is already said, he made a small end thereof. And although that some practiced to bring him in suspicion with his father, falsely suggesting that he would haue rebelled against him; yet after those victories he came into *Italy*, sufficiently cleered himselfe, and triumphed of the Iewes; and (as wee haue said) obtained so much grace with his father, as hee made him his companion, and in a manner equall with him in the Empire. In his fathers life time hee purchased dislike vpon some occasions: whereof one was, that they charged him with the couetousnes and auarice of his father, for the new impositions which he laid vpon the subiects of the Empire: whereof although that he might well haue purged himselfe, yet he would not make manifest his innocencie, for that the fault should not be imputed to his father. The other was, for that hee had caused **AVLVVS CINNA** and certaine others of great note to be put to death, although hee had iust occasion to doe it; as **SVBTONIVS** sheweth in **AVLVVS CINNA**: and other authors, in others.

TITVS also discredited himselfe for bringing of **QUEENE VRONICA** from *Indea* with him for his friend or concubine, whom hee so deely loured, as hee entertained her in a manner as his wife: and there is an author which affirmeth that he slew **AVLVVS CINNA**, through ialousie of her. All which being laid together, when by the death of his father hee came to the Empire, they doubted that hee would haue proued wicked and cruell: but his clemencie and other vertues did presently disperse all those cloudes of suspicion. The first, and happily the greatest conquest was, the forcing of his will and bridling his desires and affections by withdrawing himselfe from the company of **VRONICA**, for the which he was taxed with infamie, although that he loured her exceedingly, and was by her beloued in the same degree. Hee also gaue ouer his other pastimes, which he held vnfit and vnbecoming an Emperour, and began to liue and carrie himselfe very modestly and honourably, and to shew his liberaltie, clemencie, and singular curesse. Whereof I hold it requisite (although I keepe not order, seeing his time was so short) to make some mention; that seeing his bountie, clemencie and wisdom made his Empire void of ciuill mutinies, warres and alterations, which vsually please the readers, yet they may speake of the vertues & greatnes of this Emperour. First for a shew & ostentation to the world (which great Princes sometimes should make, because that thereby they do in some sort purchase the loue of the common people) he repaired & made from new great buildings, and he also presented games and sports, wherein (according to **EVSEBIVS**, **EVTRUPIVS**, and **SVETONIVS**) were slaine 5000. wild beasts, and therein also fought a great number of Sword-players. He caused also to be represented a Nauall battaile in one of the auncient *Nau-machias*, whereof mention hath been made heretofore. And as he was by nature most noble and liberall, all the fauours, graces and rewards, which his Predecessors had giuen and granted (which none of them would confirm, but they granted some new) hee confirmed by a decree. And, moreover, to any petition made vnto him he neuer gaue vnpleasing answer, neither suffered

any

any to depart from him discontented, or without hope to obtain his demand. And being reproued by some of his Councell, for promising more than it seemed hee was able to perform: hee answered them, that *It was not fit nor worthy, that any man should depart from him sorrowfull & discontent with his entertainment.* He was naturally so desirous to do good and to help others, as one night after supper remembring himself, that that day he had giuen nothing, with a sad and heauie countenance he turned towards those which were in his company, and said: *My Friends, I haue lost this day; which were speeches worthy to be noted and engraven in the mindes of all great Princes.* Hee was also so desirous to pleasure and giue contentment to all men (holding alwaies his gravity and authority) as in all his speeches and discourses with any people whatsoeuer, he alwaies shewed himselfe affable, pleasant, courteous and tractable.

In some sinister accidents which in his time hapned in *Rome*, as one was (as saith **PAVLVS OROSIVS**) a great fire, wherewith were burned a great number of houses, and also a great plague; he not onely vfed the diligence of a carefull Prince, but also shewed the loue and affection of a pitifull Father; helping with his owne rents to repair and new-build that which the fire had consumed, and causing those which were wounded to be cured with great diligence; and those which died of the pestilence, to be buried. The clemency and mildnes of this Prince extended to so high a degree, as he not onely pardoned many, and moderated the rigour of the lawes in cases of ordinary crimes; but two great men of *Rome* hauing conspired against him, and being thereof conuict, so as they could not deny the fact, he would make no other inquisition, nor put them to any torments, or otherwise punish them, but onely aduised them in secret that they should alter their euill purposes; willing them to consider, that the Empire was giuen by Gods providence and ordinance, and by the fates, and not by any humane industry; and if they desired any other thing, it should be more fit to sue to him, and he would not deny it: and saying this, he pardoned them, and used them lovingly, and afterwards entertained them with other complements, which **SVETONIVS** writeth; so as he took such order, that they did repent and reform themselves: whereby he did better assure his life, than if hee had put them to death. For, therein he should haue had greater cause of fear, and more would haue hated him. The like temperance he held with his Brother **DOMITIANVS**; who neuer left to lay snares to intrap him, and to ly in wait for his life, and to practice his death, and to incense the Legions and Cohorts against him: yet for all this he would not put him to death, as he might justly haue done, neither seclude him from him, neither diminish his reputation and authority wherein hee liued; but made him his companion in the Empire, and proclaimed him for his successor. And the better to reclaim him, sometimes retiring him into a secret chamber alone, with tears in his eyes he would admonish and require him, not to attempt that by treason and fratricide, which he shortly should haue voluntarily, and that which hee already enjoyed with him by his good will. And, for conclusion, this excellent Prince **TITVS**, in the short time that he reigned, gouerned with such wisdom and in such manner, as he was through the whole Empire extremely beloued, and generally obeyed and serued by all men: So as during his whole Reigne there were no contemptis, insurrections, warres, rebellions, nor contentions. But as men for their finnes were not worthy of so good a Prince, so by Gods secret judgement hee was taken away from among them: for, being taken with a strong burning Feuer, within fewe daies hee died thereof in the same village wherein his Father died, near *Rome*, being of the age of one and fortie yeeres, two moneths and twenty daies, although **EVTRUPIVS** sets downe some monthes lesse, which may be through error in a letter.

As soon as his death was knowne, there was the greatest lamentation and sorrow that euer was seen in *Rome*: and, the Senat being assembled, there was more spoken to his honor & commendation, being dead, than was of any man that euer liued before him, or was euer spoken in his presence in his life-time; which hapned in the yeer of our Lord 83.

Successor
Domitianus
enters upon
his Reigne
that Titus

The death of
Titus



THE LIFE OF DOMITIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND TWELFTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

Domitianus, brother to Titus, after his death was made Emperor, who in the beginning of his government, shewing much goodnesse, was milde, pitifull, and above all, most iust. He prevaile in all the warres he began, and in Rome finished many edifices already begun, and built many more from the ground: so as in the beginning of his raighe he purchased much reputation, and the credit of a very vertuous and good man. But afterwards altering his conditions, he became so cruell, so insolent and so covetous, that pursuing men to death for very small and ridiculous causes, he usurped the goods of the dead, pretending that he was their heire. Hee persecuted the Iewes, and particularly those which were of the line of David: being informed that from him should descend a man which should be Lord of the whole world. He was also a great Persecutor of the Christian Religion, so as in his time many holy men were martyred. He made such warre with Iyze, a Courtier being demanded, who was about with the Emperor; answered, that there was not one fyre with him. He made great show of Astrologie, and was a great friend to those which made profession of that fanaticke: yet he death hardly with an Astrologer, which told him that he should dye shortly. He lived fine and forty yeeres, ruled the Empire fiftene; and by the conspiracie of one Stephen, who was Steward of his house, and certaine others, amongst which his wife was an assistant, he was slaine in his Palace. The common people were neither sad nor glad of his death: but the Gentlemen and Senators were so well pleased with it, that even the very same day they made all his statues to be throwne to the ground, which he would have of no other thing but of pure gold.



Domitianus
was wicked,
and farre vn-
like to his brother
Titus.

The good Emperour TITVS, his brother and successor DOMITIANVS was farre vnlike, for this Emperour was wicked and lewde, although that in the beginning of his raighe hee did some things which were pleasing, and governed the Common-wealth reasonable vprightly; vying clemencie, humilitie, and liberalitie, deceiving the world with fained bountie, cleane contrarie to future actions. When he came to the Empire, he was of the age of thirtie yeeres (little more or lesse) in his younger yeeres, he lived in meane estate, and in euill fame, for the dishonestie of his person. His father being Emperour, in his absence he was called CÆSAR, and to him was giuen the greatest dignitie and authoritie in Rome, which hee used licentiously and dishonestly, committing adulteries, with other vices and insolencies: vpon one day, he deposed twentie seuerall persons from their charges and governments, and gaue them to others: so as his father (when he vnderstood thereof) said, that he marvelled, that his sonne DOMITIANVS had not sent one, to haue succeeded him also: and warres then growing in Batavia, he attempted that which we haue related. But when his father was come to Rome, to dissemble and cloke his wicked practices he gaue himself to study, and to the exercise of poeie, although with little affection: for before that time he neuer regarded it, or any other learning, and so afterwards abhorred it according to that flattering age. For the small time which hee spent

spent in poeie, SILIUS ITALICVS, QVINTILIAN, and PLINIE in the poem of his naturall historie, commend him: and MARTIAL forgetteth him not in his Epigrammes. And much lesse did DOMITIANVS giue himself to the practice and exercise of armes, but was much affected to shooting with bowe and arrowe; wherein hee was so skilfull, as he would oftentimes for his glorie cause a Page to spread his hand open for a marke against a butte, and he standing a good distance off, would sticke his arrowes betwene the boies fingers without hurting him; and in like manner would doe many other strange things, which SVETONIUS reporteth as an eie-witnes, wherein and in dying was his principall delight and pastime. After the death of his father and brother, for whose sakes he came to be Emperour, without any contradiction, he governed the same contrarie to his naturall inclination, as may appeare by that which he did afterwards. But because we will not deprivie him of the commendation, which his good deedes deserued; before that we will speake of his accursed cruelties, wee will first speake of that which was good and commendable, seeing hee liued in such manner, as his actions were intermixt with some blemishes of euill: wherein I cannot obserue any order or time, as I alwaies desire to doe, because the authors which I follow write it so confusedly and out of order.

First, he made great shew of liberalitie, and iointlie therewith of clemencie, iustice, and equitie, of either of which we will produce some examples. He shewed himselfe so free from covetousnes, and so willing to giue; that he refused certaine heritages which certaine free personages would haue giuen him; and gaue ordinarie gifts and rewards, and forgave penalties and tributes, and erected certaine pillars and publike buildings, which were verie excellent, and of wonderfull great cost, among which this was one: He repaired and new built the Capitoll, which againe had bin burnt, wherein he caused a sumptuous Temple to be built to his god IVPITER, and other Temples and wonderfull buildings. And to obtaine the loue and applause of the people, he ordered so many shewes and games which were so rare and costly, as it was wonderfull to reade, and tedious to write them. First he made a Lake, for a Naumachia or battaile by sea, wrought all by mans hand, which was so great as it was sufficient to containe many galleyes, wherein were such battailes, as they wanted nothing to proue them to be in good earnest and not counterfeit. He had also a verie great number of Syvord-players, and great rewarde for those which did runne with chariots. He had turneyes and battailes of horsemen and footemen, and huntings of an infinite number of wilde beasts, in such sort as other Emperours had don, and more then any other: for he had also women which like men fought with wilde beasts, whereof SVETONIUS, IYVENAL, and MARTIAL, make mention. He also made games and feasts which they called secular, represented but euery hundreth yeare, which were the most solemne of al others: for then were accomplished a hundred yeeres since the time that OCTAVIUS AVGVSTVS had celebrated them, although that the Emperour CLAVDIVS at another time commanded them to be made, without observing any order or time, wherein he made the addition of the two new colours; which the horsemen did before vs to wear, whereof before hath been made mention, which were purple, and gold colour. And besides all this abovesaid, he caused disputations and arguments to be held, wherein great rewards were diuided betwene Poets and Orators both Greeke and Latin, and all kind of Musick. There were also Comedies, dumb shewes, tragedies, and wrestling games. In conclusion, there were made by his commandement all those feasts, games and reuels that euier had been seene or knowne in Rome vntill that time, besides many which were newly invented. Among all which he made a distribution among all the Roman people, which they called Congiarij, of 300. deniers to euery person: and during the time of these reuels (which was not short) he made many banquets and publike feasts, and there were throwne to the common people all kinds of coines, and clothes, with other things which were cast from out the windowes, this was called *Missa*. I will not herewith forget one pleasant thing, whereof SVETONIUS writeth, which was, that in the beginning of his Empire he was wont euery day one houre to be in some chamber or secret place alone, wherein he did nothing at all but catch flies, which he afterwards filled vpon a silke or long sharp needle: So as vpon a day one asking whether any bodie were within with DOMITIANVS, answere was made, that there was not so much as a flye with him; meaning, that he had killed and thrust vnto them all away.

DOMITIANVS did not only those things which were pleasing to the people, as making of feasts and sports, but in all other things he took good order, shewing himselfe diligent in hearing complaints, and doing iustice, and particularly in punishing such Iudges as receiued bribes

Domitianus
his good deedes

Stellar games
made but once
in a hundred
yeeres.

Gifts giuen by
Domitianus.

Domitianus
delighted much
in catching of
flyes.

The Justice of
Domitian.

Domitianus
had his statue
of pure gold.

Sarmatia what
countries
contained.

Dacia how it
is called at this
day.

and rewards, as well the Roman Magistrates, as the Presidents and Governors of Prouinces. And herein concerning Iudges he persecuted, not only before that he discouraged his cruelty and wickedness, but even afterwards: and thought that he were euill of himselfe; yet he forbore not to punish euill Governors: and so SVETONIVS affirmeth, that Governors were neuer so temperate, iust and vpright at any times in his. He also caused himselfe to be chosen Censor, wherein he endeuoured to reforme and correct the abuses and euill manners of the Romans; as though that his owne conditions had been good; and so he made many other good orders, and did justice in all things: and of the other side shewing himselfe mercifull and pitifull, in such sort that if he had persecuted in that manner of gouernment which he began, he had this day been held for a very good Emperor. But neuer any man fell from good to euill so notably, nor made so strange an alteration as he did, whereof in that which we haue before said, he gaue some indice and forewarning. For in those good things which he did, he vied such pride and elation, and shewed himselfe so vaine-glorious, that a man of any iudgement might well perceiue, that what he did, proceeded not from any good mind, or from his naturall inclination, which he manifested in some of his words and speeches: chiefly when he was made Emperour (without shame or blushing) he vaunted in the Senate, that hee had giuen the Empire to his father and to his brother, which they had now restored vnto him; this being as false, as by the historie before doth appeare. And those his statues which they commaunded to be set vpon in the Capitoll, he would not consent that they should be made of any other thing, then of cleane gold, and so in other things hee shewed extreme pride. But hee did one thing which was so accursed and abominable, as to make mention thereof onely, is a sufficient prooffe of the incomparable pride of this man: for he commaunded by a publicke Edict, that in all Letters and Edicts they should write our Lord and God, which both the christians and heathen authors doe asseme: For which sinne and wickednesse it pleased God to suffer him to fall into those abominations which he afterwards incurred, as contumeliousse, crueltye, and other wicked actions: whereof before that we discourse, it shall not be amisse, to treat of the warres which happened in the time of his wickednesse, although hee persecuted them not in his owne person, which were three or foure with strange nations, and one euill warre.

The first warres abroad were against the *Sarmates* in *Europe*, which invaded the Empire, with whom and also with those of *Asia*, there voyaged many of the ancient Scythians. That Prouince is situate in the north of *Germany*, and stretcheth to the sea called *Mare Sarmaticum*. On the East it is bounded with the river of *Tanais*; and the lake *Meotis*: and on the West with the river *Pyssus*. Vnder this Prouince are now contained *Mysconia*, *Russia*, *Polonia*, *Lithuania*, and some other Prouinces. This warre was cruell and dangerous, and in the beginning it went ill with the Romanes: for in a battaile were slaine the Generall of the Romanes; and one whole legion: but DOMITIANVS afterwards reinforcing his armies, the *Sarmates* were overthrowne and constrained with losse of many of their people to retire themselves. He had twise warres with the inhabitants of the great prouince of *Dacia*, the inhabitants whereof (as *Plinie* affirmeth) were called by the Greekes, *Getae*. That prouince contained all that which is now called *Wallachia*, and *Transylvania*; and other countries. Of this warre SVETONIVS, EVTROPIVS, and PAVLVS OROSIVS make mention, but none of them reporteth how it passed; neither for what cause it was undertaken, although they affirme that it was very costly to the Romanes: for in the first warre, wherein OPPRVS SATVRNVS was Generall, who had bene Consul, whom EVTROPIVS calleth AFFRVS, he was overcome; and the greatest part of his armie slaine.

And, in the second, CORNELIVS FLETIVS, Commander of the Pretorian Cohorts, had the like fortune; whom DOMITIANVS made Generall of that warre. In both the one and the other were great encounters and battels; wherein was spilt much of the Romans blood, as PAVLVS OROSIVS relateth; and hee saith, that CORNELIVS TACTVS treacheth thereof very largely and copiously in his Histories: but that perished with the rest of that Authors works, whereby we knowe not the discourse of those wars: but they all write, that DOMITIANVS triumphed of that Prouince. And hee also triumphed of a people in *Germany*, which they called *Catti*, with whom he also had a doubtfull warre: During the time of these warres, wholly discouraging his wicked inclination, DOMITIANVS neuer ceased to commit murders, robberies, violences, and other vices, as heereafter you shall heere: Wherefore, having freed himself from the warres aforesaid, there arose a euill warre more dangerous, which was, that LIVIVS ANTONIVS (called also SATVRNIVS) being Generall in *Germany*, rebelled

belled against DOMITIANVS, vsurping the name of Emperor; making profit of this occasion, that DOMITIANVS for his euill life was ill-beloued: against which SATVRNIVS, DOMITIANVS sent AFFRVS NORMANDVS for his Generall. This war was very doubtfull and much feared: but, coming afterwards to a battell, LIVIVS ANTONIVS was slaine, and AFFRVS remained Victor. And herein hapned a most strange and wonderfull Accident; which was, that the same day wherein this battell was fought in *Germany*, it was known in *Rome* how euery thing particularly did passe: and DOMITIANVS, that same day seeking to knowe the Author of those newes, could not finde him, and therefore beleued that it was false; so as preparing himself to goe to those warres in person, messengers came which brought certaine newes of the victory, and they auouched that it was at the same instant according to the newes then in *Rome*.

After the warres were ended (as we haue recited) and during the time thereof, DOMITIANVS put to death many eminent men, Senators, and such as had been Consuls, for so light and fained causes, as thereby hee clearly manifested the cruelty of his minde. ELIVS LAMIA hee commaunded to be slaine, for that hee used pleasant speeches and iests: which although hee suspected, yet were they offensive to none. Hee commaunded SALVIVS COCCIANVS also to be slaine, because hee celebrated the birth-day of his Vncle, the Emperor OTTO; and MATTVS POMPOSIANVS, for that hee heard that his constellation did prognosticate vnto him Imperiall dignity, and because hee had giuen to some of his slaves the names of HANNIBAL and MAGO: And, in like manner, SALVSTIVS LVCVELLVS, for that hee caused certain lances to be made of a new fashion, which (according to his owne name) hee called *Luculeian*. He put IVNIVS RVSTICVS to death, because hee published a Treatise in praise of PATRVS TRASSA, and of VIRIVS PRISCVS, very wise men; who had been of a faction contrary to his Father.

How little loue this tyrannious Emperour bare unto learning, may well appear by that which SVETONIVS and other Authors write of him: for hee commaunded to be banished out of all Italy the Philosophers, and with them (as EVSEBIVS writes) the Astrologers; of web banishment, AVLVS GELLIUS and PHILOSTRATVS make mention: PHILOSTRATVS saith, that some fled into *Spain*, and others into the deserts of *Libya* and *Scythia*. And, hauing expelled the Philosophers and Wise-men, proceeding in his cruelty, hee slue an infinite number of people (as SVETONIVS reports) for very ridiculous causes: and his fury was such, that some whom hee purposed to put to death the next day, hee entertained one night in his chamber, and shewed them many fauours with a cheerful countenance. And, among these his cruelties; hee gaue himself to luxurie and incontinency, and other dishonest exercises, couersing and keeping ordinary company with dishonest women; and heere with committed many robberies & strange extortions, seising vpon mens wares and goods for fained crimes; and those so light, as they deserue not to be mentioned. He would faine himself to be heire to those which were dead, seising vpon their goods, and burning some to depose that they had heard the deceased in their lifetime say, that they meant to leaue him for their heir. With which devices, and as many more as hee could imagine or inuent, hee neuer left robbing and spoiling men, as well in *Rome* and *Italy*, as in other Prouinces subiect to the Empire. But, amongst all other nations, those which endured the greatest oppression and tyranny were the Iewes; by Gods permission for their sinnes: for, all those which were of that religion, or liued after their manner and custome, although they were not so, hee made them pay a certain new and rigorous imposition and tribute by the head, ouer and aboue all that any other nation paid. And SVETONIVS and EVSEBIVS write, that as HEROD when CHRIST was born, so was he in fear, that out of the stock of DAVID one should come, which would beaue him of the Empire: for, hee was informed that it was written, that from DAVID should descend a man who should rule and command the whole world. Wherefore hee commaunded with all diligence all those among the Iewes, which were of the lineage of DAVID, to be sought out and slaine: yet EVSEBIVS writeth; that hee pardoned two which were of that lineage. And, to set his seal to all his wicked deeds, being induced by the diuell or some of his angels, hee gaue himself to the persecuting of the Catholick Church, and by his Letters and Edicts, both in *Rome* and out of it, an infinite number of Christians were banished and put to death: vpon whom hee executed horrible kindes of cruelties, written by EVSEBIVS, PAVLVS OROSIVS; and other Catholick Authors. And this was the second generall persecution of the Primitive Church; in which Saint IOHN the Euangelist was banished into the Ile of *Pathmos*, where he saw the Vision of the Apocalypse. How long this persecution

Domitianus
did put many
noble men to
death with this
cause.

Domitian had
suppld Philo-
sophers and as-
tronomers out
of Italy.

The cruelty and
incontinency of
Domitian.

The fear of Do-
mition.

The second per-
secution of the
Primitive Church

cution endured, I cannot say: but by EVSERRVS it seemeth, that it lasted little more than two years; for afterwards, in the thirteenth Chapter of his third Book, hee saith, that DOMITIANVS did moderate this persecution, and commanded it to cease. So as by that which is written and hath been seen, DOMITIAN was one of the worst Princes that euer was in the world, and so bad, as he used to say, The vice of the flesh was but a kinde of honest recreation: and such were those wherein he used to passe his time.

For these causes, and many other which I omit, wherein DOMITIANVS spent foureteen yeers of his Raigne, he came to be extremely hated and abhorred of all men. And as now it was growne to a custome in Rome, Not to endure wicked Emperours long; and as God also permitte, that sometime wicked Princes come to euill ends: so those which were most private and neere about him conspired against him; the Chiefe & Captain of which was STEPHANVS, who was steward to his wife and Emperesse DOMICILLA, whom they affirm to haue been partaker in the conspiracy and practice to murder him: and they afterwards slue him in such manner as I will tell you.

During the timethis conspiracie was a plotting, there appeared certaine signes in the skies, whereof all men conceited and prognosticated, that the death of DOMITIANVS was at hand: and hee also stood in extreme feare thereof, as he which took great heede to auguries and signes, and presumed much to be an Astrologer and Diuiner. And amongst other signes which then were seene, there appeared for many daies together round about the Sunne a great bright shining Crowne that did compasse it about, which resembled the Raine-bow against foule weather; but, that it was a whole Crowne and did compasse the Sunne in such manner, as it becaued and eclipsed the same of his brightnes: Which signe all men did interpret to signifie a change and alteration in the Empire, with the death of DOMITIANVS. And for as much as STEPHANVS in Greeke signifeth a Crowne, there were some which conceited that the said STEPHANVS should kill him, notwithstanding they knew nothing of the practise. By meanes whereof, and of other things which then were seene, DOMITIANVS was in such feare and despair, that as vpon a day there was a great tempest, and there happened certaine flashes of lightning, which hee and all others did preface to be against him: and he being very angrie, they write that he said, Let IVPITER then smite whom hee will. Whereof, the feare which I tolde you of, was the principall cause: for euen then was the time accomplished which the Astrologers, casting his constellation, had told him that he should die. But one thing about all the rest made him most amazed, which in truth was very strange, and for such (although it be of small importance) I will declare it, which was this: that he liuing in this feare, sent for an Astrologer, who at that time was very famous, and asked him many questions thereupon; who answered him, that by his art he found that his death was neere at hand. Wherewith DOMITIAN was so wroth, that hauing determined to command this Astrologer to be slain, hee asked him, if hee knew what end hee himselfe should haue. The Astrologer answered him, that by his constellation hee knew, that hee should shortly be torne in pieces by dogges. And DOMITIAN thinking to make him a liar in that which hee had foretold, and that, what hee had prophesied of his owne death, should not come to passe, commanded him presently to bee slain, and his bodie to be burnt, and his ashes to be buried, to the end that dogges should not tear him. And hauing begun to burne his bodie, there fell such a tempest & raine as quenched and dispersed the fire, and the body of the poore Astrologer remaining half vnburnt, there came certaine dogges which tare it in pieces, as he had prognosticated. Which (I thinke) was, by Gods permission, a practise of the diuel, as he which knew the secrecie of the conspiracie, which then was in hand to kill him. Now STEPHANVS and his consorts hauing agreed vpon the day, wherein they determined to giue DOMITIANVS his deserved death, one morning this STEPHANVS came into his chamber, bringing a poiniard hidden vnder his arme, which for that purpose he had some daies before fained to be fore, and comming to the Emperour (who was suspicious enough and verie fearefull) hauing opportunitie to come to his presence, by reason of his office, with much dissimulation he told him that he had brought him certaine intelligence of a conspiracie against him. Which when DOMITIANVS heard, as he was very ielous thereof, and beleeuing his words to be true, without any further consideration, heewith drew himselfe apart to talke with him about this matter: and standing in that manner, the rest which were of the same confederacie, being all his ordinarie seruants, and at hand, this STEPHANVS gaue him a memorie, such as he had deuised; wherein he discovered a conspiracie, naming therein such as hee thought good. And DOMITIANVS beginning to ride it

Signes prognosticating the death of Domitian.

An Astrologer foretold Domitian of his death, and of his owne also.

with great attention, STEPHAN at his pleasure stabbed him into the groyn, and the Emperour feeling himselfe wounded, began to call and to cry out aloud: and as he was very strong and valiant, before that STEPHAN could giue him another wound; hee clofed with him and threw him to the ground, and struing to take the poiniard from him; he cut and mangled his owne fingers: And by this time before that any succour could come to him, there came vpon him SATVRNVS, CAODIVS, PARTHENVS, MAXIMVS, and others which were of that conspiracie, being all his owne seruants: and there giuing him many wounds, they slew him. And so had DOMITIANVS such an end as his deedes deserved; which happened in the yeere of our Lord 98, in the five and fortieth of his age, and the fifteenth of his raigne, leaving no sonne to succcede him: for although that in his fathers time, hee had a sonne by his lawfull wife, named DOMICILLA, that sonne died being a child. DOMITIANVS was a man tall of stature; and in his youth of a good constitution, and pleasing countenance; big eyes, and somewhat redde: but comming to age, he lost his proportion and good grace, by reason of a long sickness; so as his legges became little and slender, and afterwards hee had a great gorbelly, and a very bald head. His death was taken in Rome in diuers manners, for it grieved the Pretorian souldiers very much: so as if that daie they had had any Capitaine that would haue made the motion, they would haue slaine all the conspirators. The common people took it indifferently, shewing neither loy nor sorrow. The Senate was not onely well content therewith, but conceiued exceeding ioy therat; and assembling themselves that same day, they caused all his statues to be throwne downe, and all the inscriptions and memorials of him to be cancelled and defaced.

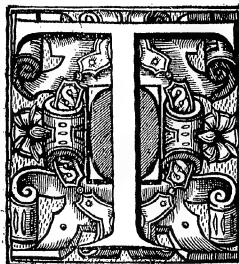
The death of Domitian.

The Senate glad for the death of Domitian.

THE LIFE OF COCCEIVS NERVA, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

His worthe Emperour was borne in the Citie of Narnie: it is not certainly knowne whether hee were an Italian, or of some other Nation, yet all agree that he was of a Noble house: hee was advanced to the imperiall dignitie being old, and in the beginning of his raigne he had new (though false) that Domitian was not dead, which much troubled him. He recalled the Christians from banishment, eased the oppressions of the citie, and made the children of poore parents to be bred up at the publicke charge, and to be briebe, did many good and vertuous deedes. There was neuer but one conspiracy against him; which had ill success: the conspirators in his time were consumedly slaine, which slew Domitian, though against his will: Hee adopted Traiane for his sonne, hauing none of his owne, to whom hee might commit the charge of the Empire. He held the Empire thirteene months onely, and dyed of cholera, taken against a Senator, whose name was Regulus, which cholera cast him into such a sweat that he died thereof, and the same day that he departed out of this life, there was a great eclipse of the Sunne.



HE death of the Emperour DOMITIAN was not onely profitable for the Empire, being freed and deliuered from his crueltie and tyrannic, but for that it gaue meanes to NERVA to succcede him: and that afterwards TRAIAN and ADRIAN should raigne, who were most excellent Emperours, and honored and enlarged the Empire. And although that NERVA raigned but a while, yet hee did many good things: but the best that hee did was, in that hee made TRAIAN his successeur, as when time serueth, shall be declared. The death of DOMITIAN, as I haue said, did not grieve nor ioy the Roman people, but pleased the Senate exceedingly: who hauing commanded the remembrance of him to be cancelled, they presently tooke order to giue him a successeur, before that any one should be cho-

sen

with

son by the armie. COCCIVS NERVA, being at that time for his many vertues, wisdom, experience, and age, a man of the greatest reputation and authority in Rome, was by the Senate chosen Emperor, having beene favoured and assisted therein by PETHRONIVS SEVERVS, Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, & PARTHENIVS, who was one of those which killed DOMITIAN. This NERVA was of a noble family, borne in the Citie of *Narva* in the province of *Pamiria* in *Italy*, his fathers name was also NERVA. Saint IEROME onely saith, that he was borne in *Spain*, I know no ground for it, neither have I read it in any other auncient author. Being receiued in the Senate and accepted to the Empire, vpon a sodaine without knowing who was the author, it was told him that DOMITIAN was liuing, and that the report of his death was vntue. This newes did so much trouble NERVA, that all the colour went out of his face: and being vnable to speake, he had much a doe to stand vpon his feete, vntill that PARTHENIVS did encourage him, assuring him of the truth. Whereupon he came againe to himselfe, and set a good countenance vpon the matter: presently they all came to him to doe him reuerence, and to receive him for their Lord and Emperour, shewing great ioy, in hope of good successe. Onely ARRIVS ANTONIVS, who was a very wife and iust man and had bin his familiar friend, spake vnto him in a more strange manner then any of the rest: therefore I will relate it. Truly NERVA, in that thou art aduanced to this high degree, I will attribute the benefit and happinesse thereof vnto the Senate and people of Rome, and generally to the whole Empire (for such hath bene their good fortune) but not vnto thee. For thou having escaped with such honor and reputation by meanes of thy vertue, and wisdom, from the iniurie of those wicked Princes past, art now made subject to infinite troubles and daungers; and above all, to the infamie and hatred of thy enemies, and as much or more of thy friends: for they will presume that they have deserved all fauour, in respect of the ancient friendship which they held with thee; and if thou shalt deny them aie thing they shall ask, although it be neuer so vnjust, they will become greater and more cruell enemies vnto thee, then those which openly shew themselves to bee such. Now, as the solemnities and accustomed ceremonies for the new Emperour were ended, in the beginning of his Emprye hee began to doe most noble and excellent workes, whereof in summe wee will make a breefe relation, without distinction of time, seeing his Emprye was so short, as in a manner not to be diuided. And one of the best and first was, in releasing from banishment all the Christians, which from Rome and other Cities were banished in the time of the Emperour DOMITIAN, and to permit and give liberty to every man to hold what faith and religion he would; and in this time (according to EVSEBIUS, and other Catholike historiographers) Saint Iohn the Evangelist came from the Ile of *Pathmos* (whither hee was banished) to the citie of *Ephesus* in *Asia*. The like humanitie did NERVA use in all other matters: First hee released and discharged all the cities of the Empire from the new impositions, which VESPASIAN and DOMITIAN had laid vpon them. And to many which by DOMITIANVS were unjustly dispossessed of their goods, hee commanded their possessors to be restored to all their moveables, which could bee found in the imperial palaces. And hee not onely shewed himselfe liberal to those which were oppressed: but to all poore men which had sones, hee made them to bee bred up at his charges. Hee made also a distribution among all the people of Rome in greater measure then was usually done by any others. And to some poore Citizens of Rome which hee knew had no wealth, hee made certaine possessions, which hee bought for that purpose, to be diuided among them. And above all hee did great favours, and bestowed great gifts vpon those which had bin his friends and allied vnto him: and his liberalitie was so great, as DIOMEDES writeth, that in the beginning and first comming to the Empire, hee was contrayned by necessity to sell his gold and silver plate, and other moveables of his house, to performe those his favours and good deeds. And in this manner hee did many deeds of charitie and pietie; for it is written for certaine, that hee swore that no Senator of Rome should by his commandement be put to death, which hee afterwards performed, although there were those which deserved the contrary. He also forbade many flanders and accusations used in those times, desiring, all men should live contented and at liberty.

Although that NERVA was so good a man (as we haue said) and vsed so milde a kinde of government, so as there was nothing in him to be reprooued; yet there wanted not some which murmured against him, as wicked men vse to doe against the good, alleging that so great humilitie and mildnesse in a Prince was not profitable: so as FRONTO a principall man in Rome presumed to say openly, that it was an euill thing to haue such an one for Emperour, which would suffer no man to doe any thing that hee desired; but it was a worse matter to haue such an one

vnder

vnder whom euery man might doe what hee listed. When NERVA was aduertised thereof, he was not angry, but forbade some things, which had giuen him cause to say so: and he desired so much to gouerne vprightly, as hee did nothing of his owne head, but had alwayes about him, and sent for wife and good men, such as were of the greatest experience in Rome, by whose counsell hee provided, ordained & dispatched all matters. He also made during the small time of his Emprye some very good lawes & ordinances; among which, hee sharply forbade an abuse of those times, which was, to geld men & to make them Eunuches. He also forbade that any man should marry his neece, or brothers daughter; and many other things which wanted reformation. To conclude, this Emperour had in his short time at those parts a good prince ought to haue; and so cleere a conscience, that hee oftentimes said, hee remembered not to haue done any thing (albeit hee gave over the Empire) why he should not liue secure, and without feare of any body. And, though all this was true, (as to the wicked, the yoke & scepter of the iust is a heauie burthen, and Rome had then got such a custome, that it could neither indure an euill Emperour, nor obey him that was good) yet there wanted not some which practised his death, and conspired against him: the motor & head therof was CASSIUS CALPURNIVS; but it pleased God that it took no effect, but was revealed to the good Emperour; who without any rigor or bloodshed was freed therof, contenting himselfe only (as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth) with the banishment of those which were culpable, though the senate would haue inflicted a more rigorous punishment.

All these things being passed (as I haue said) and all things succeeding well and prosperously both in Rome, and all the Provinces subject thereto, it hapned that ELIANVS CASPERIVS, who at that time was Prefect & Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts, incited the souldiers to reuenge the death of the Emperour DOMITIAN, & to put all those to death which had bin confederates therein; which they determined to put in execution, though NERVA gave them no leave. This motion was sodaine, & NERVA was much troubled, & would haue hindred it, and haue defended those from whose hands hee receiued the Empire, or haue died in the quarrel; and so he said & published openly: but the matter came to such issue, as the old Emperour was not able to resist or prevent it: & so PARTHENIVS & PETHRONIVS were slain, & all those which CASPERIVS would require or nominate of those which were culpable. With this contempt NERVA was so grieved & offended, that hee was very sorrowfull hee could not punish it as the case required; for by reason of his old age & infirmities hee was not regarded by the souldiers. Wherefore to redresse the present, & provide for that to come, hee determined to adopt & make TRAIAN his successor, who was then Captain & Gouernour in the neather *Germanie*, & was at that time in the city of *Colem*, which charge hee had executed with great honor & fame, & was the most excellent man then liuing, as well in peace as war: to whom hee was no way allied, being a Spaniard, & a stranger to Rome & *Italy*. And although NERVA wanted not allies & kinsmen, yet hee chose TRAIAN, having more respect to the publike good, then to his owne house & posterity: wherein how iustly hee made his choise, this history will hereafter manifest. Having put this his determination in executio, & the accustomed solemnities performed, & adopted him in the Capitol, & made him CESAR in the Senate, hee presently sent him Ambassadors with the Ensignes & Armes of the Empire, & they inuested him in the Emprye: & herewith hee sent him a verse in latine, wherein hee briefly exhorted him to come & succour him. The adoption of TRAIAN was so great a bridle to the mutinies which were feared, as all remained still & obedient. But it pleased not God that NERVA should long enjoy his good resolution; for as SEXTVS AVRELIVS writeth, hee liued onely three months after: in which time they write not that there passed any notable matter, neither is it understood by the histories that TRAIAN came to Rome before his death, which happened (in a manner) sodainly, through anger and displeasure which hee conceived against a Senator, whose name was REGVLVS: for as hee was old and feeble, hee gave a great shout, and was taken with so great a sweate, that being unable to endure it, hee died thereof. The same day there was a great Eclipse of the Sunne, which might be (in part) cause of his death; which was in the 100 year of CHRIST. He reigned 1 year, 4 months and odder daies; according to SEXTVS AVRELIVS, EVSEBIUS, and BEDA. About the time of his age there is some difference among Authors: for, some say, hee was 71 years old; others, 76. But as it imports little, so I mean not to spend much time about contrarieties of so small moment; and heerein I hold decorum with my curious Reader, to the end hee condemn me not of negligence, if hee finde me to differ from that which hee shall reade elsewhere.

THE

Nerva chosen
Emperour by
the Senate of
Rome.

Speeches made
by Antonius to
Nerva.

Nerva his good
deeds.

Testimonie ad-
dressed and inuolued
in the Emprye by
Nerva.

Testimonie ad-
dressed and inuolued
in the Emprye by
Nerva.

The death of
Coccivus Nerva
as at the Eclipse
of the sun, An.
Dom. 100.



THE LIFE OF TRAIAN, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND FOURTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

After the good Nerva succeeded a better Traian, born (as is said) in the citie of Italia neere to *Seuil*: yet some say that he was borne elsewhere, whose fathers name was Traian; and his mother, Plotina. He was advanced to the Empire with the good liking of all men, for that his goodness, clemency, liberalitie, and equity towards all men was publicly knowne; which vertues he lost not when he was Emperor, but rather seemed to have increased the same: neither did he omit them, although he were neuer so much busied in matters of importance concerning the warres, or standing for the recreation of his minde, to behold feasts and sports. The first action he undertook, being Emperor, was against the King of Dacia rebelling the second time: and he likewise persecuted the Christians, but afterwards he mitigated the persecution, which was the third that the Church suffered, then daily greatly increasing. In his time there was a very great earthquake, which was in a manner generall, but it did most harme in Antioch, where he then was. After this he made very great voyages. In his time the Iewes rebelled, whom when he had tamed, he returned to Rome, where there was a wonderfull triumph prepared for him: but being overburdened with age, and infirmities, he died in the citie of *Seleucia*, to the universall sorrow and griefe of the whole world. He lived 64. yeeres; and being dead and burnt, his ashes were carried to Rome, and set upon the top of a pillar, which is to this day to be seene in Rome, which was a wonderfull piece of worke, and truly worthy of so great an Emperour, who was a no lesse father to the country then to all vertues and vertuous men.



The virtues
of Traian.

The place of
Traians
buriall.

After the wise and good Emperour NERVA, succeeded TRA-
IAN, as he had ordained in his life time, who was the flower of
all the heathen Emperours, and in his time was the Romane Em-
pire at the greatest height: for neuer, either before or after, was it
so great, so much feared or esteemed. The valour, vertues and
excellencies of TRAIAN were so many & so great, that as *SEX-
TUS AURELIUS* affirmeth, the best writers of those times were
hardly able to expresse and declare the same. For although that
I would exceede in the historie of this excellent Prince, for the
loue of my country, of whence I might say that TRAIAN was
(as presentlie shall appeare) yet I could not doe it according to
my desire and his deserts, for the breuitie of those authors which
we haue at this day which wrote of him: wherefore I hold it for a better course to observe the
stile and forme already begun, then by breaking it, to be notwithstanding too briefe and de-
fectiue. I say then that TRAIAN was by nature and birth a Spaniard, whereof there is no
doubt: for so do all auncient true authors affirme. *EVROTIVS* in the life of him, and *EVSE-
BIUS* in his Chronicle, say, that he was borne in the towne of Italia, which is subiect and neere
to *Seuil*: the which is also affirmed by *SEXTUS AURELIUS*, although he name it not; and
ANTONY LEBRISHA, whom we may alleage among the auncient authors, calleth Italia
TRAIANs country: wherefore I cannot coniecture by what authoritie he did it, which
wrote that TRAIAN was borne in *Cales*. This towne of Italia (according to *PLINIE* in his
third booke) was in that time in subiection, and within the iurisdiction of *Seuil*: and *ANTONY*
in his perambulation saith, that it was sixteene miles from thence: the same in a manner is ga-
thered

thered by *POTOMIUS* his geographic, and that it lay Northwest from *Seuil*: but at what time
it was ruined, or where about it was, I could neuer certainly vnderstand: so as *Seuil* may glorie
and vauit it selfe to be TRAIAN his country: for although that he were not borne in it, yet
he was borne in a place subiect and neere vnto it. TRAIAN was also of noble bloud and linage,
although not very famous for any great dignities. His fathers name was also TRAIAN.
When he came to the Empire, he was 42. yeeres old, but not fullie compleate, and married to
a woman of great account, whose name was *PLOTINA*. For the certaine knowledge they
had in Rome of his goodnes and valour, he was by generall consent ioyfullie received and obey-
ed: and he presently beganne to put his great vertues in practice, shewing himselfe both in word
and deed, good, affable, milde, mercifull, very wise, and a louer of truth and equitie, and of all
other vertues, wherein he persevered vntill the end: it shall not be amisse if I recite part thereof
in the beginning, seeing that all historiographers which write of him do the like.

TRAIAN, taking vpon him the government of the Empire, first endeouored to reforme the
lawes, and to cause them to be observed, and that equitie and iustice should be vsed in all things.
In publike charges and offices he tooke care to preferre noble and vertuous men; and such as
were not so, he reformed and reclaimed with gentleness and clemencie, and not with rigour
and extremite. He did so moderate and repress his wrath and choler, as he was neuer knowne
to be overcome therewith, and was most abstinent from other mens goods, and free from coun-
tousnes. His liberalitie and bountie did exceede, bestowing benefits and fauours vpon all men,
greatly relieuing the poore and needie, imitating and excelling his adopted father NERVA.
He bestowed much cost and took great care for the bringing vp & instructing of poore mens
children in Rome and in all Italy. He was a great builder of publike and necessarie Edifices; and
also made an infinite number of bridges, gates and temples, and repaired his waies & caufetes;
as yet is to be seene in many places in *Spain*, wherof one (as saith *S. ISIDORE*) is the
bridge at *Alcantara*. In all his buildings he neuer made benefit of any mans goods or labour;
as some of his predecessors had done. He was to the multitude and common people milde and
courteous, and the principal personages he honoured and entertained with loue and familiari-
tie; and chiefly those which deserved it, he admitted to priuate conuersation: wherof being
vpon a time reprooued, he answered, that he desired to be such an Emperour towards his sub-
iects, as he would wish they should be to him, if he were not so. In Arts and Sciences he was
not very learned, by reason of his great affaires; but he neuer left to practice when he had time;
hauing for his master the excellent Philosopher and Historiographer *PLYTARCH*, whom,
and others for their excellent wits, he loued and honoured much, as *IYERNALE* testifieth; be-
sides other writers.

Traian his
good deeds.

His liberalitie.

Plutarch was
Traians ma-
ster.

To conclude, this Prince had all the good parts and conditions which an excellent King
ought to haue: in peace he was vpriight and iust, and in warre (whereto he was so affected as
hereafter shall be declared) he was valiant; and in both the one and the other very wise and
prudent. And for that wee will not conceale the truth, of two vices and passions he was noted,
and accused: the one was, that he did eate and drinke much, and that very sumptuously; and
the other, that he was much giuent to the vice of the flesh: the cause wherof was the want of
faith, together with his great power and libertie; but it was neuer knowne that wine ouer-
came his wits, or that by means thereof he committed ought that might seeme vnfit, neither
through the other passion, that he euer vsed violence, or forced any woman, or offended any.

With these conditions he began his raigne and Empire, governing it most happily for some
space. As he was a most excellent and valiant Capitaine, and addicted to the wars, desirous of ho-
nour and fame about all his predecessors, he refused to extend and enlarge the bounds of the
Empire by armes. His first enterprize was against the King and inhabitants of the province of
Dacia, a very great and spacious country; wherein are now included *Wallacia*, and *Transiluania*;
and other provinces, taking the occasion for the warres and spoiles which that nation had done
to the Romane Empire, in the time of the Emperour *DOMITIAN*. TRAIAN went to this
warre with an exceeding great Army, and the King of *Dacia*, named *DECEBALVS*, had leui-
ed for his defence all his force and power, being very great: so as this war was very cruell. But the
King of *Dacia*, being no other way able to defend himselfe, determined to come to a battaile (as
he did) wherein TRAIANE had the victorie, with exceeding great losse to his enemies, and
not a little to the Romanes, for the battaile was very cruell and bloudie. This victorie being
obtained, and TRAIAN following the chase of his enemies, he pursued them so hard, that
DECEBALVS, being in despaire, sent to him, humbly desiring peace, offering to accept any
conditions

Warres made
by Traian
against the King
of Dacia.

Decabalus did
much peace of
Traian.

Conditions pre-
scribed to De-
sculus.

conditions he should prescribe. And T R A I A N (who took as great glory in pardoning the humble and meeke, as in taming and subduing the proud and haucie) notwithstanding that hee had taken almost all his countrey, was contented to admit him to his grace and fauour, sending certaine conditions to be performed: which were, that he should presently deliuer vp all his instruments and engines of warre, and the engines and masters thereof, together with all fugitiues that were within his dominion, which were Romans, or their confederats, and ranne to the enemy. And that out of all the Castles and fortresses within his dominions, hee should withdraw the garriisons, and should throw downe such as should be appointed: and before all these things, that he should surrender certain lands which he held within the bounds of the Empire; and that he should euer hold for friends and enemies, those which the Senate of Rome held for such.

These articles and conditions the King of Dacia accepted and promised to accomplish, more through necessity then for any good will; and hauing sworne to obserue them, he came to the Campe to the Emperor; where prostrating himselfe vpon the earth before him, he confessed himselfe to be ouercome, and to be his vassall. This solemnity being ended, and other things done which were expedient, T R A I A N returned victorious to Rome, where hee entred in triumph, as faith E Y S B R I V S hauing reigned two yeeres, and brought with him the Ambassadors of the King of Dacia, to whom was giuen audience in the Senate; and the peace, which T R A I A N had granted, was there confirmed. And he for his victorie was called *Dacicus*, for that he had subdued the countrey of Dacia, as the Romans in former time had vsually done to some other excellent Captaines.

When T R A I A N had ordered all things in the prouince of Dacia in this maner, for ioy & honor of this victorie, and to please the Roman people, he made all manner of sports and games, which of custome were wont to be obserued by the Emperors (as is aboue said) adding thereto such other things as he thought good. But these games and sports did not withdraw him from doing iustice, neither from care of the government: but rather so long as they lasted, he spent the greatest part of his time in dispatching of busines, and doing iustice, going himselfe in person to the Tribunal and publike audience, to iudge and determine many causes: which he did most iustly and wisely. Passing sometime in good quiet, rest, and generall peace, the King of Dacia being as vnable to endure subiection and seruitude, as his predecessors, began some combustions and alterations, first secretly, and afterwards publicly: repaying and fortifying his Castles, providing armes and engines, and leuying his neighbour forces against the Empire: whereof as soone as T R A I A N and the Senate had intelligence, he was adiudged the second time, an enemy to the Empire. And so with an equall armie, but much more incensed then formerly, T R A I A N went this second time to the warres in person: in which the King of Dacia taking warning by that which was past, refused to come to battaile, and vsed policies, stratagems and trecheries against T R A I A N; which were such and so many, as the Emperor was in danger to haue been either slaine or taken: and by trecherie (vpon a safe conduct) they took a singular good Captaine and a great fauorite of the Emperors called L O N O N Y S. The King of Dacia hauing so good a pawne, sent to T R A I A N to entreate a pardon, and to treat of peace, threatening that except he might obtaine the same, he would put the said L O N O N Y S to death. Whereto T R A I A N gaue such an answere, as the King vnderstood, that he preferred his honour and the publike good before any particular perill, and prosecuted the warres by all waies and meanes possible: During the which, within a very short space he built a bridge ouer the riuier Danubius, beyond which (parting from Italy) lieth the countrey of Dacia, which was one of the most stately bridges that euer was made in the world, all of squared stone of marueilous beautie. This bridge contained twentie Arches, each of which was one hundred and fiftie foote high, besides the foundation, and fixtie foote broad; the one Arch was distant from the other one hundred and fixtie foote, which was the compasse of the Arches of the bridge: which truly was a wonderfull worke, as well for the greatnesse thereof, as for the many difficulties, and the short space wherein it was made: Which among other things is an argument of the wealth and greatnesse of the Romane Emperours. Which bridge this Emperor made, to hold a free passage for his Armies to passe the riuier Danubius, against those barbarous nations: And A D R I A N his successor being of a contrarie opinion, to becaue the barbarous of the like passage (as some say) commanded it to be broken. This bridge being finished, T R A I A N continuing the warre, did many things, wherein he shewed himselfe to be a valiant and excellent Captaine: and so oppressed the enemy (notwithstanding that

The King of Da-
cia rebels a-
gainst the Em-
pere.

A bridge over
the riuier Da-
nubius.

The death of the
King of Dacia.

that the countrey was great, and the people very fierce and hardie) that he conquered and subdued it all, and put their King D A C T A L V S to such a straight, that to escape taking, being in great danger thereof, he slew himselfe; and his head was carried to Rome, and the countrey of Dacia was made subiect and tributary to the Romane Empire: the greatest part whereof at this time (for our times) is subiect to the Turke. After this, taking such order for all things in those parts as was requisite, T R A I A N came to Rome with great honour, bringing with him an exceeding great summe of money and wealth, taken from that King and countrey, being now (as E Y S B R I V S testifieth) the fift yeere of his reigne. And his name and boutie was so famous through the world, that vpon the way Ambassadors met him from the East Indies, and diuers other parts to sue for peace, and to acknowledge him for their Lord. Being come to Rome, hee entred in great triumph: and afterwards there were made great shewes and feasts for ioy of his Victorie and Returne; which did laste 120 daies, which were foure whole moneths: which being ended, he applied himselfe to the administration of iustice, and the tranquillitie of the Empire. Remaining in Rome busied in these exercises, hee made many bridges, caufices, and other publike edifices both within Italy and without. About this time there died a great friend and fauorite of his, whose name was S V R A L I C I N I V S, whose death he took heauily and honoured his memoriall with publike statues, which he commaunded to be erected to him, and other honors then vsed. This S V R A was so good a man, and T R A I A N reposed such trust in him, that being told one day for certaine, that S V R A meant to kill him, hee went that night to sup at his house; and commanding his guard to returne, remained there alone amongst S V R A his friends and companions, and commanded his Barber to shauie his beard with a razor, which the Emperors then held for a custome, vntill the time of his succellour A D R I A N, who wore his beard somewhat long: and hauing so much trusted and tried this S V R A L I C I N I V S, he returned to his Palace, and calling those vnto him which had told him thereof, he said to them, that he had made tryall of L I C I N I V S loyalty, and that they should no more hold him in suspicion: and so he euer after loved him both aliue & dead, as I haue said.

T R A I A N living in this prosperitie without blemish or disorder in any thing that might deserue reproofe, being deluded by the diuell, or some of his ministers, he resolved to persecute the Christians, and made edicts and decrees against them, commanding them to adore his Idols, so as an infinite number of them were put to death vpon that occasion. This was the third generall persecution of the Christians, whereof E Y S B R I V S treating faith, that it was in the tenth yeere of his reigne, and so doth O R O S I V S and other Christian authors. Which persecution T R A I A N commaunded afterwards to cease, as it appeareth by some histories, and by the Letters written by P L I N I V S to T R A I A N, and from T R A I A N to P L I N I V S, which are extant to this day: Wherein hee commaunded, that if the Christians were not accused of any other crimes, they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and according to their lawes. In these and other things, and in doing iustice, T R A I A N, busied himselfe in Rome, vntill that moued with desire of fame and glorie, he resolved to make war against the King of Parthia, and against the King of Armenia, making this his occasion; that the King of Armenia had recieued the crown and enignes of a King, from the hands of the King of Parthia (acknowledging him for his superior and soueraigne) and not from the Emperour of Rome, as he was bound to haue done, as appeareth by that which is already said. And hauing ordered his troupes, and made such provision, as for so great an enterprize was requisite: he parted from Rome, with a very great army both by sea and land, and arriving in Asia, hee invaded Armenia, where the fame of his coming was such, and there was so great a feare ouer all the Countrey, that but in very few places hee found any resistance, aswell in Armenia as in countries adioyning. And the greatest part of the Kings, Nobles and Gouernors of the prouinces bordering thereupon, came peaceably to him, humbly confessing themselves to be his subiects, and him to be their soueraigne Lord, and bringing him many presents they made great shew of subiection. Among many other things of great price which they presented vnto him, there was brought him a horse, in greates, colour and shape, one of the most faire in the world: which being taught before hand, as soone as he came in the Emperours presence, kneeled downe vpon both his knees, and bowed downe his head to the earth; which although it were knowne to be artificially, yet it made a very good shewe, and did greatly delight the beholders, being a thing rare and vnthought of.

T R A I A N hauing in short time subdued Armenia, and gotten the King thereof into his power, P A R T A M I T A S T E S by name, who had submitted himself, he seized all into his hand.

A feast of one
hundred and
twenty dayes
continuance.

The death of Sur-
ra Licinius la-
mouried by Trai-
ian.

The third gene-
rall persecution
of the primitive
Church.

Traian made
warre against
the Parthians.

A horse giuen
to Traian.

Armenia and Mesopotamia made tributary to the Empire.

New titles giue to Trajan by the Senate.

An horrible and terrible Earthquake in the citie of Antioch.

A bridge ouer the riuer Euphrates.

Arbela.

Babylon and Theſſephonte reſcued by Trajan.

And ſo as EUTROPIVS and SEXTVS RVFVS teſtifie) the countrie of *Armenia* was made a tributary province, and at that time he gratified and gaue gifts and rewards to thoſe Kings and Tetrarchs, which had ſerued him in thoſe wars, and to many others. And others he condemned in great ſums of money, according as each one had deſerued. And ſetting all things in good order, leauing ſufficient gariſſons to defend the ſame, he marched forward with his Armie, conquering the dominions of the King of *Parthia*, and particularly entred into the fertile countie of *Mesopotamia*, and took the citie of *Niſſus*, and other places there, and made that province, like *Armenia*, tributary and ſubiekt to the Empire; the King of *Parthia* being no way able to hinder the ſame, therein happening many ſkirmiſhes, encounters, aſſaults of cities, and feates of arms, *TRAIAN* ſhewing himſelfe in all things an excellent Captain, as well in trauailes and dangers, as in directing his armie, in lodging it, in marſhalling his men, and marching with them according to militarie government and diſcipline. For whom the Senate (being aduertified of his great victories and good ſucceſſe) commanded great ſacrifices to be made, after the manner of the Gentiles; and ſent him new titles and names, ſignifying his victories, calling him *Optimus*, *Armenicus*, *Parthicus*, and other titles, for the conqueſt of *Armenia*, and other countie of the *Parthians*. Hauing had in all things good ſucceſſe, encreaſing and enlarging the Romane Empire, deſiring, for ſome reſpects, to repoſe himſelfe for ſome fewe dayes, hee came to paſſe the winter in the Province of *Soria*; where diſperſing his Armie in thoſe marches, he lodged himſelfe in the Citie of *Antioch*, whither came Ambaſſadours from many parts of the Eaſt: And being there in great proſperitie and at reſt, with a full determination to returne to the wars as afterwards he did, the whol citie being full of his Court, and of Ambaſſadours and Princes which came to ſee him, and to follow their ſuits vnto him, there happened an earth-quake which was in a manner generall, which in that citie and in a great part of *Aſia* (but chiefly in thoſe quarters) was the greateſt that euer was ſcen or heard of, which began after this manner. On the 22 of October there did riſe fo furious and violent a winde, as it tare and turned vp trees, made the birds fall to the earth, vncovered the rooſes, and made the houſes ſhake: then followed lightning and thunder, in ſuch abundance, as being yet night, it ſeemed noone day; after which there fell from heauen ſuch fearful thunderbolts, as with their violence they brake downe ſtately buildings, and ſlew many men, ſo as it ſeemed the world had been ſet on fire, and that the earth had opened. The Sea was alſo wonderfully troubled; after all which there was ſuch a violent heate, as, not able to endure it, men ſtrippt themſelves, and hid them vnder ground; and the ſkie was ſo darke, and the duſt ſo great, as one could not ſee another, but ſhocking together fell downe dead: But he that will know the wonders which paſſed therein, let him reade *DION*, and *COCCIVS* in the life of *TRAIAN*; for many cities were ruined, much people periſhed; many mountains and hills ſunke and became plaine; many riuers were dried vp; and many fountaines and waters ſprang where neuer had been any before. And in the Citie of *Antioch*, almoſt all the houſes and buildings thereof fell to the ground; and the Emperour *TRAIAN*, eſcaped by flight, and was driuen to leape out at a window into the fields, ſeeing that all his palaces fell downe: in which fieldes hee remained many dayes in Tents, vntill the earth-quake was paſt; ſo great feare poſſeſſed him for that which was already happened. This miſfortune being paſt, and this Citie and others, which endured the like calamitie, being repaired by *TRAIAN*, and ſommer being come, gathering together all his forces, he parted from *Antioch* to proceede in the warre which he had begun, directing his iourney towards the Eaſt, to make a conqueſt of *Aſſyria* and *Chaldea*, with the great Citie of *Babylon*, head of the ancient monarchy of the *Aſſyrians*. And being to paſſe the riuer *Euphrates*, at a great turning which it maketh, he underwent many difficulties and dangers, for the *Parthians* with all their whole power endeouored to ſtoppe his paſſage: But *TRAIAN* knew ſo well how to vie ſuch induſtrie, and to proceede ſo warily, as making boates and bringing them in carts, from the mountains neereſt at hand, he made a bridge, and paſſed his Army in deſpite of his enemies, although not without great ſlaughter and danger to both parts: And hauing paſſed the riuer, he marched forwards, conquering Cities and Caſſes on euery ſide, and among other the great Citie of *Arbela* in *Aſſyria*, which *MARCELLINVS* calleth *Gandabala*, in whole fields *ALEXANDER* the Great, ouerthrew King *DARIVS*. And from thence he went and took other countries, wherein neuer had any Romane enſignes been diſplayed: And from thence without finding any that durſt to giue him battaile in his march, he came to the famous Citie of *Babylon*, of whole greatneſſe and power we read maruels, and taking it by force of armes, he did the like by all the borders: and from thence he marched

by

by land to the riuer *Tigris*, and aſſaulted and took by force the great citie of *Theſſephonte*, which is in *Perſia*, and other townes in thoſe parts. But in what manner *TRAIAN* took this Citie, and what happened in the many aſſaults and battailes giuen, and how long this warre continued, we finde it not written: for thoſe authors which are come to our hands treat thereof ſuccinctly; and the bookes of his life and famous exploits which *FLAVIUS MARCELLVS* and *AVRILIUS VERVS* wrote at large and copiouſly, are periſhed, with other notable works, which time hath conſumed and waſted; by which means the acts of this Emperour are vnknowne. Neither is he compared with *ALEXANDER* the Great, or the greateſt captaines of the world; notwithstanding that he was no leſſe, conſidering the countries, the Seas, and Nations, which he travelled, tamed and ſubdued, with his armie, his minde, his wiſedome and bounty.

TRAIAN hauing made himſelfe Lord of all thoſe Countries, both on this ſide, and beyond the riuers *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, to wit, *Syria*, *Babylon*, *Chaldea*, and other countries and provinces; thereto adioyning; *DION* writeth that he went downe the riuer *Tigris*, towards the *Perſian* Sea, to ſubduce mightie King, named *ATHABALS*, who liued in an Iſland (which that riuer maketh, diuiding it ſelfe into two arms) &c. committing to that countie, the King and inhabitants of thoſe countries not daring to make any reſiſtance, yielded all thoſe places into his hands. But here he was in the greateſt trouble and danger of all others: for winter coming on, there fell ſo much raine, and there were ſuch tempeſts, and the riuer *Tigris* made ſuch inundations, as hee was in danger to haue loſt the greateſt part of his armie. After which, theſe authors affirme, that he rigged vp a great ſceete, wherewith ſaying along the *Perſian* Sea, he came into the maine Ocean, conquering euen to the *Indies*, and ſubduing them to the Roman Empire: and finding by chance certain Merchants ſhips which failed to the *Indies*, on this ſide the riuer *Ganges*, they write, that he informed himſelfe thereof, and diſcouſed with ſuch as were in thoſe ſhips of all matters concerning thoſe parts. And he ſometimes ſaid, that had it pleaſed God that hee had been a little younger, and had more ſtrength & health, he would not haue ſtaied vntill that he had attained to the vitermoſt and moſt remote ends of the world: and that he accounted *ALEXANDER* the Great for very happy, in that he began to raigne when he was but young; yet he purpoſed to paſſe further then he had done. And ſo he wrote from thoſe Seas to the Senat of *Rome*, and ſent them the relation and names of all the Nations which he had conquered and ſubdued, the number whereof was ſo great, as they could hardly be reckoned and knowne. Vpon which newes, there were made in *Rome* great ioyes, new ſacrifices, and many other things to his honor; among which was a moſt ſumptuous Arch. But this attempt and enterpriſe of the *Indies* proſpered not with *TRAIAN*, according to his expectation: for as thoſe countries, which he left behinde him in the Eaſt, were newly conquered; while as he continued his Navigation and conqueſt by Sea, many of thoſe countries reuolted, and thruſt out the Roman gariſſons which were left in them. Beſides this (whereof he was aduertified) he found not in thoſe coaſts and countries where he came, ſuch fertilitie and abundance of victuals as he expected; neither were they anſwerable to the reports of writers, which fabled thereof: for he found there great ſcarcitie and want of many neceſſaries, and the enterpriſe ſeemed vnworthy of ſo great a Prince: for which cauſes, and for that that he was now old and vnwieldie, he reſolued to return with his ſceete to the place from whence he came.

TRAIAN returning in this manner by the *Perſian* gulfe, and taking land neere to the riuer *Tigris*, he ſpeedily took order for the puniſhing of thoſe which reuolted, and the recouerie of thoſe countries which had rebelled, whither he ſent two Captaines called *LVCIVS* and *MAXIMVS*, with two good armies, which in the beginning proſpered ill; for *MAXIMVS* in a battaile againſt the *Parthians* was ouerthrowne and ſlaine: but *LVCIVS* afterwards reinforcing and relieving his armie, obtained ſome victories againſt the enemy, wherein he repaired the loſſes recouered, and recouered againe by force of arms the citie of *Niſſus* in *Mesopotamia*, and others which had rebelled; and did the like by the citie of *Adiſa* in the ſame province, which he ſet on fire and wholly ruined. While as *LVCIVS* was buſie about theſe things, *TRAIAN* his other Captaines and Lieutenants, named *EVRETIVS* and *CLARIVS*, made warre in other parts againſt ſuch as had reuolted, and took by force the citie of *Selenia*, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer *Tigris*, and other cities which the *Parthians* had recouered in thoſe quarters: ſo as in ſhort ſpace *TRAIAN* not only recouered all thoſe countries which had rebelled, but alſo conquered many other cities and provinces: ſo as he was Lord of the greateſt and beſt parts of *Aſia*. His wiſedome and valour was ſo great, that during all the time that hee followed theſe

Traian made warre in Perſia and the Indies.

warres and conquests, so remote and farre from *Rome*, yet there was not any tumult or disorder in the Citie.

But this sage and wife Emperour seeing himselfe now old and tired, and knowing how great the *Romane* Empire was, and that it seemed impossible (as indeed it was true) well to gouerne a state so large and great, chiefly those provinces which hee had conquered from the *Parthians*, who were so hard to be tamed and kept vnder; he resolved to settle a King in *Parthia* and *Persia* of his choosing, and in some other countie which hee had taken from the *Parthians*, which King should rule and gouerne the same, as before they were ruled, yet as a King which should be subiect and a vassall to the *Romane* Empire, reseruing to himselfe the supreme iurisdiction and soueraignty. And with this resolution he came to the great citie of *Thessponte*, which is in *Persia*; and calling thither the principall men of the *Parthians*, hee conferred with them concerning the making them a King of their owne stocke and nation, they giuing him great securitie to serue and obey the *Romane* Empire. This being concluded, he placed and established, in the royall throne with great solemnitie, a great man of the royall house of the *Parthians*, whose name was *PARTHENASPATES*. And afterwards (as *SEXTVS AVRELIVS* and *EVTRUPIVS* record) he did the like in the province of *Albania* in *Asia*, neere to the *Caspian* Sea, seating there a King to gouerne the same: and placing gouernours and Presidents in the other provinces, he enlarged and extended the bounds & limits of the *Romane* Empire beyond the riuier *Tigris*, where before his time the name of *Romane* had scarcely been heard of. And hauing ended all things in good sort in the East, with great glorie and honour (for no place could defend it selfe against him, sauing one little citie in *Arabia deserta*, which the *Agairens* had taken, which could not long be besieged for the great sterilitie and want of water in all the fields and marches therabout) hee resolved to direct his journey towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*, with greater honour and triumph, then any of his predecessors had euer obtained.

While as *TRAIAN* made prouision for his journey towards *Italy*, it happened that the *Iewes* which inhabited the province of *Cyrene*, which is in *Africa*, to the East of *Syria Magna*, conspired and rebelled against the *Romanes* and *Greekes* which liued in that province, and slew most of them. The like did those *Iewes* which dwelled in *Egypt*, and both the one and the other committed such cruelties, as were neuer seene or heard of: So as *PAVLYS OROSIVS* writeth, that they left the land in a manner dispeopled; and that Nation was euer so readie and apt to rebell, as those *Iewes* which dwelt in the Ile of *Cyprus*, knowing what had passed in the province of *Cyrene*, and in *Egypt*, rebelled also, and committed greater crueltie and excesses, then the others had done: so as *DIDON* saith (although it seemeth incredible) that there were slaine by them 200000. persons, which inhabited that Iland. Which is confirmed and made credible by that which *EVSEBIVS* and *PAVLYS OROSIVS* report, who affirme, that they slew all those which dwelt in the citie of *Salamina*, which is in that Iland: vpon which occasion there was afterwards an Imperiall law made, that no Iew vpon paine of death should come within the Ile of *Cyprus*, vpon what occasion soeuer. This law was afterwards so seuerly executed, that if any of them came thither, although through mischance or fowle-weather at sea, they were presently put to death.

When the Emperour *TRAIAN* vnderstood of this great rebellion and crueltie (being vpon his way toward *Italie*) as a iust prince willing and desiring to giue condigne punishment, according to the qualitie of the crime, he sent Captaines with sufficient troupes of souldiers into diuers parts, to put to death all the *Iewes* they should finde in those countries before named, or in any other wheresoeuer: which they affirme, was the greatest execution and punishment that euer was done in the world, God permitting the same for their stubbornness, and obstinacy. This great slaughter & punishment being executed, taking the best order that might be for matters in *Asia*, the good Emperour began his journey towards *Italie*, leaving his Nephew *ADRIANVS*, who was afterward Emperour, for General of the Armies in the East, and so continued his journey with infinite honour and ioy; there being in *Rome* the greatest triumph and the most solemne reception prepared for him, that had euer beene made. Comming into the province of *Cilicia*, which is in *Asia* the lesse, as he was old and somewhat sickly, his distaste increased vpon him in such sort, as staying in the citie of *Seleucia*, within few daies after, he died there, of a naturall sickness, although that some suspected that he was poisoned. And so ended this excellent Emperour, hauing reigned nineteene yeeres and a half, and liued sixtie and thre, in the yeere of our Lord 119. leaving neither son nor daughter by his wife *PLOTINA*, with whom he was married; neither would he adopt or name anie one that should succeed him, which

Traian in Persia.

The Iewes rebelled against the Romanes.

The crueltie of the Iewes.

A iust punishment inflicted by Traian vpon the Iewes.

The death of the Emperour Traian.

which hee did in some mens opinion (as *S. PARCIANVS* writes) to imitate *ALEXANDER* the Great, whom he euer sought to excell in honour and renown. *TRAIAN*'s almes were afterwards brought to *Rome*, and set vpon the top of a Pillar, which he had commanded to be erected in the market-place: which Pillar was of one whole peece, containing one hundred and forty foot in height. This Prince subdued many Countiees and Prouinces, and held the greater part of the world in subiection; or, to say better, was the greatest and mightiest Prince that euer was in the world, either before or after him; as he which is curious may finde by this our History. True it is, that discouraging indifferently touching valour in Armes, and many other parts, he was not to be paralleled in greatnes with *IULIVS CÆSAR*. He gouerned the Empire with such authority and so much iustice, and his vertues were so many, as he therein excelled all those which had not the light of our faith: for, therein is no comparison. And this was held for a custome in *Rome* after him, that, when they poured out their blessing vpon their new-chosen Emperours, they would pray that he might be as fortunate as *AVGVSTVS CÆSAR*; and as good as *TRAIAN*; accounting him to haue attained to the height of all goodnes.

It is good pity To think that so excellent a man should be lost and damned, as doubtlesse hee was: for, hee not only was an Idolater; and held not our Christian faith (without the which there is no saluation) neither did hee confesse or professe it; but, persecuted and oppressed the Christians. And some men, being moued more with pity and compassion, than with any wit or vnderstanding, fained a fable and jest; saying, that, through the prayers of *S. GREGORY*, *TRAIAN*'s soule was released out of hell (from whence is no redemption) and carried to Paradise: whereof, besides that our faith doth controul it, there is no Historiographer either antient or modern, of any authority that euer I saw, that makes any mention thereof in their Treatises of *TRAIAN*, and of *S. GREGORY*: whereby it is cleer, that those which maintain it bear false witness both against heauen and hell. *TRAIAN* was of a bigge stature, of a swarthy complexion, and had thin hair on his head and beard; and likewise had a hook nose, great broad shoulders, and long hands; and, aboue all, had a very louing aspect with his eyes. He was born the one and twentieth day of May, in the second yeere of the Reigne of the Emperour *NERO*.



THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS ADRIANVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.



After Trajan, Adrian was aduanced to the Empire, more through the policy of Trajan's wife, than by the election of the people or the Senate, or for that Trajan had adopted him. Nevertheless, after he was preferred to the imperiall dignity, he gave so good an account of himselfe, as *Rome* had no cause to repent for hauing made him her Lord. He made very great voyages; and in his person visited in a manner all the *Roman* Empire. He was very studious in all arts and sciences, and caused all such as were famous and excellent in any Art, to come to *Rome*. He happily ended all such wars as he began; and was very kinde to the Christians. His many vertues were accompanied with many vices; nevertheless, he could so well dissemble the passion of his minde, as he seemed to content himselfe chiefly in doing. He liued 62 yeeres, and gouerned the Empire 12. In his old age he had so grievous an infirmity, as he desired to dye, and intreated his familiar to kill him; who hauing not the heart to commit so brutish an act, he was finally aduised by his physicians to abstaine from meat & drinke, so as following their counsell he fastened his death by hunger.



Adrian bring
in Antich, was
thoſen Empe-
rour.

Adrian nephew
to Traian and
a Spaniard.

The Parthians
and others
were lately
ſubdued, be-
ſides of Tra-
ians death,
reſcued.

He death of the good Emperor TRAIAAN was much lamented and grievously taken through all the Empire; beeing for his bounty and goodnes much beloved of all the people and nations ſubject to the Empire. And, as he neuer had any ſon, either naturall or adopted, that might ſucceed him, and ſeeing his Nephew ADRIAN for his vertues, great wiſdome, and the affinity between them, was much beloved and eſteemed; PLOTINA, the Emperreſſe, wife to TRAIAAN, who was with him at his deceaſe, for the great loue he bare vnto ADRIAN, ſought means to aduance him to the Empire. To bring which her deuice to paſſe, ſhe agreed with ADRIAN (who already was a man of great power, and had been very familiar with TRAIAAN, and was his cuntryman) and took

ſuch order, that his death was concealed vntill hee had founded the good will of the Army which he led, and of ſuch other great Perſonages as were in the Emperours Court; ſaining (after ſome Writers) that TRAIAAN had adopted him for his ſonne, ſhewing a counterfeit inſtrument or Writing to that effect. Finally, the matter was ſo cunningly handled, that it took ſuch effect as they deſired, and the Army preſently ſware obedience and did homage to ADRIAN; notwithstanding that he was abſent in the City of Antich in Syria, where he was left (as is ſaid) Generall. Who being aduertified heereof, and the Legions whereof he was Generall conſenting thereto, he preſently wrote to the Senate, entreating to be conſtituted in the Empire. When the Senate had receiued his Letters, and vnderſtood what paſſed, his requeſt was eaſily granted, and ſo was he of all men obeyed and held for Emperour.

ADRIAN was TRAIAAN'S Nephew, as ſome ſay, by his mother; and ſome ſay, by his father: it may be that he was his kinfman of both ſides, and ſo both the one and other may ſay the truth. He was alſo a Spaniard both by lineage and birth, and according to EYTAOPVS and EVSABIVS, was borne in the ſame citie of Italia: yet SPARTIANVS interreth that his father in Rome was called ADRIAN as he was, but was borne in Italia; and his mother DOMITIA PAVLINA, was alſo native of Spaine, and borne in the citie of Caleſ. He was married to SABINA TRAIAAN'S ſiſters daughter (as DION writeth.) And was a tall man of ſtature, of a good conſtitution and countenance; and of a very cleane ſtrength, which he much exerciſed. He is reckoned among the good and excellent Emperours; and with great reaſon, conſidering his many vertues and excellencies, his knowledge and wiſdome wherewith he gouerned, and the peace and iuſtice wherein he maintained the Empire two and twentie yeeres, that he liued therein; whereof for that all authors write briefly, I alſo purpoſe to treat thereof in ſumme, ſeeing I ſpent ſo much time in the laſt, ſo as except I vſe more breuities then hitherto I haue done, the volume of this my booke will growe to a greater proportion then I purpoſed, or is convenient. Wherefore I will doe, as he which within a lymited time hath determined to trauell a long journey, and hauing taken leaſure in the beginning, deeming that travelling in this manner, he ſhall not bee able to attaine to that place at the time appointed, haſteth his way with greater ſpeece, vntill that he know that he may come to his iourneis end before the time be expired. So will I do from henceforth. At the laſt when I am paſt ADRIAN, I purpoſe to proceede with greater expedition then heretofore, vntill I come ſo farre on my way, that I may ſafely diuide the proceſſe of this hiftorie, and hold the proportion which I haue determined, preſuming rather to make this inequality in the ſtile, then to make a worke ſo tedious and wearſome.

I ſay then, that when-as the barbarous nations vnderſtood that TRAIAAN was dead, notwithstanding they alſo knew of the election of his Nephew ADRIAN; the Parthians chiefly, and other nations which were lately ſubdued, began to mutine and rebell: and there were alſo ſome alterations in Britanny, and in ſome other parts. All which, ADRIAN might eaſily haue pacified and ſubdued by force of Arms, and wanted neither courage nor means thereto: but he would not ſeek it by the extremity of warre and rigor. For, truly, albeit theſe two Princes were both very valiant and excellent Captains and Gouerners, yet heerein they did much differ: for, TRAIAAN, being greedy of honour and fame, deſired by conqueſts and wars to increaſe and enlarge the Empire; but ADRIAN'S care was To preſerue the ancient limits without any greater ambition, and rather he diminiſhed a great part thereof: and ſo preſently in the beginning of his Raig, to the end he might liue in peace, he left to the Parthians, and to other Prin-

ces of the Eaſt, all thoſe Provinces beyond the Riuer of Euphrates vnto the Indies which TRAIAAN had conquered; nothing regarding Armenia, Media, Aſſyria, Perſia, Meſopotamia, nor all the reſt; and he ſet his bound and placed his Legions at the Riuer Euphrates. Some thought and alſo wrote, that he did it of purpoſe, enuying TRAIAAN'S honour: but I truly attribute it to that he held it for the better and moſt aſſured courſe. And hauing taken ſuch order in the Eaſt (as is ſaid) and left CATTELLIVS SEVERVS for Gouernor of Syria, and pacified the troubles lately raiſed by the Iewes; he took his way by land towards Italy, and ſent the allies of TRAIAAN by ſea: and, coming neer to Rome, hee was aduertified that they had prepared a triumph for him in the ſame manner as it was provided for his Vncle TRAIAAN, for that hee was in the ſame wars and conqueſts with him. But he would not accept thereof, commanding that the ſame triumph and entertainment ſhould bee made and giuen to TRAIAAN'S Image; and ſo it was done; and he (as far as I haue read) was the onely man that euer triumphed after that hee was dead. And ADRIAN was receiued and obeyed with the greateſt loue and applauſe that could bee, and preſently performed many parts of an excellent Prince, conformable to the courſe of his life paſt, and the hope conceiued of him for the time to come; ſo as all were glad and well ſatiſfied with his government, with his manners and conditions: and truly with great reaſon, for he deſerued no leſſe. And becauſe that the graces and excellencies of this Emperour were in the hiſt degree, beſides the vertues and wiſdome wherewith hee was adorned, I ſhould it fit in this place to ſpeak thereof, to the end that they may ſerue for an example to other Princes; whereby they may make themſelues the more reſpected by his imitation.

Fiſt, he was naturally enclined to learne all ſuch ſciences as appertained to wit, and to the exerciſe both of mind and bodie, aſwell in learning, as in the exerciſe of armes and other vertues, wherein he fought to excell all men. It is a wonderfull matter to conſider how God ended this Prince with wit and vnderſtanding, capable to comprehend whatſoeuer he deſired, with ſkill, ſtrength and abilitie in all exerciſes: whereby he grew very learned in both the tongues, Greek and Latine, and compiled excellentie well, both in verſe and in proſe. He pleaded cauſes and exerciſed himſelfe in the art Oratorie; and ſo much affected the ſtile & phraſe of ancient times, that he preferred CATO before CICERO, ENNIUS before VIRGIL, and CÆLIUS before SALVSTIUS. He was as ſkilfull in other arts as herein: for he was a ſingular Mathematician, Arithmetician, Geometrian, and a great Aſtronomer, and took great delight in iudiciall Aſtologie, and would giue his iudgement: ſo as SPARGIANVS writeth, that the ſiſt day of the yeere he would caſt the reuolution of the whole, and foretold what would enſue, and did ſo by the ſame yeere wherein he died. Hee was very ſkilfull in Phyſick, and knew the vertues and properties of hearbs and ſtones. Hee was expert and very politick in warres and militarie diſcipline, and was very ſtrong, able and ſkilfull in armes both on foot and horſeback: And beſides all this, he could play on inſtruments, and ſing maruelouſly well. He could draw and paint, aſwell as the ſkilfulleſt maſter workman in that art. Finally, in all things he had ſo great ſkill, as any man could haue in any one thing particularly: wherein, beſides his deepe vnderſtanding, his exceeding memorie did much help him: for they affirme, that he forgot not any thing that he had either read or heard. He was of ſuch capacitie (as SPARGIANVS writeth) that he would both endite, write, and conſer of buſines all at one inſtant, and had a ſingular grace & promptnes in vſing quick ſpeeches and quips, either in earneſt or in ieſt; and the like in anſwering vpon the ſodain, if he were toucht by any. Of his quick and ſharp ſpeeches which they write of him, I will recite one, as ſitting this time, although it be none of the ſharpeſt and ſubtleſt of them, which was thus: A certaine Romane Knight came to intreate a fauour at his hands, who (according to his age) had a gray beard, and full of white haire: and ſaith that which he deſired, within few dayes after he came againe with a new periton to the ſame effect: But in the meane ſeaſon (it ſeemeth that men were then as ſkilfull in painting as now they are) he had dyed his beard, and looked yong againe: which was noted by the Emperour; who to giuld him therewith, anſwered to his requeſt, I would be very glad to do you the pleaſure which you require, but a few dayes paſt I denied it to your father who deſired the ſame, wherefore it ſeemeth to me a matter vniuſt, to grant that to the ſonne which I would not yeeld to the Father: and ſo the olde man departed with ſhame, and in this manner he ſued many ſuch like ieſts. Beſides all that is ſpoken of him, he was very ſtrong, and able to endure any labour; and was ſo active of his body, as he ordinarily went the greateſt part of his way on foote, and bare headed, in the ſunne in the raine and miſts. He was much addicted to the chace, and was a great Hunter, and excellent therein: ſo as with his owne hands he killed Lions, Beares, wild Boares, and

Adrian (ruſ
Traians offer
to Rome.

A triumph
giuen to Tra-
ians ſtatue af-
ter his death.

Adrian was
expert in all
ſciences.

and other most fierce Beasts; he was oftentimes in great danger, falling once vpon a waues from a rock; where he put one of his shoulders out of joint, and brake one of his legs, with some of his ribs. Finally, there was nothing wherein the Emperor A D R I A N was not excellent and very able, and in all things presumed to excell the wisest; as truly he did in the most. And although hee were a great reprob of Masters in all Arts, and did often put them to their shifts with his questions and arguments, yet he did much honour them, and bestowed many gifts and rewards vpon them; and had about him Philosophers, Astronomers, Poets, Rhetoricians, Grammarians, Musicians, Arithmeticians, Geometicians, and excellent Painters and Carvers: with all which he might compare, and the most of them he did farre excell, and did vnto say, that he had not forborne to learn any thing more than other men did, that might be needfull in peace or warre, either for an Emperour, or a man of any other condition whatsoever.

Being endued with these qualities aboue mentioned, he was not void of other vertues & gifts of his mind, which he shewed and put in practice during the time of his raigne, more, and better then before, although in the beginning he was noted of cruelty, for that some speciall men, by his commandment and permission, were put to death. There were also some vices and bad inclinations noted to be in him: but they all affirm he did suppress and dissemble them, and was so much master of himself, as he easily mastered his naturall euill inclination, which well appeared in his manner of gouerning the Empire, and the good vsage of his subjects, bestowing fauours vpon all men, abating the tributes and subsidies through all the Empire; ministering justice with indifference; doing all things by the aduice and counsell of the Senate, and of wise men which he kept about him, and caried with him whither he would: for, he not only loued to be counselled, but also to be reproofed and aduised. Hee entertained all men mildly and courteously: and although to the common sort he shewed greatnes and majesty, yet men of note he honoured much, and visited them in their sickness, and invited them, and went to them when they invited him. And although he euer loued and procured peace, yet all his life-time he had exceeding great care of martiall discipline; punishing the liberty and vices of men of warre; reforming errors past, and prescribing rules for time to come. In this manner (as I haue said) he had liued when he was private, and followed the same course after he was Emperour.

A D R I A N hauing remained some space in Rome; gouerning the Empire in good form and order, many northern Nations rebelled against the Empire, to wheet, the Alanes and Scythians of Europe; and the Sarmates, which are now the Inhabitants of *Russia, Muscovia, and Poland*, and other Countries thereto adioyning; which, with intent to make war in the Empire, came down into the Prouinces of the vpper *Misia* (now called *Seruaia*) and the lower *Bulgaria*, both which at this day are in subjection to the great Turk. Against which nations, the Emperour A D R I A N parted from Rome with a mighty Army: but, coming neer to those Prouinces where the enemies were, there were certain treaties of peace propounded; and A D R I A N, who was addicted thereto, granted the same: and, making his abode for some daies in those Quarters, hee returned to Rome, leaving M A R C I V S T Y R O for Lieutenant and Gouernor of *Pannonia* and *Dacia*. In this journey there was a certain conspiracy against him; which being discovered, foure principall men which had been Consuls (being guilty thereof) were put to death: which execution the Emperour A D R I A N afterwards denied to haue been done by his will or consent. Being com to Rome to purge himself of the infamy and enuy thereof, he made a great congiarie or distribution of money among the people, bestowing many graces and fauours vpon all men; and commanded also infinite games and sports to be made, such as were accustomed in Rome, not forgetting (neuertheless) the execution of iustice in his gouernment. Staying at this time a lesser space in Rome than at the first, he departed with a great Court and Army to visit France, and the Prouinces neer adioyning vpon the Cities whereof, hee bestowed many graces and fauours. And from thence he went to visit the Legions and Armies in *Germanie*; wherein hee set good order in many things concerning militarie discipline: and, hauing remained a while in those parts, hauing resolved to visit the whole Empire (as afterwards he did) he directed his journey into *Flanders*, and from thence into *Brianny*, where hee reformed many things, and reconciled the Inhabitants, and the Romans which liued there; as well the garrisons, as the Inhabitants and Colonies. And, for their better quietnes and security, S P A R C I A N V S saith, that he caused a strong wall of fourescore miles long to be built, to make a diuision of the lands of the one from the other, which was a marvellous great work. And, hauing made such provision for all things in that land as he thought needfull, he returned into France: where he erected some singular Buildings, and bestowed other graces and fauours in that Countrey.

After

After that the Emperour A D R I A N had visited France and the borders thereof, and the Ile of *Britannie*, he directed his journey for *Spain*, where he was ioyfully received, as a *miniature* and borne in that countrey: and after that he had visited some places, he went to winter in the citie of *Tarragona*, where he called a parliament of all the prouinces, and ordained many things for the publicke good thereof. After that the furie of winter was past, he trauelled through all *Spain*, visiting the cities, and bestowing benefits vpon them: principally vnto his owne Countie *Malica* and *Senil*, he granted many priuiledges and exemptions, and did many great fauours, as D I O N writeth; but would not come thither, notwithstanding that he was in the marches thereof. Thus hauing visited all *Spain*, he returned towards Rome, & at this time he set downe the limits and bounds of the Empire, from the barbarous Nations: where there were no riuers, to diuide them with notable markes of stone, pillars, trees, and other things; and his authoritie & reputation at that time was so great, that to the high Germanes who were free, he appointed a King: and at that time some tumults were punished in *Africa*.

The Emperour A D R I A N liuing now in peace, being the seauenth yeere of his raigne, the Parthians a fierce and turbulent nation, began to arme and to make warres against the Empire; and A D R I A N making provision for all things accordingly, passed into the East, with a sufficient Armie to follow that warre in person: but seeing that he managed it himselfe, they propounded certain treaties of peace; which being concluded, he trauelled peaceably through all the Eastern prouinces, and came into *Asia* the lesse, and from thence into *Gracia*, where he did many fauours to the Athenians, and other cities, where he remained some space. From thence he took his passage into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and visited the principall places of that land, and desired to see mount *Etna*, which is so famous for the fire which it continually casteth out. Setting all things in *Sicilia* in such order as he thought good, being very ioyfull he returned to Rome, now the fourth time after that he was Emperour. After his last coming, he staid not long: for he had vnderaken (for the better gouernment thereof) to visit the whole Empire in person; and to that purpose preparing shippes and gallies he passed into *Africa*: where the ioy is incredible that was conceived for his coming. For besides that A D R I A N was very much beloued, it happened (as S P A R C I A N V S and others doe write) that *Africa* for five yeeres space had endured great want of raine, and by consequence hunger and famine; but as soone as he was arrived in that Countrey, raine fell plentifully: which made his coming most ioyfull. And the time that he was in that countrey, he spent in reforming of the gouernment, in ending controuersies, and commanding certaine publicke buildings to be erected: among which was the reedifying of a great part of the citie of *Carthage*, which (according to my author) he commanded should be called *Adrianopolis*, after his owne name.

And all matters being ended in *Africa* at his pleasure, and hauing staid there so long as to him seemed good, he returned prosperously to Rome, where hee provided for all other matters of the Empire: yet the time was not long that he staid there; and when euery man thought least of any journey, hee againe provided for his passage into the East. And within short space he went into *Gracia*; and traouailing through it, staid in some cities, and made those buildings & temples to be finished, which before he had commanded to be begun, and enioyned others to be built: and so continuing his journey he went into *Asia* the lesse, and did there as he had done in other prouinces where he had traualled. Being come into *Syria*, by letters and messengers he inquired the Kings and Tetrarchs, as well those which were friends and subiects, as others which were neighbours and strangers, to come to see & speake with him. Among which one was the King of Parthia, to whom he freely sent his daughter, whom the Emperour T R A I A N in the former wars had taken prisoner; for which generous act, manie came to his Court to visit him and to doe him honour: all which he so friendly and courteously entertained, as such which came not did exceedingly enuie those which came, grieving very much that they had not done the like. These meetings and feasts being ended (which in truth were very great and memorable) A D R I A N took his way towards *Syria*, and came into *Palestina* and *Iudea*, visiting the principall cities thereof; and from thence went forwards, and did the like in *Arabia*: After which, he presently went into *Egypt*; where he remained longer than in any other part, and there commanded a most sumptuous Sepulchre to be built ouer the great P O M P E Y, for that his Tomb was ruined and decayed. He also caused a City to be founded to the name and memoriall of a most fair young youth which died there, whom hee dearly loued: And at the same time he permitted and also commanded, that the holy City *Ierusalem*, which (as is before said) was destroyed & laid desolate, should be reedified & new built, which was presently done with

Adrian taxed
for cruelty.

Northern
nations
rose against
the Empire.

Adrian visited
the Empire.

He came into
Spain, and did
many fauours
to his Countrey.

Adrian in
Africa.

Carthage re-
edified by Adrian.

A Sepulchre
made by A
drian ouer the
great Pompey.

The power of the
Roman Emper-
ors.

with admirable expedition, principally by the Iewes; and commanded, that (leaving the first name) it should be called *Ælia Adria Capitalina*: so great was then the power and wealth of the Roman Emperors, that it was as easie a matter for them then to build Cities, as now houses, or things of lesser moment. And although the Iewes did greatly reioyce for the new-building and restoring of *Ierusalem*, yet afterwards they took it very grievously, that the Gentils should jointly dwell there with them; who built Temples to their gods and idols, not suffering the Christians freely to use their rites and ceremonies. And this is the cause of the rebellion which afterwards ensued.

The peruse
of the
Roman Emper-
ors.

Truely, it is a thing much to be noted in this Nation; which became so stiffe-necked, that when they were bound to keep and observe their law, being good and holy; for very light occasions they would forsake it, and take strange religions, and become idolaters: but after that it was abolished, and ought no longer to be observed, they would neuer leave it, neither receive the holy Catholike faith; and yet, untill this day, some of that generation in sundry parts of the world obstinately persevere therein.

These and many other things being ended by ADRIAN in the time of his abode in *Asia* and in *Egypt*, he returned into *Europe*: and, arriving in *Græcia*, he staid with his whole Court in the City of *Athens*. Being there (which was in the eighteenth yeer of his Reign) all the Iewes rebelled, and cast the Roman garriſons out of their Prouinces of *Iudea*, *Galilee*, and the rest; killing as many of them as they could, with a very great number of Christians. This was a very dangerous warre: for, with them did conspire all the Iewes that dwelt in any other Prouinces, which were very many. ADRIAN considering the importance of this accident, provided a new Army, whereof he made *LULIUS SEVERVS* Generall against the Iewes, causing him to come from *Briann*, where hee commanded the Army; who came with great power, and passed into *Syria*, and made most cruell warre: wherein, after the shedding of much blood on both sides, the Iewes were ouercome and destroyed, and the whole Countrey left in a manner desolate. So (as witeth *DION*) there were fifty excellent strong Castles and Fortresses laied euen with the ground; and nine hundred, fourscore and five Townes and populous Villages burnt; and there were slain in skirmishes and battels fifty thousand fighting men, besides those which without number died of hunger, sickness, and misery of the warre: and so was performed the subduing, and (in a manner) the totall destruction of the Iewish Nation. And ADRIAN gaue commendement and made an edict, that the Iewes should be perpetually banished from the new *Ierusalem*, and prohibited to inhabit there.

The Iewes over-
thrown and de-
stroyed by Iulius
Seuerus, and
banished from the
new Ierusalem
by Adrian.

Within few daies after the war against the Iewes was ended, the Alanes and Masagets, which are barbarous and fierce Nations of *Seythia Asiatia*, came with great fury, and entered into *Media* making war, and afterwards into *Armenia*, and came as far as *Cappadocia* (where *FLAVIUS ARRIANUS* was Generall for the Empire) putting all the Countreys therabouts in great fear. But ADRIAN (who euer loued peace) used such means, as through the gifts which hee sent to their King *VOLOGES* by his Ambassadors, they returned peaceably to their houses, laden with spoils and riches which they got in other barbarous Countreys.

ADRIAN, having ended all matters to his best liking, after he had bestowed many gifts and fauours vpon the Cities of *Græcia*, came in the end to *Rome*, hauing (as I haue said) travelled a long time through the world; where his coming was very grateful to all citizens in that City: and although he were now old and vnwieldy, yet he failed not to provide and take as good order for all things then, as when hee was of greatest strength. But, considering his age, which was now about threescore yeers, that he had not any sonne, and that a disease he ordinarily had, which was much bleeding at the nose, did now more oppress him than euer; hee took great care who should bee his Successor, and therefore determined to adopt some excellent man to succeed him in the Empire; and heereupon took much counsell, and made many doubts before he would resolve. In the end, contrary to the liking of most of his Councell, hee adopted one *LUCIUS CECILIUS COMMODVS*, intituling him *CÆSAR*, and nominated him for his Successor; which (as *SPARCIANVS* reporteth) had not been vied to be done in that manner untill then: and changing his name, after his new Father he was called *ÆLIUS VERVS*. The same day he did this, he commanded *SEVERIANVS* to bee slain (who was a great man in *Rome*) and *FVSUS* which was his nephew, for certain euident signes and suspicions which he discouered, that they practised to tyrannize and vsurp the Empire: and so likewise he commanded some others to be put to death, and made away. After this election and adoption, and great feasting for the same, this new-adopted *CÆSAR* was overtaken with an infirmity, which was fo-

Lucius Cæci-
lius adopted by
Adrian to be
his successor.

grie-

griuous, and of so long continuance, as ADRIAN found himselfe deceiued: and seeing that now he could not liue long, he repented that he should leaue so weake and feeble a successor. It is written, that he often said, he leaned to a rotten wall. But it so happened that within few daies, he was cald of that care: for this *LVCIVS CECINIUS*, whom he had adopted and called *ÆLIUS VERVS*, died. And notwithstanding that this man left sonnes behinde him, yet ADRIAN presently adopted *ANTONINVS* or *ANTONIVS* (for I finde him written after both names) who was afterwards surnamed *PIVS*; vpon condition that he should also adopt a sonne of the layd *ÆLIUS VERVS*, who was called *LVCIVS VERVS* *ANTONINVS*, and *MARCVS AVRELIVS* also; but in the first place *ANTONINVS*, of whose linage hereafter mention shall be made, who were Noble, and verie excellent and vertuous men. This being done to the good liking, and with the consent of the Senate, and of all the principall men in *Rome*, ADRIANs infirmity encreasing, he made himselfe to be carried to the citie of *Babes*; where his griefe so extremely tormented him, and therewithall came so many passions and convulsions, as he oftentimes desired to die, and procured his owne death; and with gifts and flatteries, and sometime with threatnings prouoked some to kill him: and seeing that no man would doe it, and that he wanted strength to doe it himselfe, for the last remedie of his infirmity, by the aduice of some of his Physicians (for he had many about him) he resolved to forebake either to eate or drink, and so he died in the yeere of our Lord 140. vſing the common saying, *Turba Medicorum interfecit Regem*; which is, A multitude of Physicians killed the King.

The death of
the Emperour
Adrian.

ADRIAN at the time of his death was sixtie two yeeres old and five moneths, & had reigned twentie one yeeres and eleven moneths: he neither left behinde him, or euer had any sonne, he was but once married, and then with a woman whose name was *SABINA*; and after her death, he married no more. He was a man tall of stature and of a good presence, and did weare his beard and haire long, and took delight therein. Hee was as excellent a Prince as euer was any, although that he had some vices, which with his wisdom he couered and kept secret. As concerning the Christian faith, although in the beginning (as an Infidel) he did hate it, and was an enemy to it, yet afterwards he shewed himselfe more temperate towards the Christians: foras *EVSEBIUS* and others doe write, *QUADRATUS* a disciple of the Apostles, and *ARISTIDES* a Philosopher of *Athens* and a Christian, did compile certaine notable booke in defence of our faith: wherewith ADRIAN being moued, wrote to *MNVCIVS FVNDANVS* who was Proconsul in *Asia*, and to other parts, that no Christian should be compelled to renounce his faith, neither punished, except he were accused for some other offence. So as the Christian faith was taught and preached freely, a great part of the raigne of the Emperour ADRIAN.

THE LIFE OF MARCVS ANTONINVS PIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



ANTONINVS was adopted by ADRIAN, and by reason of his adoption, succeeded him in the Empire: in which dignity hee liued so vertuously, as it may bee said, that hee liued without example, and was compared to the good *NUMA POMILIIVS*. There was no great warre in the time of this good Emperour: for hee with his authority bridled all Nations; and to him came Ambassadors, in a manner from the furthestmost parts of the World. Hee would neuer bee vnto farre from *Rome*, in such manner as his Predecessour had beene, being of opinion that it was most fit for the Emperour to remaine in that citie, which was head of the Empire. He was liberal,

M

COMPTON,

courtuous, iust and pitifull, and a great lover of vertuous men, so as it might be said, that he was father of the vertuous. His life was not stained with any vice, as his predecessours were. And being of the age of 72. yeeres he died in his Citie of a fluxion, when he had ruled the Empire 23. yeeres whose death was much lamented by the world, for that they had lost an Emperour and a father, who, they might iustly say, was Pius.



Antoninus Pius
descent.

Antoninus
compared with
Numa Pom-
pilius.

Antoninus
answers to
Faustine.

DRIAN was not onely wife and fortunate in gouerning and ruling the Empire, the time that he held it; but he was also, in the successor whom he chose and left there: for hee prooued to be such, and so good, that after he had ended his daies, A DRIAN was not more praised and remembered for his wisdom and good gouernment, then for the succession which he left, by adopting ANTONINVS: who what he was we will presently tell you. The death of A DRIAN being knowne (which was greatly lamented) ANTONINVS PIVS, his adoptd sonne, was presently without any contradiction admitted and obeyed for Emperour, accordingly as he had appointed by the consent of all the Senate, as in his life we haue written. This ANTONINVS was the sonne of AVRELIVS PVLPVS, and Nephew of TITVS AVRELIVS PVLPVS, who had been Consul and had held other offices and dignities, and were Noble men and of an ancient Family, whose originall was in Gallia Cisalpinna, now called Lombardie.

His mothers name was ARRIA FATIDIELLA, the daughter of ARRIVS ANTONINVS a Noble gentleman and twice Consul. This Emperour ANTONINVS was one of the most excellent princes in vertue and bountie, that euer was in the world; and who with greatest authoritie, iustice, liberalitie, and clemencie gouerned the Empire. Hee had a good aspect, was tall, and of a good constitution of body, of an excellent witte, mild of condition, moderate in eating and drinking, well learned, and singularly eloquent, very bountifull, and willing to giue of his owne, and very abstinent from taking from others. He was a great lover of husbandrie, and delighted much in hunting; and he was so free from all manner of vices, as therein neither TRAIAN, A DRIAN, nor any of his predecessours could compare with him: Wherefore the women of his time compared him with NUMA POMPILIUS, who was second King of Rome, and deferred to be called PIVS, for which they shew many reasons. Before that he was Emperour he had bin Questor, Pretor, and Consul, and had held some other charges and magistracies. In his time their was little warre, or at least little spoken of, and those troubles which were, he easily pacified by his Capitaines: and therefore the most that Historiographers write of him, is of his good conditions and bountie: and so will I; although it will not be so pleasing to the Reader as to discourse of warres; yet to follow the truth, and principally to shew the fruit which is to be gathered out of this historie, which are examples to liue well: as for the rest there will be sufficiently enough found in the proecess of this booke, and that is not a little which is already written.

ANTONINVS, as soone as he began to rule, he presently made shew of his natural goodnesse: for he removed not any of those from their offices and charges, which he found placed and established by A DRIAN; but rather confirmed them therein: and euer held it best, to suffer those which produced good Gouernours to continue long in their charges and gouernments. He commanded also his rents and seruices (besides that they should be moderated) to be fauorably and temperately collected. He presently did so many fauours, and gaue so many gifts of his owne goods which he had before, that his wife ANIA FAVSTINA daughter to ANIVS VERVS reprooued him for it: to whom he made answer that she knew not what she said, and therefore he did let her know, that at what time he attained the Empire, he had lost all that which before he enjoyed liuing priuate. In matters of equitie and gouernment, he was as vigilant, and took as good order as A DRIAN did. He resolved neuer to depart from Rome during his raigne, except it were to recreate himselfe, and sometime to hunt, being herein contrary in opinion to his Predecessor A DRIAN: for he said that the Court and people, which travelled with the Emperour, were troublesome and preiudiciall to the Countreies and Cities by which they passed: and that in visiting some parts, he was far from others; and therefore the most fit and conuenient place for the Emperour to stay and make his abode in, was in Rome,

Rome, which was the Lady and head of the Empire, and in the midst thereof, and most fit to receiue Ambassadors and messages from all parts. So as following this counsell (which indeed prooued not ill) the Warres and Insurrections which happened, he suppressed and pacified by his Capitaines; as the Brittaines, which rebelling in part of that Iland, the Rebels were defeated by his Capitaines, and the Iland brought to subiection.

And within a little afterwards, the like happened in the Country of Dacia, and also in Germania, which tooke Arms; but through the victory of his Legions, peace was established: whereby he wanne so great reputation, that during the rest of his raigne, there hapned no dangerous warre, and all men feared and honoured him for his goodnesse; and therewith he was so much beloued, as he was held and esteemed, for Father, Lord and Emperour. The barbarous Nations which were vnknewne to the Romanes, did so much loue and esteeme him, as in contentions and matters in controuersie which fell out betweene them, they chose him for their Iudge and Arbitrator; submitting themselves to his censure. And so those of Sircania, (which is a Province of Asia, neere to the Caspian Sea) and the Bactrians which are more to the Eastwards, and both very faire and remote; and also the East Indians sent to him their Ambassadors, offering amity and obedience. And from other Countreies which were exceeding far, there came some Kings to doe him honour: among which, they make mention of STANGORVS from India, and of King PHARASMANES, and others. And in other Countreies, he settled Kings at his pleasure: whereto the Inhabitants did consent, notwithstanding that they were not subiect to the Empire. And the King of Parthia resolving to make warre, being with a great power entered into Armenia, one Letter from the Emperour sufficed to make him retire and to discharge his Armes.

ANTONINVS being in this manner beloued and feared by Strangers, was no lesse esteemed and beloued by his Subiects and Vassals, but rather without comparison farre more; as by those which knew and enjoyed his goodnesse and equity: and seeing that he was such, he was by the whole Senate intituled, Father of his Countreie, which he much refused, but yet in the end hee accepted thereof, with great courtserie and humility: for hee was naturally milde, and Noble of condition; and therewith so courtuous, as he entertained the Senators and principall men gently and lovingly, with great honour and courtserie; and neuer did any thing of importance, without their counsell and consent, and towards all men generally he sought to moderate the state and maiesty of an Emperour, shewing himselfe affable and pleasant. And about all, he tooke order that no man should make benefit of his fauour to another; neither take bribes from such as were Suters vnto him: for he gaue audience and answer to all men himselfe in person, and in this he knew the quality and difference betweene men, vsing herein sometime the opinion of others when need required. Whereto, besides the ordinary counsell of the Senate, and his owne skill and knowledge in the lawes, he had alwaies some excellent Lawyers neere vnto him, as VELIANVS, MARCELLVS, IABOLENVS and others: By which meanes and such others as shall be declared, the Prouinces and Cities in his time flourished and grew rich, which he relieved with his owne rents towards the buildings thereof, as well such as were necessary as others, to beautifie and adorne the same. And when any misfortune or calamity hapned, he repaired and reedified it with money out of his Exchequer; as a great fire which hapned in Rome, wherewith were burnt three hundred and forty principall houses, and a great part of the Citie of Narbone in France, and the Citie of Antioch in Asia, with the Market-place in the Citie of Carthage. In time of great famine which was in Rome, hee provided for their vnants, and maintained the people with bread and wine, the most of the time that the famine lasted, making Victuals to be brought from all parts, paying for the same at his proper cost: so as generally through the whole Empire, all men were well content with him; for he maintained them in peace, quietnesse and equity.

And doubtlesse in this place there is to be obserued (as touching the power and gouernment of humane things,) how great and potent the Romane Empire then was; and how contentedly, and at what liberty the Subiect liued in the time of ANTONINVS, TRAIAN, A DRIAN, and other good Emperours; and to see the greatnesse and riches of that Court frequented by the worthiest and best men in the world: and to obserue the greatest buildings & wealth of that most populous Citie of Rome, beautified with the goodliest Statues and Pictures that euer Eye had seene; so as at this day her ruines are more esteemed then all the fairely buildings in the world; and to consider the liberty and security wherin men might trauaile through the world, no man being tyed to obey more then one Lord and King, and he good and iust,

Ambassadors
and persons
from all coun-
tries come to
see Antoninus

Great harme
done by fire in
seuerall places.

A wonderfull
obedience, and
mournefull
peace.

without feare of warres, thecues by Sea or Land, vvithout finding euetv where new Lawes, new Lords, Kings and Tyrants, needing no security or safe Conducts, vvithout being taken prisoners, and made Capitives, or ill vied by enemies, strangers and vnknowne perfons, but vving all men as friends and neighbours in the greatest and best parts of the World, which as a little Kingdome was quietly and iustly gouerned. One Countrey vvvas furnished from another, vvith such things as in the one did abound, and the other wanted; Merchandize and Trafficke passing through the World vvithout so many Impositions, molestations and troubles, as we see now adayes, all liuing then vnder one lawe, being in the best and most habitable parts of the Earth in vnion and peace: vvich they more perfectly enjoyed, after that the Emperours were Christians, as hereafter shall be declared. But as this was but humane power, so could it not continue long vvithout alteration and change: for such is the condition of this world; nothing can continue long in one estate.

But returning to our ANTONINVS, among his other vertues vvhervvith he made the time of his raigne happie and pleasing, one was his clemencie, vvhervvith he greatly moderated the rigor of the lawes, punishing offences vvith pitie, or pardoning them, euer desiring and procuring peace: So as to such as sometimes discoursed vvith him of the valour of IVLIVS CÆSAR and HANNIBALL, he did commonly answer vvith that saying of SCIPPIO, that he more desired the preservation of one friends or subiects life, then the death of an hundred enemies. This Emperour ANTONINVS was a great friend to Learning, and much honoured learned men, giuing them great rewards and pensions, drawing them from all the parts of the world; among vvich he caused to come from Chalcide a great Philosopher vvich was a Stoick, vvhole name was APOLLONIVS, vvhom he sent for to be Maister to his adopted sonne MARCVS ANTONINVS, vvho afterwards was Emperour. This Philosopher being come to Rome, ANTONINVS sent for him to come to see him, seeing that he staid long ere he did it of himselfe: vvhereto the Philosopher made answer, that vvith greater reason the scholler ought to come to the maister, then the maister to the scholler. This arrogance did nothing offend ANTONINVS: but laughing thereat, he said to those vvich vvith him, that he marvelled that APOLLONIVS should deeme it a shorter way from Chalcide to Rome, then from his lodging in Rome to his Palace. This Emperour, among the vvaightie affaires and matters of importance, forgot not to please and recreate the people; but (as the custome then was in Rome) at certaine times caused feasts and solemne sports to be made. In conclusion, he was an excellent Prince; and left nothing vndone, that was behouefull for the good gouernment of the Empire: and hauing ruled the same 23. yeeres, being aboue threescore and ten yeeres old, he was taken vvith a burning feauer, vvhereof vvithin three dayes he died in peace and rest; first recommending the Empire to MARCVS ANTONINVS, vvho was his sonne in law, and married to his daughter FAVSTINA, and is commonly called MARCVS AVRELIVS, commaunding that the image of FORTVNA vvich the Emperours did vse to haue in their chambers, should be carried to ANTONINVS chamber, vvich hapned in the yeere of our Lord 163. Some time before he dyed, being a man of great stature, and by reason of his age vvnable to goe vvright, but stooping, he vvore vvpon his breast certaine thinne boords, vvherevvpon he made fast his clothes vvith such art, that it couered the defect of nature. His death vvvas generally lamented, and the Romanes did him great honour, and made sacrifices vvnto him, canonizing him for a god, and builded a Temple also vvnto him, as they did to the vanities of their other superstitious gods.

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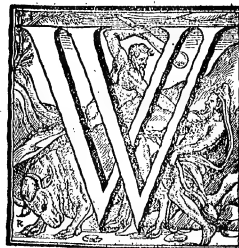
THE LIFE OF MARCVS AVRELIVS. ONLY OF THAT NAME, ALTHOVGH

SECOND OF THE ANTONINES, CALLED THE
Philosopher, and of LVCIVS COMMODOVS VERVS,
ANTONINVS his companion, and seuenteenth
Emperour of Rome.

THE ARGVMENT.



Marcus Aurelius being adopted by Antoninus Pius, succeeded in the Empire, and was endued vvith so much bountie and vertue, as he was vvorthily called the Philosopher: and considering the many calamities vvich in his time oppressed the Romane commonwealth, there needed a man no lesse good and vertuous. In his time vvere most dangerous warres, vvary great earthquakes, inundations of Riuers, pestilence, and most extreme famine, all vvich he, through his singular vvisdomme, remedied. He made the Christians to be persecuted, vvherety the Church endured much. He vvvas vvunhappy in his vvife, and in vvife children; and notwithstanding that shee vvvas dishonest, yet he vvould not put her away, accounting to haue had the Empire for her dowry. This good Emperour dyed in the warres against the Germans, taken vvith a most grievous infirmities, vvhen hee had reigned 18. yeeres. His death vvvas deplored through the vvhole Romane Empire, vvhere hee had euer serued himselfe a good Prince, and loving father.



W hen as the Emperour ANTONINVS PIVS was dead, MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS VERVS, vvithout any contradiction succeeded him, vvho vvvas called the Philosopher, vvhom (as we haue said) ANTONINVS PIVS had adopted for his sonne in the time of the Emperour ADRIAN, and afterwards married him to his daughter FAVSTINA. This man vvhen as he vvvas confirmed in the Empire, and began to gouerne, rook for his companion and equall, LVCIVS VERVS COMMODOVS ANTONINVS: vvho vvith together vvith him, vvvas adopted, by ANTONINVS, by the cõmandement of the Emperour ADRIAN, being the sonne of LVCIVS CÆRONIVS COMMODOVS, vvhom ADRIAN had first adopted, but died before him. These two vvvere the first that euer ruled in Rome vvith together vvith equall power. This excellent Emperour MARCVS ANTONINVS vvvas also called AVRELIVS ANTONINVS. I vvould that the Reader should vvnderstand, that this confusion and varietie of names is caused by reason of the adoptions vvich then vvvere made: for the Romanes did vse to haue three names, a forename, a name, and a surname. And to declare it more plainly, vvhen any one vvvas adopted for a sonne, he receiued the name and surname, and sometime changed all the three names. Sometime they held one, and changed the rest, to continue the memorie of both fathers: and from hence grew so many names, vvich obscure the historie, and oftentimes deceive the Reader. To be eased of this trouble, I vvill call this excellent Emperour, MARCVS AVRELIVS; and his brother and companion, LVCIVS VERVS, giuing to them both sometime the surname of ANTONINVS.

Marcus Aurelius called the Philosopher.

Lucius Commodus called by Marcus Aurelius for his companion in the Empire.

Adoption in vvhat manner.

The origin of
Marcus Aure-
lius.

MARCUS AVRELIVS was the naturall and true sonne of ELIVS VERVS, who died Pretor. And his Grandfathers name was ELIVS VERVS, who had been twice Consul and Prefect in Rome, and was enobled and made Patrician by the Emperour VERASPASIAN, as IULIVS CAESAROLINVS relateth. His mothers name was DOMITIA CAMILLA and was the daughter of CALPURNIVS TVLLVS, who had been twice Consul. By his fathers side he was of so ancient a linage, as it was reported that he was descended from NUMA POMILIIVS the second King of the Romanes. This Emperour was indued with so many vertues, good qualities, and rare parts, as there will not any be found that hath excelled him, and hardly any to be compared vnto him. In his time there were such dangerous warres, and so many calamities, as there was great neede of his vertue, wisdom and valour, to resist so many perils, and to prevent so may ill fortunes. He was so addicted to the studie of Philosophie, and all Arts and Sciences, as he was surnamed the Philosopher, and he did honour and greatly enrich wife and learned men. His chief matters in Philosophie amongst others, were APOLOINVS CHALCIDONENSIS; in the Greek tongue, SEXTVS CHERONENSIS, nephew to PLYTARCH; and in Rhetoricke, FRONTO an excellent Orator in that time, by whose instructions he greatly profited. And beginning to gouerne in companie of his adopted brother LVCIVS ANTONINVS, as he did in all things farre excell him, so (in a manner) he had the administration of all matters: for which cause, of him chiefest mention is made; as also for that he liued longer, and remained alone in the Empire; gouerning them with the good liking and contentment of the whole Senate and people of Rome, for the great experience they had of his vertue and bountie. In the beginning of his raigne, there happened so great an inundation and ouerflowing of the riuer *Tiber*, as it ouerthrew many buildings in Rome, and drowned many people, with a great number of cattell; and spoiling the fields caused an extreame dearth and famine. Which, MARCVS AVRELIVS through his great liberality, with the consent of his brother LVCIVS VERVS, sufficiently repaired, relieuing and victualling the Citie at their owne proper cost and charges, making prouision of coine to be brought from all parts.

The ouerflowing
of *Tiber*.

Warre with the
Parthians.

After this, in the third yeere of his raigne, followed the dangerous warre against the Parthians (a nation which the Romans euer feared) which warre was raised by their king Vologesvs; who, leuying an exceeding huge Armie, came against the ordinary legions in Syria, where ATIODIVS CORNELIANVS was Captaine, and gouerned that countrey for the Empire; who hauing no sufficient Armie to make head against the Parthians, was driuen to retire, and Vologesvs took some Prouinces. At that time also rebelled a certaine people in the Ile of Britanny, and in Germany in like manner: and northern people called Catti, invaded the borders of the Empire, against all which MARCVS AVRELIVS made speedie prouision. Into Britanny was sent CALPURNIVS AGRICOLA with new supplies; who ioyning with the ordinary legions of that Iland, pacified those troubles. Against the Catti, was sent AVVIDIVS VICTORINVS for Generall. To the warre against the Parthians, because it was important and more dangerous, it seemed requisite to the Emperors and to the Senate, that one of them two should goe; and it was concluded that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS should vndertake the charge, because that MARCVS AVRELIVS could not be spared: for his presence was very needfull in Rome for the generall government, and to prouide for all occurrences. And so LVCIVS VERVS with great prouision, and a great Court, departed, whom MARCVS AVRELIVS accompanied to the Citie of Capua: but LVCIVS fell sick by the way (as some write) through his disorders, riot, & surfeiting; by reason whereof and his long lingering, the Roman legions were put to the worse, and were ouerthrowne by the Parthians, and their Generall slaine in a battaile which was fought betwene them. But LVCIVS VERVS being arriued with his great Armie, the warre was managed with apparant aduantage to the Romanes; not by the endeuour of LVCIVS VERVS, but of his Captaines ESTACIVS PRISCVS, AVVIDIVS CASSIVS, and MARCVS VERVS, valiant commanders; he giuing himselfe to his pleasures and pastimes, in Summer, in the Citie of Antioch; and in winter, in Laodicea, for foure yeeres space, that these warres continued: wherein passed many great conflicts, skirmishes and battailes betwene the said Captaines, and the King and Nation of the Parthians. But succeeding prosperously with the Romanes, they obtained many victories in diuers parts: so as recouering what was lost in Syria, they did the like in Armenia, and entered the prouince of Media: finally, being masters of the field, they came with their Ensignes displayed, euen to the Citie of Babylon. While as these things were in action, the Emperour MAR-

CVS

Lucius Verus
against the Par-
thians.

CVS AVRELIVS continued in Rome, applying himself with great care to the good government, providing all things necessary for the warres, with great wisdom and foresight; dissembling and with patience enduring the vices and neglect of his Companion LVCIVS VERVS, to whom at that time he sent his daughter LVCILLA to be married vnto him in Syria, where he then was; which he did, the better to confirm the friendship and brotherhood betwixt them. And, during the time of these warres with the Parthians, EVSEBIVS and PAVLVS OKOSIVS write, that the Christians were persecuted by the commandment of the Emperour, chiefly in Asia where LVCIVS VERVS was: which was the fourth persecution the Church endured. Wherefore (as it is to be supposed) God sent a generall pestilence, and other calamities, which afterwards ensued.

The fourth per-
secution of the
primitive church

Hauing obtained so many victories against the Parthians, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS resolved to come to Rome; leaving that Countrey quiet and in subiection: and, setting the affairs of Asia in good order, he diuided the Kingdoms among those which to him seemed to haue most right, leaving them as subjects and vassals to the Empire; and in other Prouinces and Countreies hee made the Officers of his House and Court, Gouerners; which were called *Comites* or *Earles*: from whence the title and dignity of Earles now-a-days might haue the Originall. Being come into Italy, with the new surname of PARTHICVS, for the victory attained against the Parthians, which was also giuen to MARCVS AVRELIVS, with the triumph, they both together triumphed with great solemnity: and so this enterprife was happily achieved and ended. And although this coming of LVCIVS VERVS from the East was very joyfull, by reason of the many victories obtained by his Armies, yet was it otherwise the cause of much sorrow and heavinesse: for, when he came out of Syria, the plague was very sore there, and he dispersed the same into sundry places by the way as hee came; so as many of his Souldiers, and of his Court and Company, died thereof: and, doing the like in Italy and Rome, he infected the whole Countrey; in such sort, that it was the greatest and most furious pestilence that euer was seen vntill that day. For remedy whereof, MARCVS AVRELIVS vied all care and diligence possible, as well in preferring those which were infected, and avoiding further infection, as in curing the liuing, and burying the dead; to his great cost and hazard of his life. This calamitie being past, before it, and whilst it continued, he omitted no time nor care that was necessary for the government and good of the common-wealth; hearing and dispatching all causes in generall; seeing in person what was done in the Senate; without whose opinion (and of the principall and wisest men) hee did nothing: for, hee vied to say, that there was greater reason he should follow the counsell of so many and so good friends, than that so many and so wise men should do after his will alone. At the meetings wherein Magistrates were chosen, he was euer present; and in all things caused the ancient order and liberty to be obserued. In Courts and Iudgements he encreased the number of the Iudges and the iudiciall daies. Hee also increased the alms and rewards of his Palace; and, in a time of famine and want of corn, he spent an infinite treasure, providing for many Cities a sufficient quantity of grain. And in Spain (being more fruitfull than the rest) where his Predecessors had too much gleaned, he mitigated great part of the tributes, releasing many taxes and seruices.

Marcus Aure-
lius released
many cities with
corn in time of
starving.

And herein hee was so temperate and pitifull towards his subjects, that whatsoever briberies and extortions were committed by his Collectors and Receiuers, hee most severely punished: yet in all other crimes and offenses hee euer vied great clemency, and euer inflicted lesse punishment than the lawes commanded. This Emperour not onely tasted of aduersities (as wee haue said), as famine and pestilence, with inundations and earthquakes; but within his owne house he endured a greater plague with his wife FAVSTINA, who was (as all Writers affirm) dishonest and wonderfull dissolute; which hee sought by all means possible to reclaim, although not by such rigorous punishment as she deserved. And, being by some persuaded to put her away, and to diuorce himself from her, seeing that he would not put her to death; he remembering, she was ANTONINVS PIVS his daughter, who had left him the Empire, they write that he answered them in this manner:

Faustina, Mar-
cus Aurelius
wife, dishonest
and dissolute

If we put away FAVSTINA, we are also bound to leaue the Empire; which was the dowrie we had with her at our mariage.

There ensued so many calamities after that LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS came from the East, as well by means of the generall and cruell pestilence, as by earthquakes, famine, inundations, and caterpillers, not onely in Italy, but in other Prouinces of the Empire; as that all Writers affirm, that if it had not hapned that MARCVS AVRELIVS had been so diligent, so

M 4

wife,

wife, and worthy an Emperour as he was, the Romane Empire had been ruined and rent in sunder, and barbarous Nations had subdued the greatest part thereof. For taking occasion of that which is aforesaid, seeing the Countries wasted and unpeopled, many northern Nations conspired against it, as the Sarmates, Vandales, Marcomans, Sueuians, and in a manner all Germany, who fell upon the Provinces of Pannonia, which were Austria, Hungary and other countries, threatening Italy and France. Whereunto the Emperour MARCVS AVRELIVS desirous to yeeld redresse, thought it not sufficient to send thither his companion, and much lesse, durst he leaue him in Rome, he was so rechelesse and vicious, and therefore resolved that they would both go together: Which putting in execution, with all prouision necessarie, it happened vpon the way, LVCIVS VERVS ANTONINVS was taken with an Apoplexie, whereby he died suddainly, hauing reigned about nine or ten yeeres in company with his brother. And so MARCVS AVRELIVS remained alone in the Empire, who only was worthy thereof, prosecuting his journey with his Armie, and began the warre with great courage and iudgement: in which, the infection did greater harme to his Armie, then the force of his enemies; although it passed not without many battailes and encounters. And so with great difficulty by reason of the pestilence, he maintained this warre three yeeres: and wanting money to pay his souldiers (for the Provinces, by reason of the miseries past, could not pay their taxes) he was constrained to sell all his iewels, vessels of gold and siluer, the furniture of his chamber, and his owne proper possessions, therewith to pay his Armie, which was greatly diminished of the chief commanders and valiantest men which died of the plague, whereby it receiued much more harme then by the enemy: Wherefore he was often counselled to leaue the wars and to returne. But he, willing rather to die then to lose any iot of his honour, continued it with a very great resolution, vntill that (after many great perils and extremities, which were such that Historiographers describe this warre to be as dangerous as the warres of Hannibal) he obtained the victorie, which he thoroughly accomplished in a great battaile. Wherein (as was thought) through the prayers of the Christians which were in his Armie, vnto which he recommended himselfe, God shewed a most euident miracle: which was, That he and his people being ready to perish through want of water (the passages being on euery side stoppt by his enemies) there fell such abundance of raine from heauen, that his Armie was sufficiently relieved with drinke: and therewith there fell such lightning and so cruell a tempest amongst his enemies, that he then setting vpon them ouerthrew and slew a great number; as EVSEBIVS and IULIVS CAPITOLINVS report. And this being past, he recovered the Pannonies, and the rest which they had vsurped, and had done much more, but that at that instant AVIDIVS CASSIVS, before named, who was Captaine and Gouverneur in the East, rose against MARCVS AVRELIVS, proclaiming himselfe Emperour, taking occasion for that he was so much troubled in so doubtful a warre: Wherefore the Emperour was constrained to leaue the best order hee could, concerning Germany, and to returne into Italy, from thence to take his way towards AVIDIVS CASSIVS; whereupon he came to Rome, and he entered in triumph for the Germans, and ioyntly with him his sonne COMMODVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, and nominated for his successor.

The triumph being ended, and leauing in Rome such order for the gouernment as was most expedient, with part of his victorious Armie which he brought with him out of Germany, and with other forces which he had newly leuiued, he departed towards the East, against AVIDIVS CASSIVS; where being arriued, the matter went so well of his side, as before that hee came to any conflict or battaile, the same Legions which AVIDIVS CASSIVS commanded, rebelled against him, and slew him, without the commandement or knowledge of MARCVS AVRELIVS: For, he was rather displeased therewith then otherwise; so milde and noble he was. And his head being brought vnto him, he commanded it to be honorably buried, and therewith seemed to be very sorrowfull, saying, That they had bereaued him of all meanes to shew him mercie; and that he much desired to haue had him in his power alieue, to haue given him his life, and to haue reprooued him of his ingratitude. And those Cities which had conspired with him, he easily pardoned, and commanded that they should not be rigorously dealt withall. And of their goods, which the Senate had commanded to be confiscated, and put into his Exchequer, he would not receive any part; but commanded that they should be put into the publicke treasure of Rome. And being by one of the Councell reprooued, for shewing such clemency in a crime so notorious, telling him that he ought not to haue done so, and that AVIDIVS CASSIVS would not haue dealt so by him if he had been overcome, he answered

Northerly nations conspired against the Emperour.

The death of Lucius Verus.

A most manifest miracle.

A rebellion against Marcus Aurelius.

Marcus Aurelius pardons Cassius rebels.

swered with great constancy and assurance, that AVIDIVS had not so well serued the gods, nor liued in such sort, as to be able to haue ouerthrowne him.

BVLGACIVS GALLICANVS, who is an Author very antient, and liued in the time of the Emperour DIOCLESIAN, in the life which hee wrote of this AVIDIVS CASSIVS, reporteth, that the Emperour commanded to be given to his sonnes and daughters the one half of their fathers goods, and that there should not any injury or disgrace be done vnto them; and that they should be admitted to magistracies and dignities, if they were thereto chosen: and so to others which were guilty, he vied the like clemency and grace.

This rebellion being pacified, MARCVS AVRELIVS withdrew himself to the City of Antioch in Syria, now called Soria; whither came vnto him many Kings and Ambassadors from the East; where, treating of peace & amity, and concluding the same with them, he was greatly esteemed and beloued of all men. And, setting all matters of the East in good order, being now old and wearied, hee made his return into Italy; and by the way, his wife the Emperesse FAVSTINA died, whom he buried sumptuously and with great honour. Being come to Rome, hee entered in triumph for the victorie obtained against AVIDIVS; and returned to his accustomed goodnes; and vpright gouernment of the Empire, as he was wont to doo. When he thought he should now haue rested from his former toils, there began new alterations and insurrections in Germany: which he fearing (as was reason: for, that Nation had alwaies been feared & doubted) determined in person to go to that war, and did so with a very great power, and prosecuted the same for the space of three yeeres together; wherein were done many feats of Arms on either side, and he obtained some notable victories. But, being ready to haue fully concluded his conquests (they being as it were in his hand) hee was taken with a grievous pestilent Fever; which perceiving to be mortall, he commanded all the principall men which were with him to come before him: to whom he made a notable speech, which HERODIANVS reciteth: wherein hee recommended vnto them the Roman Common-wealth, and his onely son COMMODVS, whom he left for his Successor; and him hee charged very effectually to end that warre which he left in so good tearmes; concluding, that he should not suffer the enemy which was brought lowe, and well-nigh to confusion, to recover force and courage: And then, being no longer able to resist his sicknes, hee died, hauing reigned eighteen yeeres, in the year of our Lord (as EVSEBIVS reckoneth) one hundred, fourescore and two, being threescore and one year old. Yet SEXTVS AVRELIVS saith, two yeeres lesse.

His death was extremely lamented and bewailed through the whole Army, and afterwards in Rome, and generally through all the Provinces of the Empire: for, in them all hee was infinitely well beloued. MARCVS AVRELIVS had had another son, whose name was ANTONINVS OF VERISTIMVS, who died young; and one daughter named LVCILLA, who married with a great and mighty man called POMPEIANVS.

Faustina the Emperesse died.

The death of Marcus Aurelius, Anno Domini 181.



THE LIFE OF COMMODVS ANTONINVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND EIGHTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

After the good Marcus Aurelius, succeeded his wicked son Commodus: who, for that he was held to be the Son of so good Father, was without any difficulty iusted Emperour: and for that when his Father died he was in Germany, when he returned to Rome all the City made great joy. But, being come to the City, giving himselfe over to all the wickednes that man could imagine, hee behaued himselfe so, as some conspired against him, which escaping he took occasion to shew his cruelty. He was very assiduous of his bowes, and so expert in casting of darts, as he would openly kill wilde beasts in the Amphitheatre. Finally, his wife Mar-

his, finding a book wherein were written the names of such as he had refused to put to death, and her owne name among the rest, she took order for his dispatch: and giving him poison, whilst he was committing it up again, she made him to bee stabbed. And so died that monster, to the great contentment of the whole Empire, which hee had wickedly governed thirteen years.



Commodus
suspected to be a
buffard.

THE good MARCVS AVRELIVS beeing dead, his Son COMMODVS was by the whole Armie obeyed and acknowledged for their Lord and Emperor; and so he was afterwards by the Senate and people of Rome, and likewise by all the Prouinces: for, no man would deny obedience to the Sonne of so good a Father. But hee proued so lewd and wicked, as he seemed not to be his sonne: and, considering the adultery of his mother FAVSTINA, hee was suspected to be the sonne of some base fellow. The ancient Authors which write of him (which are many) in a manner treat of nothing else but of his abominable vices and cruelties, which were so great, as it seemeth he exercised himself in no other thing, neither left any other memory behinde him. He came to the Empire being of the age of nineteen

years, and was of a good constitution of body, of a very fair complexion, clear-eyed, and had a flaxen hair; all (in truth) ill bestowed vpon him, seeing that these gifts and such exquisite corporal beauty, hee imployed so filthily & dishonestly; being a Gamester, incontinent, negligent, slothfull, a glutton, a drunkard, and (about all) cruell.

Within some few daies after his Father was dead, hee came to the Camp where the Armie lay, accompanied with all the Roman Nobility; and made a good speech to the souldiers, promising a good hope of him, and matters clean contrary to that which followed; and hee gaue such donatives to the souldiers as the new Emperors were accustomed to giue.

At these good beginnings hee continued some few daies: which being expired, through the the counsell of some lewd persons, hee resolved to leaue the warres, and to return to Rome. And the aduice and counsell of POMPERIANVS, being his brother-in-law, a man of great authority, could no way perswade him to stay, neither other wise men and his loyall seruants; who were of opinion that he ought to stay, and to see an end of the war.

With this resolution he presently wrote to Rome, aduertising them of his coming; making such a truce or peace with his enemies, as was rather to their aduantage than his. HERODIANVS writes that he bought it with money: yet onely EVTROPIVS affirms, that he first won a great battell. He then, leaving Captains on the Frontiers of Germany, held on his way towards Rome; and in all the Cities through which he passed, was receiued with incredible joy and solemnity, for the great loue they bare to his father, and for the hope they conceived of him; not yet knowing his conditions. In Rome hee was receiued with exceeding great joy, triumph and blessings, generally of all men; they strewing the wayes with flowers where he went, making all the demonstrations of joy that were possible; hoping and assuring themselves that they should haue a good Prince, being the sonne of MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS, and nephew to ANTONINVS PIVS; who were good and excellent Emperors. But it was not long before he put them out of doubt, making frustrate their good hope: for, hee openly gaue himself to vice and incontinency, going by night with others of his condition (as there neuer want those which will imitate the prince, although in doing euilly to brothell houses, and publicke taverns; spending also whole daies and nights in banquetting, feasting, bathings and most abominable luxurie. And as wicked men neuer loue any, but such as are like themselves; so hee sent for Governours into the Prouinces, such as were his companions in his villanies: whereto he was so much addicted, and spent so much time in them, as he took no care for the government; leaving all to the disposition of a Favourite of his, whose name was PARENIVS (whom he afterward made Pretorian Prefect, which is, Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts) who was a most covetous, vicious, and cruell man; yet very expert in the wars. This man governing all things, the accursed Emperor COMMODVS increased so much in his vices and lewd life, as they write he kept three hundred Concubines, and as many boyes, for detestable vices: for which cause he

Commodus
his concubines.

grew

grew to be so odious, that certaine eminent men conspired against him, resolving secretly to haue slaine him, his sister LVCILLA who was wife to POMPERIANVS being a partaker in the action: Whereby it may well be imagined what he was; seeing that his owne sister held him worthe of death.

All being concluded how it should be done, and the charge of the execution being giuen to one, whose name was QVINCIANVS (as HERODIANVS reporteth) yet LAMPRI- DIVS saith, that the charge was giuen to POMPERIANVS, that he should first strike him, and should haue beene seconded by the rest of the conspirators; It happened that this man, as he was very bold and hardy, sayled in the action: for hauing had sufficient oportunitie to haue slaine him, and being come neere, he would not so dispatch him, but in a brauing manner, being somewhat farre from him, he set his hand vpon his poiniard; and going towards him, said, here COMMODVS, the Senate hath sent thee this poiniard; and for any halfe that he could make to stab him, with greater haste he was prevented by some of the Emperors guard, and by them was taken; so as the conspiracie was presently discovered, and a great way laid open to COMMODVS his cruelties. For after that all such as were guiltie, had been executed, together with his own sister LVCILLA, and her husband POMPERIANVS, by the hand and direction of PERNIVS, many Senators and a great number of other Noble and prime men, were also put to death, and their goods seized vpon, by producing false witness, which were suborned to accuse them: Wherewith PERNIVS became so rich, as he practised, and was in hope to haue made himselfe Emperour. But COMMODVS being aduertised of these and other his treacheries, made him and a sonne of his to be slaine. After which he suffered himselfe to bee gouerned by another favorite, named CLEANDER, who was so wicked and extreme in cruelty, rapine, and bribery, that he surpassed PERNIVS. And this fellow did so excede, as the people of Rome vnable to endure him, took Arms, and in a tumult, went to a house of pleasure in Rome, where the Emperour was, and required to haue CLEANDER head; and notwithstanding that the Emperors guard began to make resistance, yet the matter came to such issue, that COMMODVS was constrained in despite of himselfe to deliuer him; and so were both he and his two sonnes slaine.

This tumult being pacified, which COMMODVS durst not punish, he was so incensed and therewith so fearefull, that from thenceforth he trusted no man: but as a Swine drawne out of the mire, so returned he to his abominable vices, taking care for no other thing. Within a while after, according to his accustomed manner, he suffered himselfe to be abused by another favorite, whose name was IVLIANVS, and another called RAELIVS, both which he afterwards caused to be put to death; with other his favorites which succeeded them; together with a multitude of great men, which LAMPRI- DIVS reciteth: and all things were so farre out of order, that magistracies and the gouernements of Prouinces were sold for money; and they which bought them were oftentimes slaine. Matters being thus managed by the Emperour, and by those which ruled him, he spent his time only in vices, and most dishonest and effeminate pleasures; colouring his hayre, and often bathing himselfe in company of others of his condition: whom he called by most dishonest names, to the end they should be conformable to their liues and actions. And he was not ashamed (notwithstanding these his vicious and abominable courses) to take the name and habit of a man who was a great enemy to those vices, which was HERCVLES: so as for COMMODVS ANTONINVS, sonneto MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS, he commanded himselfe to be called HERCVLES the sonne of IVPITER; and cladding himselfe in a most ridiculous manner with the skin of a Lion, and a club in his hand, like HERCVLES, he so vied to goe abroad, whereto some laughed, and others murmured. And sometimes he went clothed like an Amazon woman, which was more correspondent to his condition: which he did for the loue of one of his Concubines whom he much loued, whose name was MARYIA, whose picture he ware, drawne at life, vpon that habit. After this, as if he had as well deluded it as AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, he commanded the moneth of August should be called Commodus; and September Hercules, for he had taken that name: and December Amazonius, after the name of an Amazon: But this was observed no longer then he belived.

This accursed man, among his vicious parts, had a strange abilitie of body, which was, to cast or hurle a dart or a lance, better then any man of his time: he was a most certaine fhooter, eyther in crosse-bow, or long bow; and so skilfull, that (in certaine feasts and huntings, which according to the custome were then made in Rome, whither came an infinite number of people

Lucilla, Com-
modus his eys
sister, conspired
against him.

Commodus
slew his favorite
Pernivus and
his sonne.

Cleander slain
by the people.

Commodus
changed his
name.

Commodus
attired like an
Amazon.

to behold the same) he commanded a gallerie to be made round about the Amphitheater; within which he might runne freely and in safety, and there running round about with exceeding swiftnesse, hurling his darts or iaculins, he killed almost all the Stagges and Harts that were let loose, without missing one throw, or needing any more then one throw; he was so sure to strike them, eyther in the heart, in the forehead, or any other part wherfocuer he would: and he did the like by Lions, Panthers, and Ounces, which to that end, were brought thither that day. With his bowe and arrowes he would kill birds flying in the ayre, and did such other actiue exercises, as in truth were very strange: Whereby it appeareth that this man wanted not witte and abilitie to haue applied himselfe to goodnesse, as well as to sinne and wickednesse. And as crueltie was the thing wherein he did principally delight, so it pleased the most mercifull King of heauen, that the same was the cause of his death. For it happened, that having resolved to put a great number of the best reputed Citizens to death, he wrote a memoriall of those which he purposed should die, amongst which was his louing friend MARCIA, and AELIUS LERTVS Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts: it happened that this his beloued MARCIA vpon some occasion came to the sight of this note, who seeing her selfe condemned to death, determined with her selfe to assure her life by the death of COMMODYVS. And taking counsell with AELIUS LERTVS, and with another whose name was ALICTVS, who was also condemned, concerning the contents, they agreed amongst themselves to poyson him, which as speedily as might be, was given him by the same MARCIA in a cuppe of mingled wine which hee did vse to drinke: and being presently taken with a heauie slumber, MARCIA commanded all the company to goe forth of the chamber, vnder colour to suffer him to take his rest. This being done, within a little while after he awoke, extremely vomiting; and MARCIA and the rest fearing that he would again haue cast vp the poyson, in all haste called in a valiant yong man named NARCISVS, shewing him the note, and how the Emperor would haue put him to death also; and making him large promises, they concluded that he should goe in and kill him, which he did: and so this vnhappy and wretched COMMODYVS vomiting and strangely tormented with the poison, was by this NARCISVS flabd and flaine, to the good liking of the Roman people, and generally of all the world. When his death was knowne, there was no man but did commend and approue the fact. He died, being of the age of 32 yeeres, and in the yeere of our Lord 194. hauing reigned twelue yeeres and eight moneths. The ioy which afterwards was conceiued in Rome when his death was published, was incredible: and although that at the present it was not certainly knowne, but that he died sodainly of an Apoplexie, which EVTROPIVS affirmeth in his life. They ran vp and downe the streetes that night, crying and calling one to another with ioy, and went to the Temples to render thanks to the gods for so greata benefit: and others went to the Palace to behold his dead Carcasse. The Senate and Roman Nobilitie conceiued no lesse ioy then did the people, which may sufficiently appeare by the number of curfings which the Senate gaue him, when PERTINAX was chosen Emperor, and his successor: which MAXIMVS writeth, and AELIUS LAMPRIDIUS maketh relation thereof, which is a pleasing thing to reade.

The crueltie of
Commodyus
was the cause of
his death.

Commodyus
poysoned by his
friend Marcia.

Commodyus
slaine by Nar-
cissus.

An. Dom. 194.

By conceiued by
the Romans for
the death of
Commodyus.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS AELIVS PERTINAX, ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND NINETEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGVMENT.

After Commodyus, Pertinax was Emperor: who being borne of base condition attained to the Imperiall dignitie, more by his vertues, then the Nobilitie of his blood, or the glory of his ancestors; being the sonne of a Libertine. He was first a Doctor of the Law, and afterwards leaving that profession, he gaue himself to Armes; wherein he behaued himselfe so excellently, as he deserved to be made Emperor; so which dignitie those which conspired against Commodyus advanced him; who went to him, he lying in his bed, expecting death.

death rather than the Empire. And notwithstanding that he carried himselfe excellently well in the government of the Empire, and neuer sought to be reuenged on those which had offended him, yet there failed not some which enuied his goodness, and desired his death; which was given him with many wounds, when he had reigned the space of three months; being of the age of sixty seven years: for whose vertues, the Senate resolved to place him in the number of their gods.



THE good and valiant PVBLIVS AELIVS PERTINAX succeeded the wicked and tyrannous Emperor COMMODYVS, being almost threescore and ten yeeres old; and held the same but three months. The manner how he attained herto, I will presently shew you, when we shall briefly haue declared the wars, the offices and troubles, which he first passed: for, they were such and so diuerse, as he was therefore called The wheel of Fortune. Truly this Emperor was a notable example of humane changes. He was the sonne of a Libertine, which had been a slave and made free, called AELIVS; and being a childe was taught to write and reade, and cast account; which his father did, to the end hee should help him in his poor Mercery-shop. Afterwards hee came to learne the Greeke and Latine Gammar; so as he came to be a Master, and to keep a school in Rome. After this he gaue himself to the study of the Lawes; and, by the intercession of LOLLIANVS AVITVS who had been Consul, and his fathers master, he obtained liberty to plead, and to defend mens causes; which hee did for some space. But, being naturally a man of strength and courage, and more inclined to Arms than Letters, he gaue ouer that exercise, and went to the wars; wherein he carried himself so well, as within few daies he was made Captain of a Cohort in Syria against the Parthians; and, increasing in credit or estimation, he was sent to the wars in Britanny, and afterwards to the warres of Misia, and was made a Captain of horsemen in the wars which MARCVS AVRELIVS waged against the Germans; and afterwards was Admirall of a Fleet in the Flemish Seas; and, that charge being ended, he continued in the warres of Dacia; where through finisier informations he was deprived of the charge hee held, by MARCVS AVRELIVS: although afterwards he returned into grace by the intercession of POMPEIANVS the Emperors sonne-in-law, and was made a Senator, but then he vsed it not: and, in recompense of the disgrace past, the Emperour made him Colonel of a Legion; so as in the warres which were in the time of MARCVS AVRELIVS he performed many notable feats of Arms, as well against strange and barbarous nations, as against AVIDIUS CASSIVS; who (as wece said) rebelled against MARCVS AVRELIVS. His valiant acts were so many and such, that hee was many times publickly praised by him, and made Consul of Rome. After that, hee had the government of both the Misia, and of Dacia; in all which charges he caied himself so valiantly, and with such equity, as the same Emperour honored him with the government of all Syria & Asia; which was the greatest charge the Emperours gaue. And, MARCVS AVRELIVS being dead, and the time of his office expired, he came to Rome, after that he had gouerned foure consulary Prouinces, and had himself bin Consul, besides other commands, gouernments, and charges of greater quality, with great renown and fame of bounty and valour. But, coming to Rome during the Raig of the wicked Emperor COMMODYVS, by the instigation of a certain fauourite of his, he was banisht from Rome. But, hee being dead, who was the cause of his banishment, COMMODYVS sent him into the Ile of Britanny, to reforme the abuses of an Army and certain Legions, which were there; whither he went, and setled all in good order; but he was first in great danger, and hardly escaped with his life: for, a Legion being in mutinie slue some of his people, and vsed him in such manner that hee was left for dead in the field among the dead: and, having escaped this danger, hee resolutely punished the offenders, and pacified the Legions. At his especial request there was one sent to succeed him, and hee was sent Proconsul into the Prouince of Africa: wherein he likewise passed many dangers in mutinies, in seditions of the people, and of the ordinary Legions; for, as long as COMMODYVS was Emperor, there was no such order in any place as was conuenient. And Writers affirm, that had it not bin for PERTINAX & such other Captains as liued after the death of his father M. AVRELIVS, the Roman Empire had bin ex-

Pertinax called
the wheel of
Fortune.

Pertinax deposed
from his
charge by Mar-
cus Aurelius.

Pertinax made
consul by Mar-
cus Aurelius.

Pertinax banisht
from Rome
by Commodus.

Pertinax Pro-
consul in Africa

Pertinax
made Prefect
of Rome by
Commodus.

posed to great daunger. But hauing performed his charge in *Africa* with honour, although not without much trouble & difficultie, being now old and spent, he came to *Rome*, and *Commodus* made him Prefect thereof, being in this estate, death seized vpon *Commodus* by reason of his cruelties, *Pertinax* daily expecting when *Commodus* would haue bereaued him of life. This valiant man lying one night carelesly sleeping in his bed when *Commodus* was dead; *Martia*, his friend, which had plotted his death, and *Aelius* *Laetius* Captaine of the Pretorian Cohorts, and those which conspired with them, agreed together to cause *Pertinax* to be chosen Emperour. And to this effect about midnight, before that the death of *Commodus* was published, the said Captaine *Aelius* *Laetius* with some of his souldiers of the Cohorts, came to the house of *Pertinax*, who (as I said) lay secure in his bed; and in great haste causing the dore to be opened, went vp into his chamber: whom when he saw, yea and before, when he but vnderstood that he was coming vp, he assured himselfe that by *Commodus*'s his commandement he came to kill him, not knowing him to be dead: and resolving to suffer death with courage and patience, he lay still, without any shew to be moued thereat, but said vnto *Aelius* *Laetius*: I haue for manie daies expected to end my life in this manner, and I marueiled that *Commodus* hath deferred it so long: and seeing it is so, why stand you still? Make an end with me, and do that which you are commanded.

The speech
made by
Pertinax.

Where to *Aelius* *Laetius* answered, perswading him to put away all such feare, and not to thinke that he came to kill him, but to desire safetie of his owne life, for that the tyrannous Emperour *Commodus* was dead, and that they came to offer the Empire vnto him, who was onely worthe thereof. *Pertinax* could hardly belieue what he heard with his eares: but in the end the matter being declared vnto him more at large, and the occasion which induced them to kill the Emperour, he accepted of their offer; and was carried by them to the Cohorts Camp: where the souldiers being assembled, their Captaine made a speech vnto them, containing the wickednes and vices of the Emperour *Commodus*, and how that he by means of his exceffe was dead of an Apoplexy; and reciting the vertues and excellencies of *Pertinax*, counselled them to make him Emperour. Which they presently performed ioyfullie, and calling him *Auoustus*, swaere to him as the custome was; yet *Pertinax* remained still doubtfull, and accepted thereof with feare, and against his will.

This being ended, and the day coming on, they came with him into the citie: and assembling the Senate, this old new Emperour came thither, vnwilling they should beare before him the Imperiall Ensignes, neither the fire, as the custome was; vntill such time as the Senate had agreed and given their consent. But when as he came into the Senate house, all the Senators saluted him Emperour, *Casars* *Auoustus*, and with great acclamations and blessings swaere and yielded to him obedience: which he still wished, saying, that he deserved it not, alleging his old age, and nominating others, which he said were more worthe of that dignity. But in the end being overcome and forced by them, he sat downe in the Imperiall chaire, and made vnto them a solemne oration (which *Herodianus* writeth). His oration being ended, he went forth of the Senate house (accompanied with all the Senators and Roman Nobilitie, with an infinite number of others, to the exceeding ioy of all men) to the Temples, as the custome was, and from thence to the Imperiall Palace. And so he began his reigne, and obtained the Empire, to the generall good liking and contentment of all men, and was obeyed in like manner in all the prouinces of the Empire, in all which he was well knowne: and truly they had not beene deceiued in their opinion and great hope which they had of him, if the wickednes of the Pretorian Souldiers had not hindered his good thoughts and resolutions.

The first thing he attempted in the government of the Empire, was to bridle the licentiousnes of the Pretorian Cohorts, and the insolencies and wrongs which they did to the citizens and people of *Rome*, by means of the fauour and loose life of *Commodus*. The like he also performed in all other disorders and abuses, which in his time were tolerated; seeking to reduce all thingsto that forme and manner of government which was vsed in the time of his father *Marcus* *Aurelius* *Antoninus*. He entertained all men honourably and lovingly, which had any occasion to negotiate with him; and he diuided the fields of *Rome*, and of the prouinces which lay vntilled and waste, granting that for tenne yeeres space no rent or tribute should be paid for the same. With these and such other things, this excellent and gracious Emperour so wanne the hearts and loue of the common people, that all men held themselves haplie in such an Emperour: for which occasion, besides the honourable titles which were giuen him by the consent of the Senate, the same Senate intitled his son, *Casars*, and

Pertinax after
many changes
of fortune in
made Emper-
our.

to his wife *Licinia* was added the name of *Auoustus*: the good Emperour said, That his wifes name he did accept, because her vertue was worthe thereof: But for his sones name, hee would that it should rest vntill that he had better deserved it. Perseuering in his good works, all the goods and moueables, which *Commodus* had echeated and taken, he made to be restored to their owners, for which they should pay some small matter in exchange.

The Senate
made Pertinax his sone
Casar, and his
wife Augusta.

Every day when the Senate did ordinarily sit, he went thither; and in his house he neuer refused to giue audience to any person at what time soeuer. When as the barbarous Nations and enemies to the Roman Empire had intelligence, and did certainly know that he was Emperour, they laid downe their Armes, and ceased to make warre against the Empire; and many sent Ambassadors vnto him (if they had found him liuing) to treat of peace and friendship: so as the small time he reigned, was to the generall good liking and contentment of all the world; excepting the men of warre, principally of the Pretorian Cohorts, which lay about *Rome*, who presently began to abhorre him for that he kept them in quietty, bridling them with iustice, not suffering them to commit such riots, abuses and outrages as they did in the time of *Commodus*; and in like manner he was not beloued by the officers and ministers of the Imperiall Palace, for the like reasons. The shamelesse audaciousnes of the souldiers grew to this height, that one day they would haue taken a Senator of a very Noble & ancient house, named *Tiberius* *Materius*, and haue carried him to the Camp to haue made him Emperour, to the end he should haue rebelled against *Pertinax*. But this *Materius* was (as a good and loyall seruant) escaping out of their hands, came to *Pertinax*, and therewithal from *Rome*: which put the Emperour in great feare and amazement. And to content and pacifie them; hee made donatiues and distributions amongst them. But this he so did, for they esteemed it not, but sought meanes to liue dissolutely at their libertie.

Pertinax hated
by the Pretorian
Cohorts.

Triarius Ma-
terius, not
to yield to the
will of the sould-
iers, which
would haue
made him Em-
perour, fled to
Pertinax, and
so from Rome.

Pertinax reigned about three moneths: in which small time he had set all things in so good order, as the state of the Empire seemed to be changed, and not the same. And although he were so good, yet was there one whose name was *Fabius*, which practised his death, with a conceite to haue been Emperour: which being discovered to him, he came to the Senate, and would not endure they should proceede against him as against a tyrant. And notwithstanding that the proofes were so plaine and manifest, as the offence was apparently yet he pardoned him: but iustice was done vpon certain souldiers which had practised this treason; which the souldiers took to ill (their hatred and presumption daily increasing) as they concluded to kill him; and being so resolved, they cared not to conspire, or to vie any cunning or deceit. But openly a great troupe of them went from their lodgings in a tumult with their Swordes drawn, and with Halberds and other weapons, and came into *Rome*; and without resistance (as the matter was suddaine) they entred the Palace.

The Emperour being aduertised hereof, sent *Aelius* *Laetius* to stay and pacifie them; who forgetting that he had made *Pertinax* Emperour, cared not to performe his commandement, but rather approving the fact, being (as some say) a partaker in the action, went forth another way to his owne lodging, at such time as the souldiers came into the Palace, where there was no meanes to make any resistance, being taken sodainly and disarmed. Wherefore the greatest part abandoned the Emperour and fled; and those which remained counseled him to flee, which he might easily haue done, and the people would haue defended him. But notwithstanding that he knew their counsell to be good and profitable, and that they spake the truth; yet would he not follow the same, alleging it to be unworthy the maiestie of an Emperour and his acts and life past, to saue his life by flight, or by hiding himselfe: and so he resolved to goe forth vnto them; conceiuing that with his presence they would be alhamed, and so returne. And truly this conceite was ready to haue taken effect: for, coming forth of his chamber, and meeting with a multitude of them in the Court, they made a stand, and gaue him place to speake vnto them; which he did with great courage, without any shew of alteration. First, asking them what might be the occasion of their coming in such a tumult, and without any respect? And afterward (without shew of any humilitie or fearfulness), but with as great grauitie and authoritie, as best fitted the dignity of his person he began to say to them;

The wickednesse
of Aelius Laetius

The high minde
of Pertinax be-
ing assailed by

Souldiers and companions, if you come to kill me; and doe put in execution what you haue determined, you shall performe no act that is valiant, great, or commendable; neither very grieuous vnto me, which am now so old, and haue gotten so much honour and fame, that I regard not my life: for euery mans life hath an end. But you to whom belongeth the guard and defence

Speeches vsed
by Pertinax to
the souldiers.

defence of my Person, seeing your charge is to free and deliver the Emperour from perils and treason; and shall be the first to lay your hands vpon him; consider, that for the present, it will be shamefull and odious, and hereafter in time to come, dangerous, and prejudiciall: For I haue done you no displeasure nor iniurie. If the death of **COMMODOVS** offend you, it was no new matter to dye, seeing that he was a man: if you suspect that he was murdered, I am guiltlesse thereof; and you know that I am free from all suspicion in this case: yvbat then passed, you knew before me; if there be any suspicion of his death, it concerneth others, and not me: But I say this, and assure you, that by reason of his death, there shall nothing be taken from you that you shall require, or that shall seeme necessary for you; requiring such things as are honest and possible; and nor by force and violence.

Pertinax, hearing the ending his speech, some of them began to alter their mindes and to depart, moved thereto by his words and grauitie; but the furie of those which came behind them was so great, as they could not doe it nor defend him; so as one of them called **TRYPHVS** charged him; and wounded him in the breast with a Launce: and hee seeing their determination, couered his head, with his Robe, suffering himselfe to bee wounded by their all; and so they slew the poore and innocent Emperour. And **EAIVS LAYVS**, who had been one of the chiefe in making him Emperour, going about to help to defend him, was also slaine, hauing first with great courage and resolution slaine two souldiers: and so they also slew some others which were his chamberlaines and other officers. A sonne and a daughter of his escaped, for that they were not lodged in the palace.

This Prince in his gesture, shewed great grace and maiestie: his stature and constitution did well represent his state and dignitie. Hee wore his beard long, and his haire curled, his breitt was large and full of flesh, and he was indifferently eloquent, vsing smooth and louing speeches. This Accident was so sudden, that he was slaine before the people knew of any mutinie, or the coming of the souldiers: and the souldiers fearing the people, who they knew would take it grievously, returned with as much or greater haste than they came; and, fortifying their Camp, they set out sentinels, and held guards in the Bulwarks and Towers, fearing to be assaulted.

As soon as the death of the Emperour was knowne in the City, the sorrow and lamentation which was made for him was extreme; the people running vp and down the streets with incredible wrath and fury, seeking the murderers to be reuenged of his death. Thus they went vndoubtedly, without any certain knowledge of what passed, doing nothing but weep and complain one to another. But, when they vnderstood what hapned, they saw they neither could or durst proceed any further.

This Emperour died in the year of our Lord 195: some say lesse. Hee gouerned the Empire (according to **EVSSEIVS**) six months: **IVLIVS CAPITONIVS** in his life saith, 85 daies, and no more; with whom agrees **SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR**. All which write, that his Successor, **IVLIANVS**, was of counsell and accessary to his death.

The miserable
death of Pertinax.



THE



THE LIFE OF DIDIVS IVLIANVS. ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND TWENTITH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

Didius Iulianus took the Empire, being a man proud, rich and ambitious; and, seeing that the Empire was set to sale by the souldiers which murdered Pertinax, was so presumptuous, as to go to buy it, with one other who would haue had the same for money; who was son-in-law to the murdered Emperour. But the souldiers doubting, that making Pertinax his son-in-law Emperour, he would reuenge his death, they agreed to sell it to Iulianus; who was confirmed contrary to the will of the Senate, and in worse manner accepted by the people. Nevertheless, at though he had obtained that dignity by his vertue, or that it came to him by inheritance, he gave himselfe to pleasures, respecting no mans enuie. But Septimius Seuerus, a man of much wisdom and great power, being Captain of the Legions in Germanie, hoping to be able to gette the Empire by force of Arms, came to Rome with his Army: of whom Iulianus standing in fear, would haue sent the Vestall virgins for Ambassadors vnto him. But the Senate, refusing to yeeld thereto, deprived him of the Empire, and proclaimed Septimius Seuerus Emperour: who sending to Iulianus (the palace being abandoned, and he retired to weep) caused him to be slaine, hauing been 7 months Emperour.



After the goodould **PERTINAX**, **IVLIANVS** succeeded in the Empire; hauing obtained the same for money from those souldiers which slue the Emperour **PERTINAX**. This **IVLIANVS** was native of *Milan* by his Fathers lineage, who was called **PETRONIVS DIDIVS SEVERVS**: his mothers name was **CLARA EMILIA**: his grandfathers name was **SAEVIVS IVLIANVS**, who had been Prefect of *Rome*, and twice Consul; which did enoble his house. This **IVLIANVS** was brought vp in the house and seruice of **DOMICIA LVCILLA**, mother to **MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS** the Philosopher; by whose fauour he attained to offices, and was made

The line of
Didius Iulianus.

Questor, Edil and Pretor, in *Rome*. Afterwards hee followed the warres, and proued a good Captain, performing many notable exploits, which in the time of **MARCVS AVRELIVS** were in *Germany* and other parts. Hee was in the beginning Captain of a Legion, and afterwards with an Army he had the charge and gouernment of *Dalmatia*, and then of lowe *Germany*; and, after that, he was made Gouernor of *Bithynia* in *Asia*, although in this gouernment hee did not bear himself with so good fame as in the rest. Hee was jointly Consul with **PERTINAX**, and afterwards Proconsul in *Africa*; and, hauing executed these charges and offices, was now growne old, and very rich by means of his possessions and money which hee had in *Rome*.

When **PERTINAX** was dead, hee obtained the Empire in such manner as was shamefull, and vnbecfitting the greatnes of *Rome*. For, after that the souldiers had murdered the Emperour **PERTINAX** (as is said) they fortified their camp and lodgings for fear of the people: and the people durst not assail them, for that they were too strongly defended with great bulwarks and turrets. The Senatours and Nobility knew not what to doo in this so cruell an Accident; but retired themselves to their houses, wherein they fortified themselves; and many of them went to their Castles and Possessions in the Country, holding themselves not very safe in *Rome*:

and so they passed that day, and the next after PERTINAX death.

The Pretorian Souldiers (as writeth HERODIANVS) seeing no man durst attempt to offend them, became yet more audacious: for, some of them, standing vpon the Ramparts of their Camp, cried out with loud exclamations, that they would giue the Empire to whosoever would buy the same, and pay best for it. This sale was presently published in the City, and this Proclamation was so odious and full of scandall and reproach, and also there were so few rich men left in Rome by reason of COMMODVS his cruelty and tyranny, that there were but two merchants to be found to buy the Empire that was to be sold. The one was SVLPITIANVS at that time Prefect of Rome, a man who had been Consul, and was sonne-in-law to the late Emperor PERTINAX; and the other was DIDIVS IVLIANVS, of whom we now speak. Truly, it is a matter worthy of great consideration, and a notable example for Princes: whereby it plainly appears, how little constancy there is in their greatnes, and generally in all things in this life; and how little they ought to esteem the power, the kingdoms and dominions of this world, and all those other things called goods which are gotten in this world. For, considering that a Roman Emperor, being a wife old man, redoubred, beloued, and knowne to be good and valiant by long experience, who (as we may say) was Lord of all the world (for, hee peaceably governed (in a manner) all that which the Kings in Christendome hold in Europe, and the Infidels in Africa, and as much as the great Turk possesseth in Asia, Gracia, and Egypt, and many other Princes and Lords besides) only three hundred, or fewe more souldiers, sufficed to bereaue him of his life & dominion; being in Rome it self, which was the head & strength of all the Empire; and that they should escape free without any punishment, no man then seeking any reuenge of his death.

Who would regard or greatly esteem the riches and dominions of this world, or account the dignities, estates, and riches thereof to be great, and lose his owne life, and pawne his soule to get them; seeing that a Throne, and so great a power and majesty as was the Roman Empire, was set to sale at an Ouncery; and there were but onely two that came to buy it, and it was sold for a little money? Truly, in my judgement, it was handled as it deserved.

And this may suffice for a warning and example to vs, that there is nothing in this world that is ought-worthy, and to bee held of price; nor ought to bee gotten and held with the danger of the soule: and therefore men ought lightly to regard the losing or winning of the goods of this world, so as they may encrease the riches of the soule, and liue virtuously as Christians ought to doo. He that can attaine heerto, is rich and mighty: and all the rest without this are miserable, beggerly and vnhappy, although they command and raig oner the whole world.

To return to our History: HERODIANVS writeth, that the same of the souldiers proclamation cam to the house of DIDIVS IVLIANVS, being held the richest man in Rome: who with his wife and daughter sitting at dinner, very merry and pleasant in the midst of his fauourites and pleasant company, was by them all counsell'd, that, seeing hee had more money than any other man in Rome, he should not let slip so good a bargain, and so precious a sell as was the Roman Empire; but that he should go to the Camp to conferre with the souldiers, and to procure himselfe to be chosen and sworn Emperor: Who, presently arising from the table, went thither accompanied with his friends and seruants. ELIVS SPACIANVS (who wrote his life) saith, that the first which perswaded him heerto, were PVBLIVS FLORIANVS, and VECTIVS APERR, Tribunes. But, whosoever were his counsellers, they all agree, that when he came thither he found SVLPITIANVS the Prefect of Rome there before him, soliciting the souldiers to make him Emperor; promising them a great sum of money, with other fauours and rewards: And the reason why his offers were not accepted, was, for that he was sonne-in-law to PERTINAX whom they had slain; and therefore they suspected him. Whereof, DIDIVS IVLIANVS put them also in minde, willing them to take heed that they made not choice of one who another day would reuenge the death of PERTINAX: Hee promising to giue them an infinite summe of money which he had in readinesse, and that hee would restore all things to that order and form wherein COMMODVS had left the same, and would presently bring them a great summe of money to be diuided among them. His offer at last was accepted by the souldiers, and hee with laddys was receiued into the Fort, wherethey sware obedience vnto him: and, there hauing done certain ordinary ceremonies and sacrifices, hee went into the City, accompanied with the Pretorian Cohorts in Arms; ranged in so good order, as if they had been going to a battell: for, they were in great fear of the people. And so IVLIANVS entred the City, all the souldiers proclaiming his name, and calling him Empe-

Didius Iulianus
made Emperor
came into Rome.

ror:

ror: the citizens durst not make any resistance, neither did they approue his election, as they vnto do by other Emperors, but cursed him and threw stones at him.

IVLIANVS then went to the Senate: where assembling such Senators as were present, by their decree he was proclaimed Emperor, and they presently made his sonne-in-law CORNELIVS REPENTINVS Prefect of Rome, putting SVLPITIANVS out of that office: and from thence he was carried to the Imperiall Palace, and held for Emperor, more through force, then the good will of any honest men. And he as though that the Empire had descended to him by inheritance from his father, and that he had peaceably obtained the same with the good will of all men, gaue himselfe to riot and pleasures, shewing himselfe negligent and rechelesse in matters of government. And notwithstanding that he was milde and affable, and did no harme to any man in all the time of his raigne; yet he presently began to be hated of the souldiers, for that he did not performe that which he had promised. The people of Rome hated him, because he was chosen and made Emperor by those which murdered PERTINAX whom all the world loued; and they were of opinion that he was guiltie and accessarie to his death. So as when-soeuer he went out of his Palace, the people openly powred out their curses against him; which he patiently endured, sometimes with laughter, beekening with his hand that they should come to him, making shew of loue and goodwill vnto them: yet it little auailed him, but rather increased their hatred, in such manner, as standing one day to behold certain games and sports, the people of Rome proclaimed PESCENIVS NIGER who was Proconsul, and Gouernour of Syria, which was the greatest charge and government of the Empire, calling to him that hee should come to their rescue and to procure their libertie, of all which insolencies, IVLIANVS made little reckoning. And it hapned that as loone as the Armies which were on the frontiers of Germany and in Syria, vnderstood how ill IVLIANVS was beloued in Rome, and how carelesly he gouerned, each of these Armies presumed to make their Generall, Emperour. In Syria PESCENIVS NIGER was Gouernour, who was a man of good yeeres, and had held great commands and governments, and had done very many notable feates of Arms: it was reported of him, that he was milde and wise, and seemed to imitate the life and government of the Emperor PERTINAX. This man knowing the goodwill which was borne him in Rome, and that his Armie and souldiers loued him, determined to proclaime himselfe Emperor, and presently took the ensignes thereof: and all those nations, Kings and Potentates of Asia, yeelding obedience, came or sent Ambassadors vnto him. The Army in Germany held for their Generall SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, borne in Africa, a man of great courage and counsell, and aboue all, very double and subtile, and of great experience, who had had many governments, magistracies, and commands, and had been Consul in Rome, and Proconsul in the gouernments of Sicilia, Africa, and the Pannonies, and was also very well beloued of his souldiers, by whom he was importuned: and seeing the occasion and opportunitie, he resolved also to proclaime himselfe Emperour, taking vpon him the state and ensignes thereof: and publishing that he would reuenge the death of the Emperor PERTINAX, he made himselfe beloued of the men of warre in Germany, and of the Romane people: so as there were at one time three Emperours, or to say more properly, three tyrants. IVLIANVS (who was Emperour in Rome) notwithstanding that he knew what passed in Syria, when it first began, made no great account thereof, holding it sufficient to send to kill him: but knowing what SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS did in Germany, it troubled him very much; and he dealt with the Senate to proclaime him rebell, and that they should send certaine principall men Ambassadors to procure the Army to abandon SEVERVS, and to hold him for Emperour whom the Senate had approued, which was himselfe: and he sent VALERIUS CATVLINVS to further the businesse, and to succede SEVERVS in his government. But SEVERVS had taken so good order, that this did little profit him: for he had already obtained their obedience, and had assured vnto himselfe the loue of all that countrie and the marches thereof, resolving to march with his Army towards Rome, where he knew that IVLIANVS was not beloued. Now PESCENIVS NIGER who was called Emperour in Asia, was not so circumspect as he might haue bene: for, seeing himselfe seru'd by Kings, rich in gold and siluer, mightie in Armies and men of warre, confidently trusting in the loue of the people of Rome; he gaue himselfe to feasting and banqueting in Antioch.

When it was knowne in Rome that SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS came thitherwards, IVLIANVS awakened from his drowfie sleep, began to put himself in Arms, and applied himself wholly to make prouision for the warres; and, mustering his Troops, took the Fields with the

Iulianus generally hated.

Pescennius Niger proclaimed Emperor in Syria.

Septimius Severus a valiant Captain of great experience, pretended title to the Empire.

Pretorian Army which had made him Emperor; which he found very feeble, as well for want of experience and exercise in Arms, as for that they were ill paid by him: and the people of Rome repaired also vnto him with a very ill will, for that he was made Emperor against their liking: and the Cities of Italy had a long time liued in quiet and peace, and were not accustomed to the wars.

In this manner all went ill with IULIANVS; and well with his enemy: and IULIANVS was generally ill obeyed; whom his friends counfelled, that, with the best forces he could be able to leuie, he should meet SEVERVS vpon the way, and stoppe his passage ouer the Alps: but either he would not, or durst not do so, but made the best prouision in Rome he could; and, before he was aware, he vnderstood that SEVERVS was already entred Italy, and that the most part of the Cities had receiued him, and yielded him their obedience. The people of Rome seeing this, and that PRISCENVS NIGER whom they desired remained in Asia, began to like of SEVERVS his coming.

Seuerus resolves to be partner in the Empire with Iulianus.

IULIANVS, seeing himself driuen to this streight, obtained of the Senate to write and to send Ambassadors to SEVERVS, offering to make him equall and companion in the Empire with IULIANVS. But SEVERVS, not contented with part, but with the whole, would not accept thereof, holding himself to bee of greater power than IULIANVS, notwithstanding that vntill then the Senate held with him: but they, seeing the little counsell and lesse strength of IULIANVS, beganne to abandon him. And although hee desired that the Vestall Virgins (which was the most precious and highly-esteemed thing in their vain religion) should be sent to pacifie SEVERVS, and to work some means of peace; yet the Senate would not yeeld thereto, alleging that he was vnworthy to rule, who durst not defend the Empire by force of Arms. And the matter came to this passe, that disguised persons daily came into Rome from SEVERVS, and others went from thence to him; and IULIANVS, void of all reliefe and succours, remained in his Palace generally abandoned, sauing of a very few souldiers.

The Senate abandoned Iulianus.

The Senate was assembled, and by the common consent of all the Senators it was decreed, that IULIANVS should be deprived of the Empire, and SEVERVS proclaimed Emperour; and there were of the principall of the Senators sent to SEVERVS in ambassage, to yeeld to him their obedience, with the ensignes of Emperour, CÆSAR, AVGVSTVS; and spreading a rumour abroad that IULIANVS had poisoned himselfe, they commanded him to be slaine in his Palace, where the infortunate Emperour was found disarmed, and with some few of his friends weeping like a child. And so was IULIANVS slaine at the age of 57. yeeres, hauing reigned only seauen moneths, in the yeere of our Lord 195.

Iulianus slaine by the Senators.



THE LIFE OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND ONE & TWENTITH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.



Septimius Seuerus hauing taken the Empire more by force of Armes and feare, wherein he did put the Senators and people of Rome, then for any right he had; the first thing he did, was to reuenge the death of Pertinax, by depriving all those which had slaine him and sold the Empire, of all Military dignities. Afterwards, entring Rome with great pompe, he persuaded the Senators and people to hope well of him, and to bend their weapons against Pelcentius Niger, who was called Emperour: Whom finally after many changes of fortune, he ouercame. He likewise ouerthrew Artabanus King of Persia, and took the Crowne of Tyshphonte, wherein was all that Kings treasure, and ouercame Albinus, who was made Cæsar. This Seuerus was a man addicted to the

WARRE

warres, ambitious, ambitious; desirous in his resolution to bring any thing to passe that he had once undertaken, and therein very wilful and circumspect in all matters appertaining to the preservation of his estate, and government of the Empire. Finally, oppressed with a long infirmity, and particularly with an inveterate paine in his feete, hee dyed, hauing reigned the Empire eighteen yeeres; using no lesse wisdom in performing it, than hee had shewed boldnesse and courage in getting it.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS succeeded in the Empire, who onely among all the Emperours was borne in Africa, in a citie called Lepis. His fathers name was GERVA, and his mothers EVLIA PIA. He had two Vncles by his mothers side, which were Consuls in Rome; his grandfathers name by his mother was MACBIZ, and by his fathers side, EVLVIVS ARIVS. IULIANVS being dead in such manner as we have declared, and SEVERVS marching with his Armie towards Rome against his enemies; vpon the way certaine Ambassadors met him, which in the name of the Senate and people of Rome yeelded to him their obedience, and gave him the title and ensignes of Emperour, certifying him of the death of IULIANVS. He receiued this Ambassage in presence of the Armie, being marshalled and in Armes, and gave gifts to the Ambassadors; and entertaining them with great honour, continued his iourney towards Rome: where aswell the Pretorian souldiers stood in feare of him, for that they had slaine the Emperour PERTINAX, whom they knew he loved, as also all the Romane people, for the desire they had that PRISCENVS NIGER should haue been Emperour, who in the East (as is said) was called so. SEVERVS, when he came neere to Rome, sent commandement that all the Pretorian souldiers should come forth to receiue him, clad in shew of peace, leauing their armes in their campe, which they did, hoping thereby to haue pleased and pacified him, by ioyfully obeying his commandement. And hee concealing what he purposed to doe, hauing only acquainted some of his favorites and captaines therewith, attended their coming in field, in a place which he had chosen for that purpose; where they coming to doe him reuerence, were compassed about by his Armie: and making a short speech vnto them, hee reproched them with the crueltie and treason which they had vied in killing the Emperour PERTINAX: Which being ended, he made them to put off the clothes and apparell which they ware, and to put away their daggers and poniards from them (for other weapons they had none) and then he pronounced sentence against them; wherein hee deprived them of the honour of souldiers, and banished them from Rome and a hundred milles about. He presently sent to their Campe to take their armes from them, and the imperiall ensignes; and so they were punished and disgraced, although not so much as they deserved, for the cruell murder which they had committed, and the selling of the Empire.

The lineage of Seuerus.

The punishment of the Pretorian souldiers which slew Pertinax.

This being done, SEVERVS entred into Rome, with his whole Armie, with their Ensignes displayed, and his souldiers in armes, apparelled in the best and most sollemne manner they could. The number of his men was so great, that it was a most faire and stately spectacle to behold. The Senate went to the gates of the citie to receiue him, and there saluted him after the accustomed manner: and the people receiued him with blessings and applauses; notwithstanding that it was odious vnto them to see him come armed, and in warlike manner. Hauing performed the solemnities, and visited the Temples, as the manner then was, he went to his lodging in the Imperiall palace: and the next day he commanded the Senate to be assembled, whither he also went accompanied with armed men; wherein (as he was a wise man and well aduised) hee made a very smooth speech, giving them great hope of good government, and excusing himselfe for taking vpon him the name and authoritie of Emperour, without their consent and good liking first obtained; pretending that hee did it, to reuenge the death of PERTINAX, and to free them from the tyrannie of IULIANVS: for that it was a thing vnworthy the Romane Empire, he should liue which had bought it with money. In conclusion, his words were of such efficacy, as the Senat went thence satisfied and well content: yet some of the old Senators which better knew his condition, gave little credit to his words; for they held him for a man that was very double, subtil and a great dissembler: and notwithstanding that he was so, yet in truth he was a most sufficient man in any thing, very valiant in armes, and before that he was Emperour had governed great prouinces, and attained to be Questor, Tribune, Pretor, Proconsul, and Consul; and had held Commands and charges, wherein he purchased the name

Seuerus entred Rome with his souldiers displayed.

His speech to the Senate.

The valour and learning of Seuerus.

name and reputation of a valiant, wife, and excellent Captaine. And if a man well consider how the Empire was then divided between three Lords, and with what valour hee subdued the whole, with the other warres and accidents which happened in his time; he may well be esteemed for a very valiant Emperour and excellent Captaine, and may be compared with any of those in ancient time. Besides all which, he was very learned, and a great Mathematician, a good Orator and Philosopher. But his proweesse in Armes was so great, as it cannot be written by me (considering the breuitie which I vse) but cursorily; and so to expresse such things as are most cleere, although in halte; yet will they glister in their sight which shall behold the same.

After that he had taken vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, he set speedie order for the reformation of abuses in the Citie, by reason of the diffensions and tumults passed. He also presently honoured and buried the Emperour PERTINAX: and in remembrance of that good old man; he took to himselfe his surname, calling himselfe SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS PERTINAX. He paid and gaue gifts and rewards to his men of warre, and also to the people of Rome; and as the custome of the new Emperours was, he made distributions and gaue large donatiues. He also married two daughters which he had, with two principall men, one called PROBUS, and the other BICUS: and after that he had giuen great dowries with them, he vndersuch means that they were both chosen Consuls. And whereas at that time there was great scarcitie of come in Rome, he took such order; and that with such expedition, as the Citie was sufficiently provided for and furnished; which course he held euer during all the time of his raigne, in such sort as there was neuer any want. All these things and other, concerning the gouernment of the Empire, he performed with such expedition, in thirte dayes only that hee remained there; for from the first day that he was Emperour, hee determined to adresse his iourney towards the East with his Armie against PESCENIVS NIGRA, who (as is said) was called Emperour, and was very powerful, and an excellent Captaine. Having made preparation for his iourney, he sent a Captaine and new legions into the Prouince of Africa, to guard the same; to the end that by the way of Egypt and Libya, PESCENIVS NIGRA should not make any profit of that Prouince. And the better to leaue all things in safety behinde him in the West (for he was in feare of CLODIVS ALBINVS, a Nobleman and a Senator of Rome, who was Captaine of the Legions in Britanny, and was a man of a great parentage, rich, and well beloued, he thought himselfe how he might compass him and make him his friend, by giuing him the name and title of CÆSAR and his successor; whereof hee aduertised him with very louing and gracious speeches: by which means for that time he remained in quiet and in peace.)

This being done, leaving the best order in Rome he could, and such as was most expedient (nominating and choosing companies and Pretorian Cohorts to remaine in the Citie, in the place of those which he had cashiered and degraded from the honour of bearing Armes) he departed thence, continuing his iourney with the best and greatest force he was able to leaue. PESCENIVS NIGRA being aduertised of the coming of his enemy, as vntill then he had liued idle and carelesse, so now with great diligence & expedition he leued soldiers: and beside the ordinary Armie which he had, he sent some Captaines speedily to stop the passages out of Europe into Asia the lesse; and also sent to craue aide of the Kings of Parthia, Armenia, and other Kings and Tetrarchs of the East; from whom, and from the Prouinces which were vnder his obedience, there came great power and reliefe vnto him; and so the world was diuided into two factions; so as there began one of the most cruell warres that euer had been, as well for the valour of the Captaines, as for the power and multitude of souldiers; which warre was continued in many parties, both by sea and land. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS passed out of Europe into Asia the lesse, but with great trouble and difficultie, having many skirmishes, and being often assailed by PESCENIVS his troupes, who sent against him an excellent Roman Captaine called EMILIANVS, who was Generall of all his forces. This EMILIANVS hauing drawne together all the power which PESCENIVS sent him, and all the rest that he was able to leaue out of Cappadocia, Galatia, Bithynia, and other Prouinces of Asia the lesse, took the fildes, in the way where SEVERUS was to passe: where followed many great skirmishes and encounters, and in the end a most cruell and terrible battaile, wherein EMILIANVS was ouerthrowne. After this battaile, the conquered troupes which escaped, went to PESCENIVS NIGRA, who with all his power was in the Citie of Antioch in Syria; from whence he departed to meete with SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS vpon the way as he was coming: and marching towards him

Seuerus goes against Pelenius Niger.

Seuerus against Niger.

Pelenius leaues what force he can.

Emilianus overthrowne by Seuerus.

him (after some masters of lesser importance which passed) the two Armies drew neere the one to the other in a great Plaine by the Sea side in the countrey of Cilicia (as HERODIANVS reporteth, yet SPARCIANVS and EVTHOPIVS differ therein) in the same place where DARIVS was the first time ouerthrowne by ALEXANDER the Great; where (by the consent of both the Generals) they came to a battaile with the greatest numbers and best souldiers that then were in the world; which by reason of the experience, valour, and wisdom of the Captaines, was most cruell. For, fighting the greatest part of the day without any apparant aduantage, the number of the slaine and wounded was so great, that the streames of water which ranne through the fildes, were so full, and died with the blood of men and horses, as there seemed to be no water therein; A great number of disarmed people of the inhabitants thereabouts, standing vpon the tops of the hils to behold the battaile, and to see whether partie should haue the victorie. Which when either partie by all means possible had endeouored to obtaine, in the later end of the day PESCENIVS NIGRA was ouerthrowne, without failing in any point in what he ought, and was most expedient for a good Captaine to haue done: for in truth SEVERUS his souldiers were more expert and better trained in the warres; and seeing there was no other remedie, he fled, but was followed and afterwards found by SEVERUS his souldiers, who smote off his head, and carried it through the Campe vpon the point of a Lance. This PESCENIVS NIGRA was a man of meane parentage; yet some say that he was Noble and ancient: his fathers name was ANIVS FVSCVS, and his mother was called LAMPRIA. He was a man indifferently well learned, and obtained great riches. He was sharpe and quick witted, euer followed the warres, and was an excellent souldier; and afterwards performed the charge committed to him, with great discretion and courage: for, they write of him, that he was a valiant and much commended Tribune; a very singular and excellent Captaine; a most seuer and vpriight Lieutenant General; a most wise and prudent Consul; and in all things happy and fortunate, but only unfortunate in being Emperour, not knowing how to gouern himselfe therein. So as it plainly appeareth, that men doe often times desire and purchase to themselves shame and perdition, by presuming to attaine to honour and greatness.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, hauing obtained so notable a victorie, with all speede aduertised the Roman Senate thereof, and as a conqueror did his will vpon the conquered, cruelly killing many of those which had taken part with NIGRA: and principally he ruined the Citie of Antioch, by reason that it (more then any other) had aided and assisted his aduersarie, whose wife and children he commanded to be banished from Rome. And to the contrary, hee gaue gifts and rewards to those which had done him seruice and assisted him; and repaired the harmes and damages which some Citie, which held with him, had receiued by NIGRA'S souldiers. For in truth this man was very cruell in punishing offences, and in persecuting his enemies; and very liberrall and gratefull to his friends, and most bountifull in rewarding those which had done him any seruice. In all the Prouinces of the East, after this victorie, he found no resistance, sauing among the Parthians, the Persians, and the Adiabians, very mightie Nations: who for the loue they bare vnto NIGRA, and the ancient hatred to the Romane name, presently took Armes against SEVERUS; and hee in person went against them, and had many battailes and encounters, and obtained great victories, which I haue no time to relate: so as hee enlarged the Empire and the Romane name, and pacified the Prouinces.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS hauing brought all his purposes to so good and prosperous estate, being seduced by the diuel, he resolved to persecute the Catholike Christian Church, so as an infinite number of the faithfull were put to death; and this was the first persecution of the Church. For which occasion (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) God would not permit that he should long enjoy the Empire in peace: for he was aduertised from Rome how that AELIVS, who (as we said) was Captaine in great Britannie, and whom he made CÆSAR when he went for the East, was risen in Armes, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour; and that he was of very great power, and much beloued of the Romane Nobilitie: for he was native of Rome, and of a great and Noble Familie. But he being of a hautie minde little regarded those difficulties: and setting all things in order in the East, with his Armie, took his way towards Rome, to the end he might goe against AELIVS, as against a tyrant and a rebell. And passing from Asia into Europe ouer the Ithright at Byzantium, which is now called Constantinople, he wholly ruined that Citie; for that when he went towards Asia, that Citie would not receiue him; and so he left it leuell with the ground (which was one of the most famous Citie in the world) and

A battaile betweene Septimus Seuerus and Pelenius Niger.

Pelenius Niger overthrowne and slaine.

The image of Pelenius Niger.

The wisdom and valour of Pelenius.

The first persecution of the Christian Church.

Albinus in Armes against Seuerus.

it remained so desolate untill the time of CONSTANTINE the Great; as in his time we will declare.

SEVERUS traueiling thus towards Rome, his Adversary ALBINUS being aduertised thereof, came out of *Britanny* into *France*, where he raised a mighty Armie; part whereof hee sent to keepe the passages of the Alpes, thereby to hinder him, who was arrived at Rome, and was now upon his way comming to meete him: before which time he put PASCENIUS NIGER children to death, thereby wholly to extinguishe all remembrance of him. And going to the warres, he appointed his sonne BASSIANVS ANTONINVS for his successor, and intitled him CÆSAR; and changing his name, he commanded him to be called, AURELIUS ANTONINVS. Drawing neere to his enemies, the warres began in a most cruell manner betweene them; where in the beginning in some encounters, SEVERUS his Capitaines were ouerthrowne by those of ALBINUS his partie.

But after that he had passed the Alpes, and was entred into *France*, the warre was kindled in many parts; and in many conflicts and skirmishes fortune shewed her selfe variable, the victorie inclining sometimes to one side, and sometime to the other; untill at last neere vnto the Citie of *Lions*, (wherein ALBINUS was) either partie drawing together his whole power, they fought one of the most bloody batailles that euer was written of: which continued the greatest part of the day without any appearance of aduantage. First, the victorie seemed to bee of ALBINUS his side: for his Battalions were of such force, as they forced SEVERUS Troupes to retire; in such sort, as his Souldiers began to flye: and it so happened that SEVERUS horse fell with him, and euery man held him for dead; and ALBINUS his Souldiers began to crie Victorie, victorie, taking no care but to follow the execution. Then LEON, one of SEVERUS his Capitaines, who untill then had neuer charged, with a very great Troup of armed men which he brought with him, renewed the fight in such sort, as SEVERUS was rescued: and being remounted vpon another horse, charged with such fury, as heooke the victorie out of ALBINUS his Souldiers hands, who accounting themselves Victors, observed no order; and the matter was so handled, that ALBINUS his Troupes were driuen to turne their backs, and SEVERUS followed the execution, killing them even to the gates of the Citie of *Lions*.

The number of those which were slaine and wounded, was infinite: and the citie was presently entred, and ALBINUS taken; and his head being stricken off, was brought to SEVERUS. A man may well beleue that he was not a little ioyfull when he saw it, considering that a little before he was wounded and cast to the ground, and by all men accounted for dead, and his enemies victorious; but escaping all this, he now saw himselfe an absolute Lord, and his enemies confounded. Wherefore let euery Christian reader consider how inconsistent all things are in this life, and that a man neither can, or ought to repose his assured confidence in any thing in this world. Great were the cruelties which SEVERUS committed after that he had obtained this victorie: and truly if this Prince had not been so cruell and greedie of bloudie euent both in warre and gouernment as he was, I am of opinion that no man either before or after him, had excelled him; considering the actions and enterprises which he brought to an end, whereof I write but the summe.

These things being past, SEVERUS presently wrote to the Senate and people of Rome, aduertising them of his victorie, and sending them ALBINUS his head, which he commanded should be set vpon the end of a pole in the publicke place; and all those Senators which of ALBINUS his partie were slaine in this battaille, he commanded to be quartered; and those which were taken alieue, he commanded to be slaine. He was so cruell and vindicative (as some write) that he mounted vpon a verie furious great horse, and rode many times ouer the dead bodie of ALBINUS: which is not much to be marvelled at; considering from how cruell and barbarous a Nation he was defended. Some write, that he first caused his body to be torne in many pieces, and to be throwne into the Riuer *Rhodanus*. And SPARTIANVS sayth, that hee commanded his wife and children to be slaine, and did by them as he had done by ALBINUS: and so he made a number of his kinsmen and friends which were found with him in *Lions* to be slaine, and with them other principall Noble men of *France* and *Spain*. He concluded the victorie which he gat neere *Lions* onely in Rome, thereto make an end of the warre: and after this victorie he presentlie assailed certaine cities and holds which continued friends to ALBINUS; which he subdued, not without great trouble and danger. And as he was busie in these matters, newes was brought him that one of those Legions which he had left in *Arabis*, did

did mutine, and took part with ALBINUS before this battaille: and so he leauing *France* and *Germany* in peace and quiet, and sending into *Britanny* the ordinarie Capitaine, to keepe the inhabitants in subiection and peace, he came triumphing to Rome, bringing his Armie with him, where he was most solemnly receiued, with great shew of ioy and contentment, although that in truth they stood in great feare of him: whither when he came, hee paid his souldiers with larger allowance, then euer had been seene, and the first day that he went to the Senate, in disgrace and despite thereof he renewed the titles and memory of the wicked Emperor COMMODVS, and made him to be canonized, and adored as a God. He also condemned to death, and confiscated the goods of a great number of Noble Personages of Rome which had bene Pretors, Consuls, and Senators, for that he found they had been friends to ALBINUS, and of his faction, shewing letters which he said were written by them, wherein they had offered their persons and goods to ALBINUS seruice; alleaging other reasons and proofes, which peraduenture were forged. Finally, he vsed great crueltie, and put many to death; whereby hee extremely enriched himselfe in treasure, whereof some he distributed and gaue to others: but principally he enriched and aduanced in the highest degree, one whose name was PLACIUS, a great favorite of his, who also was an *Africane*, and his countrie-man, whom he made Prefect of the Pretorian Cohorts: and afterwards he married his son BASSIANVS ANTONINVS, whom he had made CÆSAR, with his daughter, whose name was PLAVTINA; and then he made him his companion and equall, and made the Senate to giue him the ensignes and prerogative of the Empire; by reason whereof PLACIUS grew yet more proude and insolent. Matters standing in this estate, the cruell SEVERUS stayed but a small time in Rome; in which space he executed many cruelties vpon those which had been friends to NIGER and ALBINUS, putting to death a great number of Noble Personages most cruelly, together with many Matrons, and Romane Ladies: and to the contrary, he shewed himselfe very liberall and bountifull, and bestowed many fauours vpon others, and became also very popular, and sought to be pleasing and acceptable to all men, and to that end made the greatest and most costly feasts and games that euer were made in Rome, and diuided money amongst the people. But he stayed but a little while there, as I said: for knowing that matters were in no securitie in *Asia*, principally that the Parthians infested the bounds and frontiers of the Empire, and desirous to be reuenged of certaine Kings, which had assisted his enimie NIGER, as hee was most valiant and desirous of honour, although olde and gottie: yet with his accustomed celeritie hee departed towards the East; and being come into *Asia* sooner then any man expected him, he presently beganne the warre in *Armenia*, marching against BARZABANUS, King of the *Atrenores*, who had been PASCENIUS NIGER'S friend: The King of *Armenia* durst not make any resistance, but sent him presents, suing for peace, and gaue him such hostages as he required. Whereupon finding no resistance, this valiant Emperor returned against *Arabia felix*, wherein there was a mutinie, and there took and sacked some Cities: And from thence returned to the frontiers of the *Atrenores*, and besieged the Citie of *Atrax*, or *Atramus*. But being vnable to take it, for that it was very strong and well furnished, in great fury he went against the Parthians, and the Persians, and besieged the famous Citie of *Tesphonte*, wherein King ARTABANVS lay with all his power and household: and after many assaults, encounters, and slaughter of men of either side, he entred the Citie by force of Armes; and the King escaping by flight, his children and treasure fell into the hands of SEVERUS, which was held for a very great victorie: for the Romans stood in greater feare of the Parthians, then of any other nation of the world.

SEVERUS presently wrote to Rome, aduertising them of his victories and good success, and sent them the description of the countries, cities, riuers, battalies, and assaults which hee past, drawne and painted in tables.

When he had ended all things at his pleasure, he bountifullly paid his souldiers: and coming into *Palestina*, and from thence into *Egypt*, he was desirous to see the Pyramides, and other great and ancient monuments in that countrie: And from thence he returned to Rome in great triumph, loaden with the spoiles and riches gotten by his victories in the East. At this his returne hee married his eldest sonne to PLAVTINA, daughter of his great favorite PLACIUS, which marriage BASSIANVS ANTONINVS solennized much against his will; and so would not conuerse or keep companie with her. Whereupon there began great dislike and dissention betweene PLACIUS and BASSIANVS: PLACIUS knowing himselfe the richest and most mightie man of the Empire; and seeing that SEVERUS was now old,

Seuerus the
triumphing into
Rome.

Placitus a
great favorite
of Seuerus.

Seuerus his
reprent
Tessphonte with
the King of Par-
thians children
taken by Se-
uerus.

Seuerus put to
death Nigers
children.

A great bat-
talle betweene
Seuerus and
Albinus.

The valour of
Leon, one of
Seuerus Cap-
taines.

The crueltie of
Seuerus.

Seuerus
killing his
children.

old (with whom he was in great favor) and fearing that if **BASSIANVS** should succeed him and inherit the Empire, he should be ill intreated at his hands, hee resolved to kill both the father and the son, and to make himself Emperor, making choice (for the effecting this exploit) of a Tribune of the Pretorian Cohorts, whereof hee himself was Commander. But it pleased God that this treason was discovered by the same Tribune. **SEVERVS** held this in a manner incredible, conceiving it to be some practice of his sons, who loved not **PLANCIVS**. But being assured thereof by the Tribune, it was concluded, that hee should go and bring him into the Emperours chamber. The Tribune, coming to **PLANCIVS**, told him that he had slain **SEVERVS** and **BASSIANVS**; and that if he would go with him, hee should see them dead: which having delivered, hee made a renurance as to the Emperour. As **PLANCIVS** desired their deaths, so he easily gave credit to his words, and went with him. The Tribune (it being late in the night) brought him to the Emperours chamber, where he found him and his sonne lying, amongst many of their confident friends, the chamber being full of torches. Which **PLANCIVS** seeing, he was much amazed: and being demanded by the Emperour what hee did there at so unreasonable a time, not knowing what to answer, but confessing his error, and craving pardon, he was slain by **BASSIANVS**.

After that **SEVERVS** had escaped this danger, hee spent his time in visiting some Cities in *Italie*, in hearing complaints and doing justice, and in most sumptuous Works and Buildings in *Rome*, and other Cities; and, seeking to bring vp his sonnes virtuously, and (by abating their pride) to reconcile them, and make unity between them; for, they did ill agree, and were very vnquiet and ill-affected the one to the other. He desired to establish peace and amity between them, having determined that after his death the Empire should be diuided between them, and to that end inuited them both therein. And so this poor old Emperour laboured in vain to reform the bad inclination of his sonnes. And, living in rest from warre, although not without domestical care, he received Letters, importing, that the Inhabitants of great *Britanny* were in Arms and rebelled, in such sort, that his Legions there were in such danger, as they were at the point either to be overcome and lost, or at least to flee and abandon the Countrey; whereunto he was much displeased. And to the end that the Empire in his daies should not be diminished by the losse of that Island (it being of such importance) hee determined to go thither himself: a person to pacifie the same. And, without any delaying of time, he went thitherwards with all his forces. Being arrived in *Britanny*, the Inhabitants conceived such fear, by reason of his sudden coming vpon them, that, as he was a warrior, if he had been inclined to peace, they would haue conuen to any reasonable composition: but he, rather desiring to punish them, made cruell war against them: which was both tedious and dangerous, by reason of the lakes and many ill passages for his men in severall places of that Countrey; so as he was constrained to make many bridges and other deuices, with wood and timber, for his souldiers to passe. And so he obtained many victories, and subdued the Inhabitants. And to the end that his Legions from thenceforth might liue in greater safety, and that the Picts and Scots should not so freely passe their bounds (as **SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR** and **EVTROPIVS** report) hee commanded a strong wall to be made, which did crosse the Ile from sea to sea; which wall was two and thirty miles in length; wherein (as I conceiue) hee did but finish or repair that wall which the Emperour **ADRIAN** had made before: which truly was a work worthy the greatnes of **SEVERVS** his minde, and the mighty wealth of *Rome*. Which when hee at his pleasure had ended in like manner as he had done all his other enterprises, his old grief did so much torment him, that he desired and sought means to end his owne life: and, having reigned 18 years and ten months, he died in the same Ile of *Britanny*.

This Emperour was one of those which fought as many battels, and obtained as many victories, as any other that euer ruled the Roman Empire: for, he ouerthrew and brought to confusion three Roman Emperours, and many other Kings, and subdued an infinite number of Provinces and Cities. He took so good order for the preferuation of his treasure, and was so covetous and greedy in gathering the same together, that, notwithstanding his great expences, and the infinite great gifts and rewards which he bestowed, yet he left more ready money and treasure in his Treasury and Exchequer than any other Emperour of his Predecessors. He paid and maintained so many Legions of souldiers, as there was no cause to fear any King or Nation in the world. Hee left in *Rome* so great abundance of wheat, wine and oile, as was sufficient (as **SPARCIVS** writeth) to maintain and victual the same for five yeeres. He erected wonderful works and Buildings in *Rome* and in other parts, and in many things performed the part of a good

The Britains subdued by Severus.

The death of Severus.

good governour, and of a wise and prudent Prince: So as the Romans vsed to say of him (noting his cruelties and couetousnes; and afterwards his prouisions and victories) That it had been good that this Emperour had neuer been borne, or that he should neuer haue died: and so after his death he was highly extolled and commended. He left for his equal successors in the Empire his two sonnes, the one called **BASSIANVS**, and the other **GETA**: and when he lay a dying, the last words he spake to those which were with him were these: When I took vpon me the gouernement of the Empire, I found it tyrannized and out of order; and now being old, and powtie, leave it in peace and subiection to my sonnes (if they prouee good) a firme and settled Empire: but if they prouee euill feeble, and without force, and ready to fall. This good Prince was so temperate and spare in his diet, that hee did seldom eate any flesh: for his common foode was salades, pulse and fruits of his countrey; but he vsed to drinke somewhat deepe: yet neuer so that he was at any time dis tempered therewith. He was of a very comely personage, representing authoritie and maiestie, and was tall of stature, and vsed to weare a long white beard; his hayre was curled and gray, and he spake with a deepe sounding voice. Finally, his personage and minde were fitting for an Emperour. He liued (as **SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR** and others do testifie) seuentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord, two hundred and three.

The words of Severus as he lay dying.



THE
LIFE OF **BASSIANVS ANTONINVS CARACALLA** (THE FIRST
OF THAT NAME, AND FOURTH OF
those which were called **ANTONINI**) and of his
brother **GETA**, being the two and twentieth
Emperour of *Rome*.

THE ARGUMENT.

After the decease of **Seuerus**, his two sonnes, **Bassianus Antoninus Caracalla**, and **Geta**, took the Empire: which two being borne of several mothers; as brothers oftentimes use to doe, the one, deadly hating the other, sought one anothers death and destruction. But **Caracalla**, who was a warlike man and bloudie, unable to endure the company of his brother, who led the life of a Philosopher rather than that of an Emperour: or that for his good parts he should be so much beloued by the *Romane* people as he was, failing to kill him secretly with poison, in the end slew him openly in the lap of his mother in law, which was **Geta** his mothers remaining sole in the Empire. And knowing himselfe to be generally hated, he disposed of himselfe to visit the Empire: where neerer he came, he sought to imitate the fashions of the countrey wherein he was; sometimes attiring himselfe after the *Germane* fashion; then after the *Greece*: besides that he would be called **Alexander**, and be reputed another **Achilles**, for that he had trauailed the countreies of those Princes. He was very inhumane and cruell, and so dishonest in his life, as he shamed not to marrie his stepmother **Iulia**, who was mother to his brother **Geta**, who also was so shamelesse as to consent to so wicked a marriage. But they both ended accordingly as they deserved: for the Emperour was slaine by the practice of **Macrinus**, at such time as he went to ease his bodie; and she bearing the newes, falling into despair killed her selfe, he having held the Empire six yeeres.

SEVERVS being dead, his two sonnes, which he had by several women, according as he had ordained, remained Emperours. One of them hee had by **MARZIA**, which was his first wife; and the other by **IVLIA**, as is already said. The eldest had to name **BASSIANVS ANTONINVS**; and the other **GETA**; both very young men, and in vertue farre vnlike to their father, chiefly **BASSIANVS CARACALLA** which was the eldest: Although that in his youth being but a child, hee seemed to make better shewe of himselfe, to be of a milde condition, and of a good witte; he profited very much in learning (as **SPARCIVS** writeth) and therefore was much beloued and greatly

Bassianus and the first women and beloued.

ly accounted of; but afterwards, with his yeeres, and the Empire, he altered his condition, and in crueltie not only surpassed his father, but any other cruell Prince of all that euer were; as if he had been borne at one birth with NERO.

As soone as hee was Isworne Emperour in England, where he then was (for his father carried both his Sonnes with him, and his wife IVLIA also; which was mother to the second sonne) ANTONINVS CARACALLA practised with the Armie to chuse him Emperour alone, and to disphier his brother GETA. But the men of warre would not consent thereto, because that GETA was chosen CESAR and successor to his father by them; and BASSIANVS ANTONINVS was nominated by his father SEVERVS. Whereupon being out of hope to bring his purpose to effect, accompanied with his brother and mother in law, they agreed to come to Rome, and brought with them the bodie or ashes of their father SEVERVS. But there presently grew so many ialousies betweene the two brothers, that it was daily feared the one would kill the other; notwithstanding that IVLIA (as though she had been mother to them both) vsed all possible meanes to haue pacified them, and to haue brought them to liue louingly and like brotherstogether: which the could neuer bring to passe, and so vpon the way either of them did lodge and eate apart; and either of them stood vpon his guard, for feare of the other. Being come to Rome, they were receiued with great solemnitie, triumph and ioy; but in their palaces they tooke their lodgings apart, and each of them had his guard and particular officers from the other: and they neuer visited, saw, or spake the one to the other, except when they went to the Senate: so great was the hatred which the one bare to the other.

The first thing they did after their coming to Rome, was to burie their father, whom they canonized for a Saint, placing him among the Gods, as the custome was to doe by those which were good Emperors. And seeing that occasion will often be giuen to reade of some Emperors which haue been deified; in my opinion it shall not be amisse, in this place to recite the ceremonies which were then vsed therein. The order which they held (the Emperour being dead) was to assemble the Senate, to consider whether such an Emperour had deserved or were worthe to be placed among the Gods or no; and finding him to haue been wicked, the Senate would not be present at the ceremonies vsed at his funerals: but if he had bene a good Prince, they all went in mourning attire to doe him honour at his consecration. The manner to consecrate him, was first to burie him without any ceremonies; then they made his image of wood, which resembled a pale sickly weak man, which they placed vpon a high scaffold ouer the entring into the Palace; which image was clothed in rich attire; and on the one side thereof, sate the Senate, and on the other side the Roman Marions, where they continued from the Sunne rising vntill the euening, doing nothing but groane and sigh. This order they obserued the space of seven daies, in which the Physicians came and felt the pulles of this Statue, saying, that the Emperour would surely die: at which words, they lamented and screeched out. The sixth day the Physicians said that he was dead: then the most ancient men carried the image on horseback in a beere to a place which was called the old place; passing through that way which was called *Via Sacra*. In this place was erected an edifice after the fashion of a throne, with staires roundabout it, and vpon this throne they placed the Image: on the one side of the staires were many children, which were gentlemen's sonnes of Rome; and on the other, a number of yong Roman damels which sung some haueie and sorrowfull songs and ditties; and the boyes sung hymns in prayse of the dead Emperour. From thence they carried the Image with the beere to the field of Mars, where was another scaffold made of moist drie wood, vpon which they placed this Image. Vpon that day people came from all parts of Italy to Rome to see the solemnitie: and euery one there present, was bound to cast vpon the staires, certain precious odors of sundrie sorts. After this the Senators made shew of a skirmish on horseback; and after them the two Consuls gave a turne vpon their chariots richly adorned, being followed by the most ancient men in Rome, and those which had been Captains in the wars, on foote: all which after they had gone round about this scaffold, making sundrie shoutes and exclamations, fell to the ground. Then came he which did inherit and succede in the Empire, and with a burning torch gaue fire to this throne or scaffold; which, for that it was made of moist drie wood, in short space was set all on fire.

But before any of these ceremonies were performed, the Senat provided a great Eagle: which being set on that side where the Image of the dead Emperour was, while as this image did burn, the Eagle was very cunningly let loose, which, according to her nature, mounting aloft into the

aire

aire, the people said that it was the Emperors soule which flew to heaven, there to dwell amongst the gods: which HERODIANVS doth write at large in the historie of these two Emperours. GETA the younger brother was of a more gentle nature: for shewing himselfe milde and courteous, he began to be generally well beloued of all men. ANTONINVS CARACALLA was fowre, and would be obied for feare. Enuying the loue which he saw all men beare to his brother GETA, and the reputation wherein he was held, he deuised with himselfe how he might secretly kill him with poison, or otherwise howsoever: he also sought to get the good will of the Pretorian Souldiers, giuing them many gifts, doing them many fauours, and giuing them leaue to do what they listed. So as it was easily perceiued, what manner of government there would be in the Empire, where were two Emperours with equall power and authoritie, and so contrarie in condition each to other, that being brothers they practised and desired each others death; and in matters of iustice and government were euer contrarie in opinion; and for Captaines and gouernours which were to be made, each sought to preferre his friends and favorites, and did the like in chusing of Consuls and other Magistrates: And so all things went by fauour and in contention. There were committed intolerable disorders, and wrongs, either of them persecuting the contrarie faction, without daring to punish those which were of their own partie, for feare to make their enemies: whereof grew an vniuersall prejudice to all the prouinces, and generally to the whole Empire. Wherefore to auoide these troubles and inconueniences, some practised to make a diuision of the Empire; and that ANTONINVS BASSIANVS should remaine in Rome and gouerne the West; and that GETA should gouerne Achaia and all the East. But this took as little effect: for IVLIA, mother to GETA, hindred it, thinking to draw them to some composition and make them friends: and when she thought herselfe to be in the right way to haue brought them to concord and agreement, BASSIANVS CARACALLA (who was more proud and presumptuous, and who in truth did some his brother, as well for that he was his younger, as for that he gaue himselfe more to his book & to ciuill discipline, then to Armes and chiuallrie; hauing alwaies about him honest and learned men) resolved to kill him in what manner soeuer; which he had till then attempted to do by secret and coloured meanes, thinking with himselfe that he was and ought to be sole Emperour, and could not endure any riuall or companion in command. And with this cruell determination, as they were lodged both in one palace, GETA being one day with his mother, nothing suspecting any open violence, although he mistrusted secret practices; BASSIANVS iust at the time when euery bodie was at dinner, suddenly entred his brothers lodging, and with the aide of those which came with him, slew his brother in his mothers Armes, before that he was able to put himselfe in defence, or could be rescued. And hauing committed this detestable murder, with the like furie and haste as he had done this fact, he went forth at his palace gates, compassed about with his friends and seruants, and shewing great amazement, cried out, that his brother would haue slaine him, and he said to those which saw him, that he had escaped an extreme danger of death, but his innocencie had preferred him. And calling to his guard, he commanded them to conuay him to his Pretorian Cohorts, where he might remaine in safeties, for whilest he continued within the citie he stood in feare of his life.

Those which heard him, not knowing what had passed, beleeued what he said: and both those which heard him, and heard him not, followed him; and the people began to be much troubled to see their Emperour, so out of season, and in such haste and manner go to the Camp. When he came to his Camp, where in truth by reason of his former practices, he was better beloued then his brother, the first thing that he did was to go to a place apart, where their ensignes and banners were, which they held for religious and sacred; and then he began with great exclamation to say, That he gaue infinite thanks to the gods for deliuering him from such and so imminent a danger. And the souldiers flocking about him, maruelling at his so vnseasonable coming, he put himselfe in the middelt of them, and with a huge voice began to implore their aid and succour, telling them that his brother would haue slaine him; and being assailed by him, was rescued, and had fought, and God had giuen him the victorie, although vwith great difficulty; and that he now fled vnto them from the furie of those which would haue slaine him. He spake and fained the matter with such efficacie, as the souldiers beleeued him: and notwithstanding that he expressed not so much, yet they plainly perceiued that he had slaine his brother, as he gaue them to vnderstand: and incontinentlie he promised them, seeing he remained sole Emperour, that he would bestow vpon them the accustomed fauours, gifts & rewards; and presently sending for a mass of money which remained of his fathers treasure, he diuided it among them:

O 3

Enmity between
Bassianus and
his brother
Geta.

In what man-
ner the Romans
deified their
Emperors.

The folle of the
ambros.

Bassianus
sought meanes
to put his bro-
ther Geta to
death.

Bassianus slew
his brother Ge-
ta in his mothers
armes.

them: whereby having got their good wils, although som were hard to be perswaded, and did contradict; yet in the end they proclaimed him sole Emperor, and approved the death of his Brother, **GETA**, pronouncing him a rebell, and an enemy to the Roman Common wealth.

Cruelly & folly
Bassianus, in
putting many
great men to
death.

BASSIANVS, remaining all that night in the Camp among the souldiers; the next day compassed with men of warre, returned into *Rome*; and assembling the Senate, he wente thither, and brought in his guard with him, wherein he made a set Oration (which **HERODIANVS** writeth at large) excusing himself, and grievously accusing his Brother; affirming, that he was openly assailed by him, but being refused, in defending himselfe, he had slain his Brother. The Senators, some for that they were his Favourites, and others for fear, approved his death: and he, to justify his wickednes with greater cruelty, began to proceed against men of all estates, as though they all had been guilty, and had practised his death, committing infinite murders and cruelties. First, he commanded all his Brothers servants to be slain, together with many Senators and Roman Knights, which had taken his Brothers part: He also made **PLAUTINA**, the daughter of **PLAUTIUS**, which had been his wife, to be put to death. He slew **POMPEIANVS**, nephew to the Emperor **MARCVS AVRELIVS** the Philosopher, and sonne to **L. CILLA** and **POMPEIANVS**. He caused all the Governours and Captains to slay, which his Brother had placed in the Provinces. To conclude, hee murdered an infinite number of men of quality, so as in all parts of *Rome* most horrible murders and cruelties were committed: for which he is accounted one of the worst and most cruell Emperors that ever governed the Roman Empire; and was generally hated and abhorred of all men, saving of the Pretorian Souldiers onely, whose loue and good will hee bought with his money, and therewith did continue them for his friends, (by suffering and enduring them, and giving them liberty in all things) permitting them to commit whatsoeuer outrage or insolency they would.

Bassianus was
nile & foolishness

Having exercised himself in these abominable cruelties, his owne conscience accusing him, and knowing how much hee was abhorred in *Rome*, hee resolved to depart from thence, and to go and visit all the Provinces of the Empire; which he did, and in his journey played many mad pranks, some of which in truth were very ridiculous. Purposing to go into *Germany*, where-as *Rome* ever maintained great Armies against the northerly nations, who could never be brought to any perfect subjection; hee gaue it out in speeches, that hee went to reform the Legions, and to visit the Provinces; and, taking his way towards the River *Danubius*, where (to winne the hearts of that Countrey people) he followed the fashions vied in that Countrey, hunting and killing wilde beastes, and apprelling himself like a German, praising and esteeming their fashions better than the fashions of the Romans, he chose such of the German Souldiers as seemed to be most strong and active, for his guard. Hee sought also to win the good will of other men of warre, shewing himself very affable and sociable, helping them in person in their bodily exercises; eating and drinking with them such things as they did; and dooing many other things like a souldier and a man of warre: whereby hee made himself beloved both of the one and the other, although hee forbore not to commit sundry cruelties, killing certain eminent men among them.

Having set all matters in such order as hee thought good in *Germany*, taking his way towards *Thracia*, hee passed through *Macedonia*, where a notable folly possessed him: for, heer hee made shew to be much affected to **ALEXANDER** the Great, and to publish his Noble acts; sending commandment to erect his statue in many parts of *Rome*: amongst which hee set vp one with two faces; the one resembling **ALEXANDER**, and the other himself, desiring to make others beleue (himself being so perswaded) that hee did very much resemble him; and, because hee had read that **ALEXANDER**'s neck stood a little awry towards one shoulder, he counterfeited the like: and so within fewe daies, of an Alman, he was become a Macedonian in apparell, behaviour and fashion; and one Squadron of his Army hee commanded to be called *Phalanx* (for so were they called in that Kingdome) and some of his Captains hee caused to bee called by the names of some of **ALEXANDER**'s Captains. Having made this shew in *Gracia*, hee took his way towards *Asia*; where hee desired to see the ruines of *Troy*; and, seeing the Sepulchre of **ACHILLES**, another humour took him, which was, to resemble **ACHILLES**; so as hee seemed to trauell the Countreies like a Player, with Comedies and making shewes: at which his lightnes and inconstancy, the Romans which were with him, laughing to themselves, were much discontented and ashamed.

Traueilling through *Asia* the lesse, and thence into *Soria*, hee went into *Egypt* (as hee said) to see the City of *Alexandria*, because **ALEXANDER** the Great was Founder thereof: where he

was

was most solemnly received, and with great ioy, for which hee ill required them: for although that he shewed them a pleasant countenance, yet secretly he was much displeased with them: for hee vnderstood that they had vied quips and jests of him behinde his back, and gaue him nick-names conformable to his vices, and the cruelties which hee committed: Matres, in truth, not so haious as could deserue for cruell punishment; as that which he inflicted, which was: that the people being vpon a day assembled together to see certain publike pastimes, he made them to bee compassed about by his souldiers, and an infinite number of them of all ages, conditions, and degrees to bee slaine, to the great feare, griefe, and terror of the whole Citie.

Extreme cruelty
executed by
Bassianus vpon
the citizens of
Alexandria.

After this his great inhumanitie done in *Egypt*, he returned by *Palestina*: and travelling towards the East with a very mightie Armie, of his fathers old souldiers, hee invaded the Parthian countrey, which suspected no such matter; and did great spoile there (as **SPARTIANVS** **SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR**, and **HERODIANVS** doe write) for vpon safe conquest and assurance of peace which he made to the Parthians, he obtained some victories, deceiving their King **ARTABANVS**, giving him to vnderstand that hee came of purpose to marrie with his daughter; and the other comming to receive him in peaceable manner, was suddenly seet vpon. But the King (by great hap) escaped by flight. And although that this his victorie wercof small importance, yet he made great boast, writing to *Rome* tedious and proud letters thereof; and in all these actions hee forbore not to be cruell: but to gouerne vprightly, and to do iustice, as hee ought to haue done, hee took no care. Hee was very gluttonous, and vnmeasurably giuen to wine, luxurie and dishonestie of life, so as hee married with his owne mother in law, **IVLIA**; yet **HERODIANVS** maketh no mention thereof, but seemeth to be of a contrary opinion; for hee euer speaketh of **IVLIA**, as though she had been mother both to **BASSIANVS** and **GETA**: But **SEXTVS AVRELIVS** writeth it; and also **EUSEBIVS**, **EVTROPIVS** and **SPARTIANVS** say, that it passed in this manner. **IVLIA** was a verie faire woman; and vpon a day, the mother and the sonne in law standing talking together, the carelessly or dishonestly, as it afterwards appeared, letting fall a vaile which shee ware, discovered part of her brests which when **BASSIANVS** saw, hee said, If it were lawfull, I would haue that which I see: shee, forgetting all honestie, and that shee was mother to **GETA** whom **BASSIANVS** had slaine, answered, To thee any thing that thou desirest is lawfull: dost thou not know, that the Emperor maketh lawes and is subiect to none? When hee heard her say so, setting aside all dutie and loyalty which hee ought to his dead father, and his liuing mother in law, hee resolved to marrie her, and celebrated his nuptials with the mother of his brother, whom hee had bereaued of life.

Gluttony and
incenitury of
Bassianus.

A monstrous
fact.

But to retorne to the Historie of his life, it passed in this manner: That comming from his inuasion against the Parthians, hee stayed some daies in *Mesopotamia*: For, that countrey was very pleasant and commodious for hunting & other sports; where, within fewe daies hauing reigned full sixe yeeres, hee was slaine by treason. The manner whereof **HERODIANVS** writeth, saying that hee was much addicted to Mathematicians and Astrologians, and gaue great credit vnto them; and in all matters vied their opinions and iudgements, and had in *Rome* and with him all the Astrologers that hee could get; wherein he resembled his father **SEVERVS**, who did the like. Being fearefull of conspiracies, knowing what hee had deserved; hee sent to **MATRINVS** who was the greatest and most confident friend hee had, whom hee left gouernor of *Rome*, commanding him secretly to assemble all the best Astrologers hee could get, and demand of them what death he should die; and procure them to giue their opinions, whether any conspired or practized his death or no. **MATRINVS** did what the Emperor commanded in the foote of his letter, and with great haste answered him (either faining it, or being so aduersified by the Astrologers) that **MATRINVS** which was his Prefect, and with him in *Mesopotamia*, went about to kill him, and therefore hee should in any case presently dispatch him; for so did the Astrologers aduise him. Which letter hee sent sealed, and made it vp amongst other letters, to be the more secretly conveyed. The whole packet was delivered to the Emperor as hee was going into his chariot, to runne for a wager with other chariots; which was a kind of sport, wherein hee took much pleasure, and was greatly vied in those daies. And hee, for that hee would not giue ouer that which hee had pretended, gaue his letters to the said **MATRINVS** to read, and afterwards to make relation to him of the contents thereof. **MATRINVS** reading all these letters, met with that wherein **BASSIANVS** was counselled to put him to death: whereat hee was much astonished; and concealing that letter, made relation to the Emperor of all

all the rest. And considering with himself, that hee which wrote that Letter would doubtlesse write another, and that length he should surely dy; he resolved first to murder the Emperour: and, ruminating vpon the matter, he bethought himself of a lustie strong fellow, a Centurion of the Emperours guard, called MARTIALL; who, being discontented, murmured against the Emperour, and secretly hated him, for that he had caused a Brother of his to be slain, and he him self was ill-increated and disgraced. MACRINVS, conceiuing this man to bee fit for his purpose, after some other discourse told him, that seeing he had opportunity to kill the Emperour, being euer neer vnto him hauing charge of his Person, hee ought to reuenge the death of his Brother, and then flee to him; who, with others of his faction, would protect and defend him against all such as might seek to offend him.

Some daies after MACRINVS had laid this plot, it hapned that the Emperour, coming from a Temple wherein he had been, neer to a City called *Carras*, and riding finally accompanied towards the City, withdrew himself out of the way behinde a bush, to doo such things as nature required; with one Page with him to hould his horse, the rest for manners sake being withdrawn. Which when MARTIALL perceiued, being one of them, faining that the Emperour had called him vpon some necessary occasion, he ran hastily vnto him; and, before he was perceiued, stabbed him in the behinde, whereof hee presently fell down dead. SPACIANVS saith, that, coming to help the Emperour to horse, hee stabd him in with his poiniard; and that MARTIALL, returning to take horse from which hee was alighted, by little and little withdrew himself from the company: but the Page bringing newes of the Emperours death, he began to flee so fast as his horse could runne; but could not make such speed, but that hee was overtaken by the Germane horsemen of the Emperours guard; who presently slue him.

The death of BASSIANVS being vnderstood by those which accompanied him, there grew a great tumult among them, not knowing with whom to be angry: for, as then it was knowne by whose order hee was slain. And, they approaching to the dead body of the Emperour, the first that came to haue aided him, was MACRINVS; who, weeping and lamenting, seemed to bee very sorrowfull; no man suspecting him or any other, all men conceiuing that MARTIALL had murdered BASSIANVS vpon passion, and for some priuate reuenge. Taking the Emperours dead body they burnt it, according to the custome then; and, putting his ashes into a pot, they sent them to his wife and mother-in-law IVLIA, who was in *Antioch*; who being in despair poisoned her self: and so they both had such ends as they deserved. BASSIANVS at the time of his death was full three and forty yeeres old, hauing reigned six yeeres Emperour. He left one sonne very yong, whose name was ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, by his wife whose name was SEMIRA, as SPACIANVS writeth. AVRELIVS VICTOR calles her SEMBA, a very dishonest woman, and his cosen German; who liued like a strumpet. ANTONINVS BASSIANVS was by his surname called CARACALLA, for a certain kinde of apparell which he gaue to the people of *Rome*. Hee died in the year of our Lord 219.

The death of
Bassianus Ca-
racalla.

Julia poisoned her
self.



THE



THE
LIFE OF OPILIVS MACRINVS.
ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND
THE THREE AND TWENTITH
ROMANE EMPEROR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

N E Audentius having refused the Empire; for his excuse, alledged his olde age to be vnfit for the troubles of so important a government: but Macrinus without any such consideration accepted thereof, it being offered him by the Souldiers, notwithstanding that hee was the author of the death of Caracalla. He took the Empire, made head against Artabanus King of Persia, who rose in Armes against the Romanes in reuenge of the injuries done by Caracalla; and being come to a battaile, which continued two daies, in the end they came to an agreement. Artabanus understanding of the approbrious death of his enemies. But fortune, which had prepared a trouble some rage for Macrinus, saw him no longer out of one danger, but it cast him into another farre greater, which was this; that Heliogabalus a Youth of fiftie yeeres old, being by the meanes of an old woman made Emperour, it becommed him to fight with him; and being ouerthrowne, fled unknowne through *Affric* helpe, with an intent to come to *Rome*: but being overtaken by the Souldiers which pursued him, in a Cite wherein hee fell sick, he was slaine, together with his sonne Diadumenus; whom he had made his companion in the Empire: Hauing reigned onely fourteen months.



BASSIANVS being dead, a councell was held in the Armie concerning the election of a new Emperour: for there was little account made of his son ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS; as well for that he was but a child, as also for that his mother led such a life, as it was doubted whether he were the sonne of BASSIANVS or no. In the Army, besides MACRINVS which was Pretorian Prefect, was AUDENTIUS, a man of good sort and of yeeres, very expert in the warres, and an excellent Captaine: of these two they were in great doubt whether they should choole, and in this doubt they continued two daies: and in the end they resolved to chuse AVENTIVS, who was a discreet old man, and little regarded the Empire; who considering the perils and disorders, would

Audentius re-
fused the Em-
pire.

not accept thereof, excusing himselfe by reason of his great age, alledgeing, that he was not able to gouerne the Empire as it ought to be, a thing seldome scene that any man would refuse the Empire of the world. The men of warre perceiuing that AVENTIVS would not accept of the Empire, presently made choise of MACRINVS, who was the author of the murder and death of BASSIANVS; and so was chosen, and he gladly accepted of their election. This MACRINVS was of a very base stock and parentage, who with small deferred, and by way of fauour attained to the office of Pretorian Prefect. As soone as he was chosen Emperour, he made

Opilius Ma-
crinus chosen
Emperour.

made a notable flattering Oration to the Army, and payed the Souldiers, and distributed much money among them, thereby to purchase their loue and good will, and addrest himselfe with all haite against **ARTABANVS**, King of *Parthia*, who came with great power against the Romans, to be reuenged of the iniurie which **BASSIANVS** had done them, knowing nothing of his death. He also presentlie nominated and chose a sonne of his for his companion in the Empire, whose name was **DIADUMENVS**, whom he made to be called **ANTONINVS**, as well to take away the suspicion of the death of **ANTONINVS BASSIANVS**, as for that the name of **ANTONINVS** was very acceptable to the Romans, in remembrance of the good Emperours **ANTONINVS PIVS**; and **MARCVS AVRELIVS ANTONINVS**: for all these Emperours did leaue their owne names, or together with them did take the name of **ANTONINVS**, vntill that for the abominable and execrable life of **ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS**, they left it, as we will presentlie declare. He also wrote long letters to the Senate and people of *Rome*, setting the manner of his election, and desiring them to approue the same, with many flatterie duties that he was not guiltie of the death of **BASSIANVS**. The Senate being certified of the death of **BASSIANVS**, approued the election of **MACRINVS**, and the election and companie of his sonne in the Empire.

A cruell battell
betweene Ma-
crinus and Ar-
tabanus.

Peace betweene
Macrinus and
Artabanus,
upon condition.

The cause of
the death of
Macrinus.

This new Emperour **MACRINVS**, and his sonne **DIADUMENVS**, going against **ARTABANVS** and the Parthians, who came very strong both in foote and horsemen, and also brought many camels with them, the two Armies came to a most cruell battaile which continued two daies, wherein both the Romans and the Parthians fought so valiantlie, as in both daies the darke night parted the fray, and either partie cried Victorie, victorie, although that in truth there was none: for the slaughter and number of the dead and wounded was equall.

MACRINVS, knowing that **ARTABANVS** came greatly enraged by reason of the iniurie done him by **BASSIANVS**, sent him Heraulds and Ambassadors, certifying him of the death of **BASSIANVS**: and moreover, that if he desired the friendship of the Romans, he would grant it. **ARTABANVS**, being aduersified of the death of his enimie **BASSIANVS**, was very joyfully of the newes: for vntill then he had no intelligence thereof, and was also glad of the peace offered him, which he accepted, vpon condition that all such prisoners as were taken by **BASSIANVS** through treacherie in time of truce, should be restored, which was accordingly performed; and they concluded a peace; and the King of *Parthia* returned home to his countrey; and **MACRINVS**, to *Antioch in Syria*: Where he gaue himselfe ouer to lust & sensuality, forgetting the government of the Empire, delaying his going to *Rome*, whither by letters from thence he was dayly sollicitated to come; wherein he committed a very great error: for if he had left his Army, and had gon to *Rome*, and there settled himselfe in the government of the Empire, without all doubt both his raigne and life had lasted longer; but he taking no care of that which he ought to haue done, and which most concerned him, gaue himselfe in *Antioch* to riot, pleasures, and banketting: whereat the Romane souldiers began much to murmur, and to make little account of him; moved thereto through their desire to returne into their countrey. They also much abhorred him for that he did most cruellie punish them: for in thosetimes loyaltie was so out of vse, and men of war had such libertie, were so audacious, and had taken such a custome to make Emperours, as they presentlie began to repine and murmur, yea and boldlie to speake ill of **MACRINVS**, and to wish his death, within little more then one yere after he had giuen him the Empire, and within few daies after plotted the same in this manner. In a citie of *Phoenicia* called *Emesa*, was young **ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS**, who had there a Grandmother, sister to *IVLIA* wife to **SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS**, which afterwards married with her sonne in law **BASSIANVS**, sonne of the same **SEVERVS**. This his Grandmother, whose name was **MESA**, had there another nephew called **ALEXIANVS**, of whom more shall be said hereafter, and she also had in her companie **SIMIANTRA**, mother of the said **ANTONINVS**, and another which was sister to **ALEXIANVS**.

This **MESA** was a very rich woman both in iewels and money: for she had been mother in lawe to two Emperours, the father and the sonne: and it is to be beleued that in their life time there were infinite bribes & gifts bestowed vpon her, and so she remained there after the death of **BASSIANVS** with her daughters and nephewes. These two colins, her nephewes, **MESA** made Priests in a most sumptuous Temple which she builded and consecrated to the Sunne, from whence it grew that this **ANTONINVS** was called **HELIOGABALVS**, which is as much to say, as a Priest of the Sunne: for the Phoenicians did call the Sun **HELIOGABALVS**, to which Temple for their vaine deuotions sake came many Romane souldiers of the Legions which

which lay there in garison; and many from **MACRINVS** his camp also, whom this **MESA**, Grandmother to these youths, entertained very courteously, bestowing many gifts vpon them; and shewing them her nephew **HELIOGABALVS**, she vsed to tell them that this her nephew was sonne to their Emperour **BASSIANVS**, whom **MACRINVS** had slaine by treason. With these and such like effectuall speeches, she brought the matter to such passe, that what with the courttesie which she vsed towards them, and also for that the boy was a most fine child, they generally began to affect him, some by seeing him, and others by report of him; so as the whole Armie loued him, and desired that he might be their Lord and Emperour. And to the contrarie, **MACRINVS** being generally hated of all men, some Coronels and Captaines moved by the gifts and large promises made by this **MESA** vnto them, the greatest part agreed that they should send **ANTONINVS** to their Camp, and then they would proclaime him Emperour. The good old woman, who had bin accustomed to Emperours Courts, setting all other matters apart, tooke her nephew by the hand & went with him to the Camp, and he presentlie was received for Emperour, and they swore obedience vnto him (as writeth **HERODIANVS**). But **IVLIUS CAPITOLINVS** saith, that certaine of **MACRINVS** Legions being in a mutinie came to seeke **HELIOGABALVS**. But howsoeuer, as both the one and the other might be, **HELIOGABALVS** accepted of the Empire, being but fiftene yecers old: and the matter being published abroad, the newes thereof caused great alteration in mens minds; and all men began to affect him, for that he was both sonne & nephew to Emperours, and for the names sake of **ANTONINVS**, which they held for sacred and happie. **MACRINVS** presentlie vnderstood these newes in *Antioch*, where hee then was, and made lesse account thereof then he ought to haue done, iesting at **HELIOGABALVS**, for that he was but a childe, and at his mother and grandmother, deeming it sufficient to send a Captaine of his whole name was **IVLIANVS**, with certaine Legions to besiege, and so to ruine him: which (as it was thought) hee might easily haue effected, if he had himselfe gone presentlie in person. When **IVLIANVS** with his troups came, **HELIOGABALVS** forces were not of sufficient power to giue him battaile, but being in their Camp, which was well fortified and victualled, they suffered themselves to be besieged: but the souldiers of the one side conferring with those of the other; and those of the Campe shewing young **HELIOGABALVS** to **IVLIANVS** his souldiers, putting them in minde of his father, perswaded them to follow him. Whereof it insued, that they not onely did so, but apprehending their Captaine **IVLIANVS**, smote off his head, and went ouer to **HELIOGABALVS**; and the one and the other made such such an Armie, as **MACRINVS** resolved with his whole power to make head against **HELIOGABALVS**. Doing so, they ioyned battell in the confines of *Syria* and *Phoenicia*; in which, conscience and feare made **HELIOGABALVS** souldiers to fight valiantly; and of **MACRINVS** side only the Pretorian souldiers fought well, but all the rest of his Armie fought faintly, and a great part thereof abandoning him went ouer to **HELIOGABALVS**: wherefore he accounting himselfe lost and foreloren, fled from the battaile, and so **HELIOGABALVS** had the victorie. **MACRINVS** and his sonne, with certaine of their friends which would not forsake him, traualled with the greatest speed they could make, secretly, through the citie of *Asiath* to *Elle*, and came into *Bithynia*, with a determination to get to *Rome*; where **MACRINVS** knew that his coming was much desired. But falling grieuouly sick in the city of *Chalcedonia*, those which **HELIOGABALVS** sent to pursue him, found him there, and bringing letters and commandement to the citie, through the same of **HELIOGABALVS** his victorie they were obeyed; and **MACRINVS** lying sicke, void of all fauour and friendship, together with his sonne, was there put to death, within one yere and two moneths after that he had been chosen Emperour. And being dead, all men fixed their eyes and thoughts vpon **HELIOGABALVS**.

Surly, it is a pitifull thing to consider of the infelicicie and miserie of those times, to see how many Emperours were murdered, and how wicked and vicious the most part of them were; and how little time they reigned; and that which maketh me most to admire, is, to think how lightly they were slaine, notwithstanding that they were Lords of the whole world. And how easie a matter it was for a Captaine, hauing the fauour and friendship of five or sixe Legions, to make himselfe to be obeyed. So as it seemeth that he which first had intelligence of the Emperours death, and was any thing friended, and therewith doubtful adventure, was commonly chosen for his succesor, as we said of **IVLIANVS**: And that which is worse, that he which murdered the last Emperour commonly became his heire, as we see in **MACRINVS** and others. And touching him of whom we now discourse, one feeble old woman, and childe of foureteen or fiftene

The policy of
Mesa to make
Helioabalus
Emperour.

Helioabalus
made Empe-
rour.

Tulianus, a cap-
taine sent by
Macrinus,
slaine by his
owne souldiers.

A battaile
where Helio-
abalus had
the victorie,
and Macrinus
fled.

Macrinus fall-
ing sicke in
Chalcedonia, be-
ing oueraken
by such as Helio-
abalus sent
after him, was
after him slaine.

fifteene yeeres old were sufficient to ouerthrow and ruine him, being an ancient, wife and mighty Emperor, and to bereaue him both of his life and Empire, and quietly and in peace to enjoy the same, if the contentment and rule of the wicked may be called peace and quietnes.

By this afore said it appears more cleer than the light, how variable and inconstant all things are in this world: and that there is no other firm and stable dominion or kingdom, but the seruice of God: whereof the faithfull Christians in those daies had especial care, and fought no worldly dominion, Magistracies nor Empire, but to liue holly and vprightly; and so, contemning the world, attained the euertlasting Kingdome of heauen. But these vnhappy Infidels forbore not to commit any cruelty or treason whatsoever, so as thereby they might gette the supreme gouernment and command, although it were but for three daies. God for their finnes permitted (for the example of others) that by the same means whereby they obtained it, by the self same they commonly lost it; being either put to death by the sword, or else by treason, as they had done by others. And, that which is worst of all, together with their bodies they lost their miserable soules: in such fort, as is said, it hapned to the Emperor MACRINVS, who died in the yeer of year of our Lord 220.

The seruice of
God the fairly
commended.

THE LIFE OF HELIOGABALVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, FIFT OF THOSE WHICH WERE CALLED ANTONIN, AND FOURE AND TWEN- TITH EMPEROVS OF ROME.

(**)
THE ARGUMENT.



Hellogabalus, being a Priest of the Sunne, attaining to the Empire, as soon as hee had taken the Imperiall dignity became so wicked, that in filthinesse he far surpassed all his Predecessors. He was most dishonest in his life, more than bestiall a lasciuious and intemperate man; and was so addicted to women, that he granted them to build a Senate by themselves. When he was near to the sea, he would eat no meat but such as were bred far within the land: and when he was far from it, he would eat nothing but sea-fish; neither would hee eat of any thing that was not of an excessive price. He was inclined to no kinde of vertue, neither regarded any but parasites, vssians, bawds, and such like persons: and all his actions were so abominable, and his riotousnes so great, that to write the same, were to amasse a heap of villany. He made one which was his cosen german, Cælar, a very honest and virtuous young man, whose name was Alexianus. He was slain by his souldiers; who, because they could not cast him into a most filthy ditch, traile him through the City, and throw him into the river Tiber, he having held the Empire for a certain time: the truth whereof is uncertain, Writers do so much differ; and had such a death as his filthy life had deserved.



MACRINVS dying as he deferred, ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS, without any contradiction, was made Emperor: who in truth proued to be such, that in Histories there ought no memoriall to bee held of him, nor mention to be made of his life; to the end, that if it were possible, none should knowe that such a monster had euer attained to the Majesty of the Romane Empire, if we had not already written the liues of CALVOYA, NERIO, VITELLIVS, COMMODVS, and such others. But as one and the same ground commonly produceth vnholysome hearbs full of payson, and which kill; and likewise good and holysome, which heale, and feedeth both sheepe and serpents: So in our Historie, in recompence of these wicked Princes, we will oppose

OCTAVIAN, VESPASIAN, TITVS, TRAIAN, ADRIAN, ANTONINVS PI-

VS,

VS, M. AVRELIVS, and (in part) SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS; who were singular Emperors, and gouerned the Empire with great wildome and equity. And so the vices of the one are to be laied open, as well as the vertues of the other; to the end, that if any Prince of our time shall read their liues, he may see how abominable and detestable their actions were; and so, eschewing the euil, and making choice of the good, may follow the same; and may consider how short a time those cruell and vitious Emperors reigned, and what shamefull and fatal ends they had; and how that the good liued and gouerned longer time, and ended their daies in peace and quiet, dying their naturall death: except some which were murdered by traitors, to vsurp the Empire.

But, coming to HELIOGABALVS: when he had obtained the victory, and that MACRINVS was slain, and he chosen Emperor, hee wrote the most louing and kinde Letters to Rome that could be deuised. But the Senate and people of Rome did hardly digest the newes; for, they would rather haue had MACRINVS: but, daring to do nothing to the contrary, they yeilded obedience to HELIOGABALVS; of whom they presently conceiued a good hope, for that which they heard of his gallant feature, and of the good constitution of his body, and for the names sake of ANTONINVS, which in Rome was exceedingly much beloued and respected. In the beginning of his Raig (by reason of his yong age) all things were ordered by the counsell and direction of his grandmother MESA, and her fauourites: who, taking order for all matters in the East, determined to come speedily to Rome with the yong Emperor, which shee put in execution; but was driuen to stay longer than shee purposed, by reason of the winter which was very tempestuous. Wherefore she wintred in Bithynia, where he began to discouer his wicked inclination, giuing himself to most odious luxurie; and apprelling himself in such attire as was fit vnto an Emperor, and feeding on most delicious fare, he gaue himself ouer to all sensuality: which faults his prudent old grandmother endeouored by speech and good admonition to reform and amend; but she prevailed nothing. Being come to Rome, hee was most solemnly receiued; where he spent the whole time of his Raig in such manner, as wee haue nothing else to write of this Emperor, but of his abominable vices: which were such, that I neither can nor will describe them for the filthinesse thereof. The first thing he took in hand after his coming to Rome, was, To build a Temple to his god the Sun, or HELIOGABALVS, whose Priest hee had been in Phœnicia. Hee procured that the Christians (whose number at that time was infinite) should also build that for a Temple, and therein should vse their ceremonies, make their prayers, and doo their deuotion to CHRIST. But it pleased not God to permit, that the Sun, being a creature, should in worship be made equal to the Creator. He shewed himself so effeminate, and so addicted to women, that the first time he went to the Senate, he carried his mother SYMMIATRA with him, and took order that her opinion should be demanded in all causes; and that from thenceforth shee should bee present when any matters of importance were determined: a thing neuer seen, that any woman vntill then had any voice in the Senate of Rome. After this, hee made a Chapter-house or Senate apart; where women should meet and confult, what apparell and attire the Roman Matrones should wear. And, proceeding to a far more shamefull practice, he commanded certain Stews to be made in his Palaces, of common women, for his friends and fauourites. And, delighting himself so much in the company of such, he commanded vpon a day all the women that could be found of that name and life, to be assembled together; and hee, clad in womens attire, came into the place where they were, and made a very set and studied Oration vnto them, calling them *Commilitones*; a word vsed by Captains to their souldiers when they would doo them honour, by calling them their fellows and companions in Arms. The matters which there were treated of, were inuentions & means how to practise their filthinesse and abomination: and thither he brought with him ruffians and bawds, which were his Brokers in those detestable actions and assemblies. In truth, this HELIOGABALVS was so detestable in all manner of vices, that it cannot be sufficiently expressed. He was so great a spender, and so prodigall in his attire, and in the furniture of his house, in his fare and diet, and his other follies, as that which is written of him seems incredible. HERODIANVS and AELIVS LAMPRIIDIUS write his life; wherein they recount most strange matters, besides what other Authors report of him. All his study and care was, To deuise how he might spend excessively, and to finde out such dainties and delicacies as neuer had bin thought of. He neuer fare but among sweet-smelling flowers, mixed with Amber, Musk, and other most exquisite sweet odors; neither would hee eat any thing but should be of an excessive price, and sought means to make all those things which he did eat to be most costly; and vsed to

Mesa, grand-
mother and go-
uerness, as the
Heliogabalus.

Heliogabalus
built a temple
in Rome, and
dedicated the
same to the
Sunne.

A Senate of
women made
in Rome by
Heliogabalus.

The prodigallitie
of Heliogabalus.

P

lay,

say, that that meate had no taste, which was not deare bought. He attired himselfe in cloath of gold and purple, set with pearles and most precious stones: and euen on his shooes he wore stones of incalimable value. The chamber wherein he lay and all his palace, was furnished with cloath of gold, silver, and of silke, and his beds were of cloath of gold, of siluer, and of silke, couered with Roses and sweete flowers; among which were strowed many iewels and pearles: And all the way wherupon hee should set his feet, betwene his chamber and the place where he took horse or coach, when he would ride abroad, he made to be couered with the powder of gold & siluer: for he disdained to tread vpon the earth, as other men did. All his tables, chests, chaires, and vessels of seruice for his chamber, euen to the basest offices, as close stooles, chamber-pots, and such like, were all of fine gold. He made no account of wax light, but had in his hall and chambers great lamps, which in stead of oile burned most excellent Balsame, brought from *Indea* and *Arabia*: and euen his very vrinals were made of Onyx and other most precious stones. His expences were so infinite and so excessive, as no Kings reuenues in the world were sufficient to defray the charge thereof, but his onely: for he deuoured all the reuenues of *Spaine, France, Africa, part of Germanie, Italie, England, Sicilia, Grecia, Asia, Syria, Egypt, Arabia*, and of all the Ilands and prouinces of the world; and yet all this was not sufficient but that he endured want, by reason of his prodigious expences: for he neuer wore any one fute of apparell twice, being such as wee haue said. His fingers were euer full of rings, and those which he had had once put off, he neuer wore any more: and so in plate of gold or siluer, he would neuer drinke twice of one cup: which hee gaue to him that serued and attended on him that day. And the very Bathes wherein hee did vie to bathe himselfe, must be new built, and furnished with perfumes, and most precious odours; and after once bathing they were to be throwne downe: so as they built new Bathes continually. His matteresses and beds were neither of wooll, flocks, nor feathers; but of the downe growing vnder the wings of Partridges. He made certaine feasts in *Rome*, which were the greatest and most sumptuous that euer were: and hee gaue to the citizens and souldiers a donatiue and distribution of money and corne, to an infinit value. After the feasts and sacrifices were ended, he gaue to the people (as *HERODIANVS* reporteth) great store of plate, gold, siluer, and other iewels, which truly was the cause why they endured this detestable man the little time he liued in the Empire, for the desire of those gifts and benefits which they enjoyed by him, as also for that his grandmother, being a most wise and discrete woman, fought by all means to reforme his voluptuous sensuality and rioting, and to procure a good order in the gouernment. But there were great oppressions in the prouinces, and the barbarous nations inuaded the frontiers of the Empire. For he gaue all offices and places of charge vnto wicked men, which did accompanie him in his abominations, and by their counsell he was gouerned: for, depriving all offices and Magistracies from all charge, he sent them into exile. Among which his favorites, one whose name was *ZOTICVS* was so priuate, and in such fauour with him, that he was held as a Lord ouer all the rest. This mans counsell was as a law vnto him, and by his direction all offices and Magistracies were sold; and he made Consuls such as were the sonnes of slaues, and men of most base condition.

*Zoticus a favorite of Helio-
gabalus.*

*Alexander Se-
uerus chosen by
Helio-
gabalus
for his compani-
on in the Em-
pire.*

*The credit of
Alexander Se-
uerus.*

The like order he obserued in the chusing of Generals and Lieutenants, giuing those charges vnto base and simple men: for which and his other vices, notwithstanding that they made benefit of his prodigality, yet both the people & souldiers began to wish his death, so as he was oftentimes in great danger. Which when his mother & grandmother perceiued, they perswaded him to adopt his cousin germane *ALEXANDER*, and to make him his companion in the Empire, who was the son of *MAMA* his mothers sister, which he performed accordingly, and *ALEXANDER* was called *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*; *ALEXANDER* after the name of the great *ALEXANDER K. of Macedonia*; and *SEVERVS* after *SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS*, grandfather to *HELIOGABALVS*.

This young man was so well inclined, and so well bred, that during the time his Cousen led a wicked and infamous life, hee spent his time in learning, conuersing with learned men, and such as were good and honest, and exercising himselfe in Armes and in such other practices, as were fit for a Knight and a vertuous Gentleman, and fought excellent matters to instruct him in all those faculties. Wherefore, all men, conceiuing good hope of him, began to loue and affect him; and the hatred which they bare against *HELIOGABALVS* daily encreased. Which hee perceiuing, fought means to kill *ALEXANDER*, or at the least to deprive him of the name of *CÆSAR*, and his successor: But he could not effect it, by reason of the diligence vsed by his Grandmother in protecting him: and also for that

that the men of warre deereley loued him; but vpon a time they would haue slaine *HELIOGABALVS* for that cause, as he was walking in a garden: where he escaped by hiding himselfe in a corner, so as he was not seene; and through the entreatie of *ANTIOCHIANVS*, who was his Pretorian Prefect, the souldiers returned to their Campe, where remaining in a tumult and mutiny, they threatened him; and vpon composition, they required that *HELIOGABALVS* should put from him, certaine vicious and wicked persons which were very priuate with him, and which fold and gaue offices for bribes; and after this manner dispatched the business which men had with the Emperour. They also required that certaine of their companies might haue the particular guard of *ALEXANDER SEVERVS*, to the end that *HELIOGABALVS* should not kill him; and that his favorites and familiars should not conuerse with him, for corrupting him with their euill conditions: all which demands were presently put in execution.

But after that the furie of the Cohorts was pacified, *HELIOGABALVS* returned to his former abominable vices, gluttonies, and incredible expences. First when he went forth of *Rome* (as sometimes he did) he had with him six hundred chariots and horsefellers: the principal carriage was most dishonest young boies and wenches, with bowdes and their interpreters; and all was little enough, considering his insatiable beastliness: for as he was most luxurious, so did he account it for a greatness, to haue the companie of one woman but once; except her two whom he was married, and that one he neither loued nor regarded. For as *HERODIANVS* reporteth, he first married a Romane Ladie, of a Noble house, to whom he gaue the name of *AVGVSTA*, and other titles; and within a while after he forsook her and deprived her both of her name & honour; and married himselfe to a Vestall virgin: which in the vanitie of the Gentiles was held for a matter so religious, that she which had carnall knowledge of a man, was buried aliue. And so he left her and took another, behauing himselfe as a most beastly barbarous man.

*Helio-
gabalus
his progress.*

*Helio-
gabalus
his wife.*

And amongst other matters, he did one thing which the diuell himselfe would neuer haue imagined, which was, he commanded that all businesses to be done by day, should be dispatched by night; and those that were to be done by night, should be done by day; and so he arose from his bed at the sun setting, and was then saluted as other Emperours were in the morning; and he said him to sleepe about day breaking, so as it seemed that the world went backwards. All his studie was to finde means to spend excessively in his diet, and in all other things. That supper which was of least price did commonly cost thirte pound waight of gold, which after out computation, might amount to the value of about a thousand pounds sterling; and there were some which did cost threescore thousand crownes. Sometimes he promised to giue his guests a Phenix to eat, whereof (they say) there is but one in the world, or else he would giue them a great quantitie of gold for it: which he afterwards performed. When he was neere to the sea, he would neuer eate any fish, but land fowle, and other flesh which should be brought from farre. And when he was farre from the sea, he would eate nothing but fish, which by Posts was brought fresh and aliue, to the end that it should be deere and costly. And for the same reason he would eate such things as were neuer thought of, and had a great quantitie of eury thing: as, of the combs of Cockes, the tongues of Peacocks and of Nightingales. To all his whole Court (which was without number) he made ordinarily to be giuen to eat, certaine great beasts, stuffed or sauced with puddings, made of the liues and lights of Peacocks, of small birds braies, Partridges, Gees, Parrots, and Pheasants heads. He also kept certaine dogs and hounds, which did eate nothing but the soules of Geese: and his Lions (which were many) were fed with Pheasants and other costly birds, for this was all his studie. Truly, who shall well consider of this mans expences, may coniecture what the chargemight be, and how hard they were to be gotten. He also spent infinite summes of money in keeping of all kinds of the most fierce wild beasts in the world, which were brought from farre countries, as Lions, Panthers, Onices, Tigres, Hippotames, Crocodiles and many other suchlike. And if he were by the sea side, hee accounted it a speciall greatness of minde, to sinke such shipping as he should finde there laden with merchandise, paying afterwards the worth both of shippes and goods. And being vpon a time reprooued thereof by a friend, who asked him what he ment to waste and consume so much, warning him to take heed that he stood not in need hereafter, he answered what better thing can there be, then for a man to be hie to himselfe liuing? And said moreover, that he desired not to haue any children, for that they peraduenture through desire to rule would conspire against him.

*Helio-
gabalus
turned the day
into night, and
the night into
day.*

*Helio-
gabalus
his diet.*

The vituperable death of HelioGabalus.

Finally, the vices and leud conditions of this wicked Emperour were such; as in that kinde, none either before or after him was to be compared with him: wherefore I will not spend any longer time in so bad a subiect; for the rest of his doings were so filthy and abominable, as they neither may well be written, neither ought to be published; and so could not long be endured: neither were the means used by his grandmother M. A. S. A. sufficient to protect him, nor to pacifie the wrath & rage the people had conceiued against him. Having (according to HERODIANVS) reigned six yeeres (yet AURELIUS VICTOR, and EVROPIVS say, that he reigned but two yeeres and eight monthes) the Pretorian Souldiers conspired against him. And as AURELIUS LAMPRIIVS reporteth, they came one day armed from their Camp; and hauing slaine most of his seruants, and such as were his companions in his beastly actions, they killed him in this manner. First they hated him out of a Priuie, wherein he (flying from them) had hidden himselfe; and then drawing him from thence, they threw him into a most filthy sink: from whence (for that therein was not roome enough for him) they traile him like a dogge through the principall places of Rome, and threw him into the riuer Tiber, and tied grece stones and waights about him, to the end that his body should neuer be found againe, and so want buriall. All this was done to the good liking and contentment of the people; and the Senate also approoued the same, and commanded that he should no more be called ANTONINVS; and that in detestation of him, no other Emperour should euer afterwards be called by that name; and that he should be called TRAIANVS, according to the manner of his death. HERODIANVS writeth, that he was slaine in the Campe out of Rome, whither he went with his cosen ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and that they killed his mother also, who went with them. Wherefoeuer it was, it was in this manner, and he died according to his deserts, and conformable to the life which he had led: for it is the will of God, that wicked princes make euill ends. For being by his diuine providence made lords to gouerne and giue good example to their people, to minister iustice and equitie, and to correct and punish the wicked and malefactors; these by their owne euill example hurt and corrupt others; and protect and support the wicked. Let Kings and great Lords and Princes know, that as they haue grece power then others, so haue they lesse libertie to sinne and to commit wickednes, and so God inflicteth greater shame and punishment vpon them, then vpon other men. HELIOGABALVS, after the opinion of HERODIANVS, died at the age of twentie yeeres: for he saith that he reigned six yeeres; and all agree that at the age of foureteene yeeres, he came to the Empire. AURELIUS VICTOR saith, that he died in the seuenteenth yeere of his age, and is of opinion that he reigned not fully three yeeres; which (according to EVSEBIUS) was in the yeere of our Lord 224. whereby it appeareth that this Emperour reigned not about foure yeeres, and so the same B. E. S. A. affirmeth in his ecclesiasticall Historie.

Ann. dom. 225.



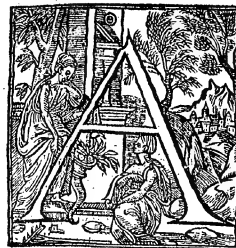
THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER SEVERVS, ONE OF THIS NAME SECOND OF THE SEVERI, AND FIVE AND TWENTIETH EMPEROVR.

THE ARGUMENT.

After the death of HelioGabalus, his cosen Alexander Seuerus took the Empire, under whom it seemed that the Romanes commonwealth had a flourishing for he retained in the imperiall dignitie, the good parts which his cosen had learnedly desired, that all things should be ordered and gouerned by wise and learned men. He was very seuer to Iudges, sharply punishing those which for their meanes had swayed from the right line of reason and equitie. In warres he was most fortunate, as a man which gouerned with wisdom, and he returned to Rome triumphing from the East, to the great contentment of the Romanes people. He was no enemy to the Christians, but gave libertie to such as would become Christian.



Christian, setting up the image of Christ in his Temples; and he had an intent to haue erected a particular Temple to his name, but was thwarted by his Priests. Finally, the German soldiers, unable to endure the ferocity of his military discipline, slew him, together with his mother Mammea instigated thereto by one Maximianus. His death was much deplored in Rome; for it was hoped, that seeing in his youth he gouerned so well, he would do much better when he should come to ripen yeeres.



After the darke cloudes of the forpast miseries and sorowes which miserable Rome had endured, it pleased God to send them ioy, and contentment: for when this accursed HELIOGABALVS was dead, by the common consent of the Senate, and of the Romane people, and of all the men of warre, his cosin german ALEXANDER SEVERVS, was sworne and obeyed for Emperour; who was the sonne of HELIOGABALVS mothers sister called MAMMEA; and his fathers name was VARIVS, borne in Syria, in a citie called Emesa. He came to the Empire being of the age of 16. yeeres, and gouerned the same little more then 13. yeeres, with such wisdom and integritie, that he is accounted one of the best Emperours that euer hath bin in the world: whereto was a great help the discretion and good aduice of his mother, who was a good and discreet woman, vnto whom her sonne was most obedient. AURELIUS LAMPRIIVS, and HERODIANVS report so many excellencies of this Emperour, that of necessitie I must needs make some little stay, as on a pleasing subiect. First, he was much affected to learning, and hauing excellent men for his maisters and tutors, he was very skillfull in all the liberall sciences: for he was a good Mathematician, and did perfectly vnderstand the rules of Geometrie. He was much delighted with Musick, and could paint and carue very well, and had good skill in Song: but he neuer sung but in secret, in the hearing of some of his chamber. He was a very good Poet, and wrote some workes in verse, and could play on the viol, the organs & the lute, more then indifferently well; but after he was Emperour, no man euer saw him do it. Vnspeakable was the ioy which was in Rome vpon the day of his election, and coming to the Empire; and infinite were the blessings which by the Senate & people of Rome were poured vpon him that day. Beginning his reigne with the loue and good will of all men, he gouerned the same with such discretion, as he rather seemed a wise old man then a youth: and by the aduice & counsel of his wife mother, he chose the wisest, best, and most experienced men that could be found for his counsellors: and he neither did, nor decreed any thing without their opinion and aduice: notwithstanding that of himselfe he was of singular iudgement, and so wise, as no man could deceiue him. He had euer neere vnto him DOMITIUS VIPIANVS, a wise man and excellent Lawyer, and of a good & holie life, by whose counsel he did chiefly dispose of all matters in his gouernment: although that at that time there were of his counsell FABIVS SABINVS, a iust and vpriight man, who was called the CATO of his time; and with these, POMPONIVS and AELPHENVS, AFRICANVS, VERULEIVS, MODESTINVS, IULIVS PAVLVS, MEGIANVS, CELSVS, PROCVLVS, MARTIANVS, CALISTRATVS, FLORANTINVS; all noble, vertuous and learned men in the lawes, and which had bin shollers to the great PAPIANVS: vnto which he ioined other most noble men, as his kinsman CATILIVS SEVERVS, CALVS MARCELLVS, AURELIUS SERENIANVS, which were good and vpriight men, and others whom he found out, to the end he might in all things follow their directions & aduice as he euer did; by reason whereof, his gouernment was highly extolled and pleasing, and there was a sodaine alteration in all things: for in the time of HELIOGABALVS, and of his father BASSIANVS, many insolencies and disorders were committed and tolerated.

Wherefore the first thing that ALEXANDER SEVERVS did, was, To reform all the offices and magistracies in his owne House & Imperiall Palace, displacing and discharging all those vitious and dishonest persons which HELIOGABALVS had established there; neither would he admit any man to his seruice, or to any office in his house, that was not an honest man, and of good fame and behauiour. The like hee did by all the Iudges which HELIOGABALVS had made; and also, in the Senate and in the order of Knighthood, hee restored to their offices and dignities those which vnjustly had beene depriued. He obserued so good a rule and order in his gouernment, that all matters of iustice were to bee determined by men learned in

Maximian took Seuerus for his mother.

Wife and learned men, Alexander Seuerus his Counsellors.

Alexander first reformed his owne house.

the lawes: and matters concerning the warres were managed by wife men, and such as had experience therein, and by such wise old men as were well read in Antiquities and in ancient Histories. Finally, hee neuer gaue any charge to any man either for fauour or reward, but for desert and sufficiency onely; being thereto chosen by him and the Senate.

He held another custome which in my opinion was very commendable; that when hee resolved to send to any City or Prouince a new Gouverner, hee gaue them to vnderstand thereof, making his name knowne to them before hand; to the end, that if any man could except against him why he ought not to be preferred, another might be provided; but the allegation must be iust and true: otherwise, they were grievously punished who did falsely slander or defame him. This custome it may bee he learned of the Christians of that time, who chose their Priests and Bishops by voices, for their vertues and good works; and in no case he would permit, that any office of iustice, of what kinde soeuer, should be bought or sold; and he made diligent inquiry thereof, and did rigorously punish the offenders: for, said he; He that buyeth his office, must sell iustice; and I cannot endure merchants of charges and offices: for, if I tolerate them, I cannot afterwards condemn their doings; and I shall be ashamed to punish him that bought, seeing I permitted him to buy.

Besides all this, he was a most seuerer punisher of such Iudges as took bribes; and vsed to say, that he alwaies had his finger in a readinesse to pull out that Iudges eies which was partiall, or a receiver of bribes & rewards; wherein he was so extreme, that, among other Senators, one coming to do him reuerence who had bin accused thereof, he cried out aloud, that ARABINVS (for, so was his name) did not onely lye, but should him for senselesse and of no worth, seeing he dared to appear in his presence. Also they write of him, that he, seeing an vnjust Iudge, was so troubled therewith, and choler did so much abound and ouercome him, that it made him to vomit. To the contrary, he did greatly honour those Gouverners and Iudges which were good; and, when he passed through their Prouinces, he took them into his litter or chariot with him, and bestowed many fauours and rewards vpon them; and, the better to vnderstand the truth concerning these men, he vsed singular diligence and care, the manner whereof was this: Hee had certain secret and vnknowne chosen honest men, which diligently looked into the dealings of Magistrates; and sought to knowe the truth of all that passed in all the Prouinces of the Empire. Which care I would to God the Princes of our time had; for, besides that iustice should then be duely executed, they should knowe the good from the bad; and then they should bee informed of many injuries done in secret, which for fear are concealed by those which endure them; so as the truth neuer comes to light, and the errors and abuses are seldome punished.

SEVERVS desired also that good Iudges, Gouverners and Magistrates, should remain long in their offices and charges; and did vsue to say, that it was not a sufficient punishment to deprive an euill Gouverner of his charge, but to giue him most seuerer punishment; yea euen to bereaue him of life. When hee sent any one to succeed in the place where had been a good Iudge, hee sent to him to giue him thanks in the name and behalf of the whole Common-wealth, and bestowed rewards vpon him; as, possessions, herds of cattell, and corn, with many other things. As for money, he gaue but little: for, this Prince although he was very liberall, yet was he nothing prodigall; and the gifts which he gaue were for the most part such goods as fell to him by confiscation, and by order of law and iustice, and such things as became void by some mens death which died without issue or heirs, and so fell to him. But of his money he was euer very sparing; for, he vsed to say, that the publique rents and reuenues ought not to be spent, but in publique Buildings, in the warres, and in publique occasions; and not vpon the Princes Fauorites and Familiars: and so both within and without Rome hee built most sumptuous and stately edifices of Palaces, Baths, Theatres, Courts of Audience, and many other. He abated the ordinary charges of his house, and reduced it to a convenient order, abolishing the superfluous Expenses of his Predecessors. He apparelled himself decently, but not costly, and neuer wore any precious stones or jewels, neither would hee haue any in his chamber; houlding it for a vanity; that a thing of so small a quantity should be of so great a price. His diet was ordinary, neither delicious nor costly. He was a great feeder: for, he had a good stomach, not that he took any delight therein. In drinking he was very temperate, and neuer exceeded mediocrity. And although hee were very careful of his publique Rents, and the Reuenues of his Exchequer, yet hee neuer increased the same; neither inuented any new impositions; but rather mitigated and limited those which HELLIOBALVS had imposed: so as in his time the third part of the tribute was not paid, as was in the time of his Predecessors. He also reformed the coins of gold

Alexander li-
berally, but not
prodigally.

and silver, and the value thereof; so as, although it cannot be denied but that he was most careful in augmenting his treasure, and in preferring the same, he cannot be charged to haue wronged or endangered any man. He punished all offences ordinarily, but without cruelty; and above all he was most seuerer against theues: vpon whom he had no mercy; but was very liberal to such as he knew to be poor, to the end they should haue no occasion to steal, or to couet other mens goods.

In all other actions hee was very mercifull, and shewed great clemency; in such sort, that in his time there was nor any Senator put to death, neither any other man, but that his accusation was thoroughly heard; and his offense sufficiently proued. Hee neuer gaue any office, or charge of government, for fauour, or in reward of seruice done him, but for desert; and vsed to say, that offices and places of charge were not to be giuen to such as sought or laboured to haue them; but to those which refused them. He neuer chose any Senator, but by the voice and consent of the whole Senate: much lesse made he any man a Knight that was the sonne of a bond-man, or of base condition, as other Emperors had done. Besides all this, he was so affable and milde in condition, that he admitted any man to his presence, and heard him willingly. He longingly visited all men of esteem in time of their sickness, and permitted any man to inform him in person of his affairs: and, having vnderstood the demands to bee reasonable, hee performed their requests; if otherwise, hee debated the matter with them, and made them to see their error. Being sometimes reproved by his mother and wife, who was the daughter of SEPTIMIUS (a man worthy to haue been, and had been Consul) alleging, that hee beeing so priuate and familiar made his Raig of lesse authority and reputation: hee answered, that it was true; but yet it was thereby the more firm and durable.

Among all his vertues he had one which did excell; whereby it is to beleeued, that although he were an Infidel, yet God gaue him the grace to gouern well: which was, that he permitted all those that would, to become Christians; so as in all his time there was no persecution, neither were the Christians grieved: and in his Temples he had the image and picture of CHRIST, and of ABRAHAM. But, as a blinde man without knowledge, he accounted him among his other gods; and would haue acknowledged and adored CHRIST for a God, and haue built him a Temple a-part, if hee had not been disuaded by his Priests. Notwithstanding all these good conditions wherewith this Prince was adorned, the people did not forbear to murmur against him; complaining, that he was too much ruled by his mother, who was reported to bee a most couetous woman, although in all other matters she was held for excellently wife, and very honest and vertuous.

ALEXANDER, houlding so good a form and rule of government in time of peace, failed not to doo the like in time of war, and in the exercise of military discipline; so as in the warres which hapned hee thoroughly performed the office & duty of a good and most valiant Captain, especially in those which were most dangerous, as in brief I will declare; particularly in that which hee had against the Persians, wherein hee obtained most noble victories: and although HERODIANVS writeth otherwise, yet in this place he is not to bee beleued; for, all other Writers affirm the contrary. And this his notable victorie against ARTABAXXES the mighty King of the Persians, is recited by ELIUS LAMPRIDIUS, EVTHROPIUS, SEPTIMIUS AVRELIVS VICTOR, EUSEBIUS, PAVLVS OROSIVS, and other ancient Authors: so as HERODIANVS onely writeth this war after another manner, to the dishonour of ALEXANDER, being deceived by false information or report; or otherwise of malice, or vpon some particular occasion.

To the end that the Reader may the better vnderstand this war which ALEXANDER had with the Persians, it shall be requisite he call to memory, that in ancient time, when the mighty King CYRVS translated the Monarchie from the Medes to the Persians, ouercoming King ASTYAGES: this their Monarchie and power lasted 200 and odd yeeres, and they grew verier rich and powerful; vntill, in the time of DARIVS, who gouerned infinite Nations and prouinces, ALEXANDER the Great took Arms against him and entred ASIA: where coming to a battaile with him, DARIVS was ouerthrowne and slaine, and ALEXANDER made himselfe Lord of ASIA, and so the Monarchie of the Persians ended, passing to the Grecians; and the kingdomes of ASIA remained for some space vnder the successors of ALEXANDER the Great; vntill that a valiant man whose name was ARSACES, borne in the countrie of the Parthians, arose and made himselfe King, whereby the dominion of the descendents and lineage of the Greeks, was transported to the Parthians; and it became a most famous kingdom, and greatly

Alexander held
the image of
Christ and of
Abraham in his
temples.

The originally
succession, and
continuance of
the Kingdom of
the Persians, by
monarchie of the
Persians.

greatly feared during the time of his successors, which lasted about four hundred yeeres, and the most of them (after his name) were called ARSACIDVS. With this Nation of the Parthians, the Romans had often very dangerous warres, and they euer stood in feare of them.

Artabanus the
last King of the
Parthians.

ARTABANVS being King of the Parthians, of whom in the life of BASSIANVS and of MACRINVS we made mention; a Persian borne, being a man of base lineage, but of great courage and very politike, whose name was ARTABANVS, took Armes and rebelled, and by little and little grew to be very powerfull, and comming to a battaile with ARTABANVS, he ouerthrew and slew him, and made himselfe a mightie King. And so he againe restored the Kingdome of the Persians, and defeated the kingdome of the Parthians: Which the Romans were neuer able to doe. And he gaue it out, that he would restore the kingdome of the Persians to their ancient power and greatness: and not content herewith, he began to inuade the borders of the Romane Empire, infesting the countries of Syria and Mesopotamia. These newes being brought to ALEXANDER, who was then in Rome, and had therein reigned three yeeres in peace, exceedingly beloued of all men; and having intelligence of the power and forces of this King; duly considering thereof, and holding the action to be very honourable, he presently with all expedition made preparation for this warre, and went himselfe in person into Asia with an infinite number of men of warre. HERODIANVS writeth, that he first sent his Ambassadors vnto ARTABANVS, requiring him to containe himselfe without the bounds of the Empire, and to liue in peace with him. Which request ARTABANVS (seeing himselfe rich in treasure and very mightie) would not performe, perswading himselfe that it was an easie matter for him to become Lord of all Asia. SEVERVS being come into Syria, the wars began on either side to be very cruel and bloudie. In which warre he obserued so good order and discipline, that it hath not been read or heard, that any other excellent Capitaine hath shewed greater iudgement, or vsed greater diligence. First, he maintained such iustice in his Army, and so severely punished theft, robberies, violences, injuries and misdemeanors committed by his souldiers, that his Campe seemed to be a very well gouerned Citie. He was very careful concerning munition and victuals, as well to provide them, as to preserve them; and that no man should robbe or defraude any man: so as if any Capitaine or Coronell detained neiter so small a quantitie of his souldiers allowance in any thing, he was condemned to die. And in other things he was very diligent and careful, principally in curing those which were sick or wounded in the Armie. He endeouored that all his souldiers should alwaies bee in very good order; well apparelled, and well armed, and their horses very ready and well furnished, their Ensignes and Tents very neate and good: He behaued himselfe very familiarly with his souldiers; and when he at dinner or supper, his Paullion stood euer open, and he sat in the view and sight of all men, hauing no other meate, but such as all the rest did eate. Besides all this, he paid his souldiers with advantage, and bestowed many rewards vpon them: and otherwise he was very severe in punishing offences; so as if his Armie marched among gardens and orchards, they durst not any thing that might deserue to be reprehended; and he that did otherwise, was whipped with rods of iron. But if he were a man of worth and qualitie, he reprobued him with sharpe and reproachfull speeches; hauing these words euer in his mouth: Doe not that to another, which thou wouldest not another should doe vnto thee: which he learned (as hee said) of the Christians. Other more hainous offences or mutinies, he punished with such rigor, that sometimes he tithed whole legions, which was, to put to death the tenth man of all the legion. He did as little endure that any Capitaine or Coronell should wrong a souldier, or that hee should diminish the least part of a souldiers pay, or allowance: And if he saw that a souldier was poore and out of apparell, he relieved him with what he thought necessarie for him: for (quoth he) how can that souldier liue vnder due command, which hath not clothes on his back, and money in his purse: for hunger and penurie will put him in despaire, and make him aduenture to doe that which he ought not. For these and such like matters, which would bee long to relate, this Emperour was infinitely beloued, and feared by all his men of warre: and in his time souldiers were better ordered, gouerned and trained then in the time of any other Emperour.

Warres with the
Persians.

The singular
good order and
pauilion for the
Armie.

Note the mar-
tiall discipline of
Alexander
Seuerus.

The pietie of A-
lexander.

What is to
beate a Legion.

Returning to the Persian warre, during the time it lasted, there passed betwene the Armies of the one and other partie, many great skirmishes and encounters; wherein were many notable feares of Armies, vntill that at the last they came to a battaile wherein they ioyned with all their whole forces; ARTABANVS bringing in his Armie an innumerable company of foot-
men

men, and 130000 horsemen (a proud and bold nation, for the victories which they had lately obtained against the Parthians) and had moreouer in his Armie seven hundred Elephants, and one thousand and eight hundred Chariots armed with fithes, which the Persians then vsed in the wars. The Emperour of the other side brought so many men, both of foot and horse, as hee who was Lord and Commander of the Roman Empire might be able to leuie. SEVERVS in this battell performing the office of an excellent Capitaine, visiting every Squadron, encouraging the souldiers with most kinde speeches, calling them by their proper names, promising them great rewards, and fighting in person a great part of the day like a valiant Knight; in the evening (for, so long did the fight continue) hee wanne one of the most fierce and cruell battells that euer was fought in the world. King ARTABANVS escaped by flight; and there were slain in that battell ten thousand horsemen, and so many footmen that they could not be numbered: as it appeareth by the Oration which SEVERVS made in the Senate after his return to Rome; which is recited by LAMPRIDIUS. And by the same it appeareth, that there were slain by the Romans two hundred Elephants, and that three hundred were taken, with one thousand armed chariots, and a great number of Persians; which afterwards were ransomed for a great summe of money. So as after this victory, the Emperour, without any resistance, recovered those Countries which ARTABANVS had taken: and, passing through Mesopotamia, he enlarged the bounds of the Empire; and, leaving therein such a guard as he thought fit, hee returned to the City of Antioch. Being in that City (according to the custom of the Roman Generall) hee paid his souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, diuiding the spoils of the victory among them; so as they remained infinitely joyfull and well contented.

130000 horse-
men in one Army

A most great
battell fought
betwene the Ro-
mans and the
Persians.

And so, leaving all parts of the East in peace and quiet, he returned to Rome; where hee entered in triumph with greater solemnity and pomp than euer any had triumphed before him; his chariot being drawn (to the wonder of the beholders) by Elephants which he had taken: and all the people and Senate of Rome blessed him, and received him with vnspokeable joy. Arthur Infant, FVRVVS CILVS obtained a great victory against the Mauritanians and Tingitians in Africa, which rebelled. And, in Germany, VARIVS MACRINVS had very good successe: and, from Armenia, IVNIVS PALMATVS returned with victory.

Alexander came
into Rome in
triumph.

The victory of
Furius C. C. in
Africa.

After this triumph was ended, SEVERVS made the accustomed donatiue and distribution among the souldiers and people of Rome, with the feasts and ordinary huntings; remaining in Rome certain yeers, in hearing causes and doing iustice. And in such sort hee diuided the houres, as there was no jot of time lost, and the time of leasure he spent in reading of excellent books; principally, PLATO'S Common-wealth, and TULLIVS'S Offices: and he did often vse to read HORACE and VIRGIL.

He liuing thus in peace and tranquillity, deeply beloued of the Romans, and by all the Provinces subject to the Empire, it being about the thirteenth yeer of his reign, the high Germans and other northerly Nations, with such fury and such infinite numbers of men (as in former time they had vsed to doe) took Arms against the Empire; so as, hauing past the riuers of Danube and the Rhine, they put all Italie in great fear. By reason whereof, the good Emperour ALEXANDER SEVERVS with all haste departed from Rome, with the greatest forces hee then could leuie; which was not done without great grief and heauinesse of the Roman people; so deeply was he generally beloued. And then the warres began between his forces and the Germans; wherein, notwithstanding his enemies were very mightie, yet through his great diligence and valour he suppressed their fury, in such sort that they were daily put to the worke in all skirmishes and encounters. But the ordinary Legions which lay there in garrison, accustomed to rapine and other disorders permitted in the time of HELLIOGABRVS, the Emperour was neither able to endure their insolencie, neither they his equity: for, vertue and vice cannot dwell together. Whereupon, they conspired among themselves to kill him, and to chuse one MAXIMINVS, a most valiant old souldier, for Emperour; whom SEVERVS had made a Capitaine of Tyrans (for, so did they call new souldiers) with their conspiracy they afterwards put in execution. Others write, that the cause of his death was, for that following his mothers counsell in gathering of treasure, he was not so liberrall to his men of war and others, as he ought to haue been; and also for that he had determined in his counsell to leaue the wars of Germany, and to goe into the East: for which cause the souldiers conceived great hatred against him. But I should the first for the most certain cause: of which opinion were LAMPRIDIUS and IULIVS CAPITOLINVS, writing his life, and the life of MAXIMINVS. Finally, whatsoeuer the occasion were, the Legions of Germany slue him; the good Emperour being in his Tent, void

Wars betwene
Seuerus and
the Germans.

Alexander Se-
uerus slain by
his German sol-
diers, together
with his mother
Mammaea.

void of all fear and suspicion, neer to the City of *Maximin* or *Meniz*. And, together with him, they slue his mother *MAMEA*; which they did by the counsell and aduice of the accursed *MAXIMINVS*; who was afterwards his Successor. *HERODIANVS* and *AVRELIVS VICTOR* write, that before they murdered him they made the other Emperor.

SEVERVS was twentie nine yeeres, three months and seven daies old when he was murdered, and had reigned thirteene yeeres and nine daies. His death was more lamented in *Rome*, then euer was any Emperours before him; and all the Cities and Prouinces of the Empire were extremely grieved thereat. In this manner was this most excellent and vertuous Prince slaine by treason, who neuer had commanded any man to be slaine, in the yeere of our Lord 237. And although that we reade that he was married, yet we reade not of any children that he left behinde him.



THE LIFE OF MAXIMINVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND SIX AND TWENTITH EMPEROR of Rome.

THE ARGUMENT.



Maximinus was a Thracian borne, of a base and ignoble house; but he attained to credit through the aduice of his bodie, which brought him into fauour with many Emperours; yet Helio-gabalus did not greatly please him, being riotous and lasciuious. But fortune, as hee is blinde, so doth shee blindly bestow her benefites and fauours, and aduanced him in the end to the Imperiall dignitie: wherein he carried himselfe so cruelly and tyrannically, that poore Rome could neuer haue had a worse, or more wicked Prince. First, upon sundrie occasions hee put to death all Alexanders friends; and being ashamed of his owne sinage, he also slew all such as had knowe his father, shewing himselfe very courteous; betwene his spleene against the Christians, and afflicted them with new and vnaccustomed tormētts. He discovered a conspiracy, which he punished severely; and sought to maintain the loas of his soldiers, being of opinion that it lay in them as well to support him in the Empire, as it did to gaine it him. He warred against the Germans, and was of so hateful a disposition and so cruel, that in a manner all the whole Empire rebelled against him. And in his life-time old Gordianus was made Emperour in Africa. But about all these rebellions, that of Rome did most displease him, against which conspiring in a great rage, and having in a manner befoged it, he was slain by some Roman soldiers, considering the miserie which their country was like to haue endured, if Maximinus obtained the victorie. And in the end that the Emperour should reaping of so wicked and cruell a man, they slew his sonne also, whose head being carried to Rome, brought great contentment to the Citi- zens.



How great good, a good Prince bringeth to the world, and how preiudiciall and hurtfull it is to lose him; the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS did sufficiently manifest to the Roman Empire; which (during his life time) enioyed all the contentment that could be desired, for his equitie, clemency, and iustice; but he dying, and that cruell monster MAXIMINVS succeeding (who reigned but three yeeres) in exchange of these and other blessings, there ensued discord, ciuill warres, insolencies, robberies, cruelties, seditions and other calamities. Wherefore, in my opinion, men ought more earnestly and with greater instancy pray to God to send them a good King and gouernor, then for health, wealth, or long life: for in the raigne of a wicked and vnjust Prince, vices

abound

abound, which corrupt good customes and manners, and vertue is suppressed, and men liue in danger both of life and goods. And in the time of a good Prince and Gouernor, all these defects are repaired: for the iust reigning, the wicked amend and become vertuous. For (as the Philosophers say) Such as is the Prince, such will be the subiects: so he which prayeth for a good king, may be iustly said to pray for the benefit of the whole kingdom: For it doth often times plainly appeare, that the diligence and industrie of a good husbandman doth more auaile, then the fertilitye of the soile: and so we see that some places which are barren, doe abound with necessaries to the vse of mans life; and to the contrarie, other places which are most fertile, through euill gouernment, become wild and ouergrown with weeds, yeelding little profit. And so histories, and experience doe teach vs; that in time of good and peaceable Kings, men grow rich and mount to estates and dignities: And in time of troubles and calamities which happen when the Gouernment is in the hands of Tyrants, many men lose their estates and liues, and sometime their Soules, by their meanes, and all things goe to confusion and out of order.

But comming to our History, the good Emperour *SEVERVS* being dead: as he had neither sonne nor brother that might challenge the Empire; and *MAXIMINVS* being the chiefe man in the Army, and of greater power then any other, they all agreed to chooſe and sweare him Emperour, willingly yeelding obedience vnto him, which they ought not to haue done: for hee proved wicked, cruell, and couetous; notwithstanding that he was old and laden with yeeres. And because that this man was of a goodly stature, and came to the Empire by great aduecture, I will briefly declare the successe of his life, which I presume will be a pleasing Historie.

This *MAXIMINVS* was the sonne of a man whose name was *NICRA*, borne in *Gotland*, and his mothers name was *ABARA*, of the nation of the *Alances*, which liued in a village in *Thracia*; so as of either side he descended of barbarous nations: and he afterwards grew to be so tall of stature, as he seemed to be a Giant: for (as *IVLIUS CAPITOLINVS* reporteth) he was eight and a halfe Geometricall foote high; which is two foote and a halfe more then we see any man ordinarily to be in these daies. And as he had a great bodie, so had he all parts thereof proportionable to his greatnesse: for he had a good face and was very faire, with great full eyes; and was so extremely strong, that a cart heuily laden, and which two oxen could hardly moue, he would easily draw and turne at his pleasure; and with his fist he brake a horses leg: and (as *IVLIUS CAPITOLINVS* saith) striking a horse in the chap with his fist he brake out all his teeth; and with a spurne with his foote, he split him in pieces: also with his fist hee brake a stone, and with his hands cleft a tree, and did many other things, which were they not recorded by very true authors, would be accounted fables. And besides all this, he was of so great courage, that he was neuer knowne to stand in feare of any thing, and was naturally fierce, proud and presumptuous, and made no account of any man. His bringing vp when he was a boy, was in keeping of beasts (for his parents were poore, and liued in the country) and afterwards his minde increasing with the strength of his bodie, he came to the Roman Armie to seeke entertainment to be a souldier, and to follow the warres: where by reason of his greatnesse of body and his extreme strength, he was soone knowne, and admired of all men, which was in the raigne of *SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS*, who was father to *BASSIANVS* and *GATA*. *CAPITOLINVS* writeth, that *SEPTIMIVS SEVERVS* being in *Soria* with his Armie, celebrating the birth day of his sonne *GATA*, with many sports (which was a thing much vsed in ancient time) and giuing the winners for reward jewels, collars, bracelets, souldiers girdles, and such like things; *MAXIMINVS*, who was but newly come to the Army, and could scarcely speake the Latine tongue (which was then the vulgar Roman speech) came before the Emperour, and intreated him to giue him leave to try himselfe in those exercises. The Emperour mercenall at the vnmeasurable proportion of his person, and seeing him so faire and well proportioned, granted his request; but vpon condition, that he should not encounter & contend with any Roman souldier, but with such as were water-bearers, and seruitors of the Camp, among which were many very valiant and strong men. *MAXIMINVS* comming to handy grips with them, ouercame 16 of them which were of greatest strength, and fought out for that purpose, without resting, or once taking any breath, not being moued by any of them: for which victorie, the Emperour caused some jewels of small price to be giuen him, but not any such as were usually giuen to the souldiers; and commanded also that he should receive pay, and be entered in the muster role to serue as a souldier.

Maximinus chosen Emperour

Maximinus his lineage.

The stature of Maximinus.

The force and bodily strength of Maximinus.

Maximinus being first to follow the wars in the time of Septimius Seuerus

Vpon

The fastenman.
Ship of Maximinus.

Maximinus
his diet.

The distrust
speeches vsed
by Helio-
gabalus to Maximinus.

Officers given by
Seuerus to
Maximinus.

Vpon a day the Emperor riding to view his Camp, hee saw this MAXIMINVS (who was yet but a raw souldier) out of order; wherefore he willed a Coronell to call him into his rank, and to instruct him in the duty that he ought to obserue in the wars: and MAXIMINVS, imagining that the Emperor spake of him, came before him, and kneeled down at his feet. The Emperor, desiring for his pastime to see whether he could runne well or no, spurred his horse, and gaue sundry turns in the field; and seeing that MAXIMINVS cuer kept euē with him, and that his horse was tired, and he running afoot shewed no signe of weariness, hee rained his horse, and asked of MAXIMINVS whether he could wrestle: whereto he answered, that he would wrestle so long as it should please his Majesty. The Emperor, maruelling at his strength, made choice of certain of the strongest men in all his Army to wrestle with him; and MAXIMINVS, without breathing or any resting, ouercame seuen of them. Whereupon, SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS commanded a collar of gold to bee giuen vnto him, and certain peeces of siluer, and made him one of his guard, and commanded that hee should attend in the Palace: and by this means he came to be much esteemed among the Coronells and men of warre. And he daily increased both in stature and strength: for, when he came to the Camp hee was bura boy, and sometime in wrestling he would ouerthrowe twenty or thirty of the strongest men in the Army: and in battels and encounters he cuer bare away the prize and chiefeft honour, performing strange things. Wherefore SEVERVS fauoured him very much, and gaue him good places and charges in the wars. He did eat and drinke according to the proportion of his body, or rather more: for, CAPITOLINVS writes, that he did daily vsē to eat 40 pound waight of flesh, and to drinke a measure of wine which contains about 6 gallons of our English measure.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS dying in England, as we haue said, he serued his sonne ANTONINVS BASSIANVS, and was a Coronell, and had other offices and dignities in the wars. And, after the death of BASSIANVS in Syria, he would not serue MACRINVS, because he held him guilty of the death of his Lord: but, returning to the village wherein he was born, he there purchased certain possessions, and liued there some time in rest, vntill MACRINVS was dead, and that the young vitidus HELIOGABALVS came to the Empire. At which time he came to Rome, as to the son of BASSIANVS, and nephew to SEVERVS, both which had bin his Lords; imagining, that he should haue been as much respected by him, as hee had been by them. But HELIOGABALVS more regarding lasciuious and dishonest men, than such as were of worth and valorous, he found with him no such entertainment as hee expected. For, when hee came to kisse his hand, HELIOGABALVS said vnto him; MAXIMINVS, it could me that in wrestling thou art too hard for twenty or thirty men: I would gladly knowe, whether thou darest in amorous assaults encounter as many women. Which speeches did so much displease MAXIMINVS, that he would presently haue abandoned the Court; but that certain of HELIOGABALVS friends (for his honors sake) staid him: for, they held it a shame to him, that one which was held to be the most valiant and strongest man of his time (and who for that cause was by some called ACHILLES, and by others AJAX) should not be entertained in his pay to serue in his Army. And so there was giuen him by HELIOGABALVS the leading of certain footmen. But MAXIMINVS, abhorring and not able to endure the behaviour of this effeminate Emperor, in all the time of his Raigē after that time, neuer came into his presence; sometimes faiming himself to be sick, and other times seeking occasion and means to absent himself; vntill the good ALEXANDER SEVERVS was made Emperor after the death of HELIOGABALVS; and then hee returned to Rome: where SEVERVS received him very gladly, commending him highly in the Senate; and made him a Coronell and Commander of the fourth Legion, which hee had raised of new souldiers. MAXIMINVS accepted the charge, and performed his duty singularly well in the wars of Germany, where hee shewed great prowess: by means wherof, and of the gifts which he vsed to bestowe vpon his souldiers, and of the Emperors fauor, he wan such honour and reputation with all men, that ALEXANDER (as we haue said) being slain by his souldiers, he was by them created Emperour: and some write, that he was one of those which conspired his death. Of such force is the desire of rule, that men forgetting the duty and loyalty they owe, and the benefits they haue received, practise notable villanies, and commit horrible treasons, to the end they may raigē and command; not remembering, that by what means they obtain rule and dominion, by the self same they commonly lose their governments, and are throwne down by the same means that they mounted.

After that MAXIMINVS saw himself an Emperour; as he was naturally proud and fierce,

and as base of condition as he was high of stature; so was he of opinion, that his best course was to make himself obeyed rather for fear, than for loue; and presently beganne to shew himself most cruell. His election being knowne in Rome (after they had lamented the death of ALEXANDER SEVERVS) was generally displeasing to all men; and, vpon report of his cruelty, they stood in great fear of him; in so much that both men and women made vowes and praiers to their gods, to the end he might neuer come to Rome.

The first cruelty this fierce Barbarian committed, was, To put to death all those which had serued and been familiar with ALEXANDER SEVERVS: and then he banished an infinite number of others, and would not suffer that in the Army there should be any Captain, or in the Senate any Senator, that had been aduanced by him. And, for as much as hee was affained of the basenes of his owne parentage, hee commanded all those which were near about him, and had knowne his parents, to bee slain: among which were many who in time of their pouertie had relieued them, of compassion and in charity. And to all these his cruelties he added a greater: for, he persecuted the Christians which were fauoured by ALEXANDER; and by his commandement was the first persecution of the Church of God; principally those were persecuted which had the charge and government of others; wherein he vsed strange kindes of cruelties, and new deuices in putting people to death; repoyling such confidence in his own strength and courage, that he held no man able to kill him. Wherefore, as CAPITOLINVS reports, he held himself for immortal: yet one day in his presence vpon the Theatre these verses were recited in the Greek Tongue;

*Whom one man cannot because of life,
many his blood may easily spill.*

*The Elephant is great, yet done to death:
strong is the Lion, and men him kills.*

*If through thy valour thou fear not any one,
beware what a number may do to thee alone.*

The cruelty of MAXIMINVS did principally extend it self against such as were rich, and in high degree and authority; whom hee intreated very ill, and for very slight occasions put them to death, and confiscated their goods; which the common people little regarded: for, the rich are commonly odious and hatefull to the baser sort, and to such as are poor. On the other side, he cunningly held himself in the loue and good liking of the men of war: for, besides their ordinary payes, he gaue them many pensions and rewards, and provided all things necessary for them; and took as great pains as any ordinary souldier, with incredible courage and diligence: and as he was a strong man, and had a very able body; so hee cuer went armed, and vpon all occasions was as ready as any souldier in the Army, and had alwaies valiant men about him, although of base degree and condition. Finally, the effect of all his actions was, To bee feared and to command like a tyrant: which was the occasion that a noble Roman Gentleman called MAXIMVS, who had bin Consul, conspired against him, and practised with the old souldiers which had serued SEVERVS, and with some others (to whom, MAXIMINVS behauiour and conditions were nothing pleasing) that whereas hee with his Army was to passe a River vpon a wooden Bridge, as soon as hee should bee come to the further end thereof, the Bridge behinde him should be broken or drawn away, and so he abandoned to his enemies. But this was revealed to him: or else (as some surmised) it was a matter fained by him, thereby to haue the better colour to shadow his cruelties; which he executed in so high degree, that hee caused 3000 persons to be slain, which he said were guilty of that treason.

After this, a great multitude of SEVERVS old souldiers mutined; and, withdrawing themselves from the Camp, proclaimed one QVARTIANVS for Emperour (as HERODIANVS writeth); but CAPITOLINVS saith, his name was TIVS, and it may be he was called by the one and the other; who, for that hee was a man of great account, was by MAXIMINVS depozed from the charge which he held. And the souldiers (against his will) forced him to accept the Empire; which he not without great reason refused: for, one MACBONIVS, who seemed to bee his great friend, and was one of those which had aduanced him to that dignity, within fewe daies after murdered him as he lay sleeping vpon his bed; and, having stricken off his head, carried the same to MAXIMINVS: who greatly rejoiced to see himself freed from so great a danger. And although hee then gaue him a good countenance which brought it, yet he afterwards put him to a cruell death, as for his treacherie hee had deserved: first, for murdering his Soueraign; secondly, for being a traitor to his friend.

Maximinus
lecting
disliked in Rome.

The first
persecution
of Christians.

A conspiracy
against
Maximinus.

Quartianus
proclaimed
Emperour
murdered
in his bed.

With

With these two good fortunes, the tyranny and cruelty of MAXIMINVS encreased. But following the wars he went out of *Hungarie* into *Germanie*; and, making most cruell war against the Germans (hauing in his Army those fouldiers which ALEXANDER SEVERVS had left, being many, very well trained, and of great experience) the number hee increased; so as with them he wan many battels, putting all to fire and sword where hee came, spoiling all that was in that Country: and in all the encounters that euer hapned, he euer fought in person, and performed more in Fight than any man in the whole Army.

Executiones
done in Rome by
Maximinus
order.

Hauing pacified all matters in *Germanie*, so as he found no more resistance; by reason of winter which then came on, he returned into *Hungarie*: from whence hee wrote to the Senate, extolling his victories; and sent vnto them all his battels and skirmishes painted in Tables. I cannot particularly set down the murders and cruell slaughters of men which hee commanded to be executed in *Rome* at this time, they were so many: for he did put to death many men which had been Consuls, and confiscated their goods, vsing infinite other tyrannies against the nobell and of most esteem; presuming onely vpon his owne personal strength, and the power of his Army; to which he gaue many great gifts. And yet among his men of warre he forbore not to execute notable cruelties: for, he more desired to bee feared, than any thing else. Wherefore both in *Rome*, and in diuerse parts of the Empire, they studied how they might bee rid of him, and to finde out some other man fit to be Emperor; which began in *Africa*, and passed after this manner:

Maximinus his
vnu-gatherer
Quain in *Africa*.

Gordianus
closten Emperor

In the Prouince of *Africa* MAXIMINVS had a Procurator, who with great rigor and authority gathered his Rents and Tributes; and, being of his masters conditions, committed incredible extortions and outrages, robbing and pilling the Countrey, doing wrong to all men: and not content therewith, but as he spoiled many of their goods, so he bereaued them of their liues. And he continued so in his rapine and cruelty, that the people could no longer endure his oppression: wherefore the chief among them concluded to kill him, and did so. Afterwards considering with themselves how great and how dangerous a crime they had committed, they resolved to commit yet a greater, which was, To create an Emperor. Wherefore, conferring with the fouldiers of those Legions which lay in *Africa*, who detested MAXIMINVS for his cruelty, they all agreed to chuse GORDIANVS, a Noble-man, who was Proconsul of *Africa*, and to make him Emperor, being a man wellne fourscore years old.

GORDIANVS (as I said) was of a Noble house; by his fathers side descended from the GRACCHI; and, by his mother, from the most excellent Emperor TRAIAN. He had been Edill, Questor, Pretor, and Consul, in *Rome*; and had held many other offices & dignities, and had been Commander and gouernour of many countries and prouinces, which he had gouerned with great wisdom and authority; and at that time was Viceconsul in *Africa*, by the appointment of ALEXANDER SEVERVS, who was MAXIMINVS his Predecessor; by whom, for his deserts and vertues, hee was greatly honoured and esteemed: for, GORDIANVS was a vertuous and most temperate man in all his actions. He was a man of a tall stature, rather inclining to be fat than lean, and of a goodly presence. His face was high-coloured, representing great authority. He was in his face and diet (as in all other matters) very temperate, and was learned, and much giuen to the study of Philosophie. He was married to the daughter of SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, and by her had sonnes and daughters, and by chance had with him when he was chosen Emperor a son, whose name was also GORDIANVS; who had bin Consul, and was held in great honour and reputation: whom they also chose Emperor together with his Father.

Gordianus re-
sisted the empire

The fouldiers and the country-people being assembled together (whereof, one MAVRICE, a Decurion was chief & first motiue of the matter) they entred tumultuously into GORDIANVS house: who, not thinking of any such thing in the beginning was in great fear and trouble, conceiuing that they came to haue slain him: but after that hee vnderstood wherefore they came (for, they could it him) he vterly refused their offer, excusing himself by reason of his old age. But they came so resolute, that notwithstanding his opposition, yet hee could not otherwise chuse, but he must accept of the Ensigne, and title of Emperor; which they gaue him, together with his son. GORDIANVS, although he were therto compelled, and accepted thereof against his will: yet he presently wrote with all speed, giuing the Senate aduertisement of his election, and how he had consented thereto, and accepted of the Empire, that he might free the same from the cruelty of MAXIMINVS. Hauing published the same in the city of *Tyre*, where hee was chosen Emperor, hee took his way towards *Carthage*, with the magnificence, Ensignes, and

and officers of the Empire, where he was with great ioy received. From thence he sent his Ambassadors to *Rome* with particular letters to many his friends and kinsmen; and likewise took order that VALERIANVS the Pretorian Prefect of the Legions & companies which lay neere *Rome* should be slaine: whom HERODIANVS calleth VITALIANVS (who was a most cruell man) a favorite and great friend of MAXIMINVS. These letters were received with incredible ioy and gladnes, for the great hatred they bare against MAXIMINVS; and VITALIANVS of VALERIANVS was slaine accordingly, by those which were sent for that purpose.

The Senate and people of *Rome* approued the election of GORDIANVS and his sonne; and MAXIMINVS and his sonne (who was already made CÆSAR, and named his successor) were adiudged enemies and rebels; and the people with great furie tare in pieces many ministers of MAXIMINVS his cruelty, among which were some which were not culpable. They also slew SABINVS the Prefect of the citie, for that he labored to haue hindered the approbation of GORDIANVS; and the Senate elected for CÆSAR a young man whose name also was GORDIANVS, who was nephew to old GORDIANVS: and so there was a sodaine alteration in all things, for there was a generall feare and confusion.

Maximinus
and his forces
advised for re-
bels and ene-
mies to the
Romane coun-
trey.

The Senate considering then in how great danger the citie was, and what might ensue by reason of the great power of MAXIMINVS, they made great preparation, writing their letters into all the Prouinces, commanding that all those gouernours which were placed by MAXIMINVS, should be displaced, and therewith also they proclaimed GORDIANVS for Emperor. This order and direction (as HERODIANVS writeth) in the most part of all the Prouinces was obeyed, and in the most of them they flew the gouernours set there by MAXIMINVS. And in some places they did the contrarie, killing or apprehending the messengers; so as euery where was bloudshed: for the cruelty of the Emperour had made all men cruell. When as the newes of that which happened in *Rome* and *Africa* came to MAXIMINVS (CAPITOLINVS writeth) he was therewith so troubled and enraged, that he cried out like a man dismperd: and running his head against the wals, he tumbled in the floore, rent his cloaths, and made many other shewes of furie and passion.

This Fit being past, the next day he assembled his whole Armie, whereto he made a speech, complaining to them of the treacherie of the Africanes, and of the lightnes and inconstancie of the Romanes, prouoking them all he could to be reuenged; and making great promises, assured them that they should possesse the goods of all those which had offended. And when he had ended his oration, he presentlie gaue them their ordinarie pay with great aduantage; shewing himselfe very bountifull: so as they all promised to serue him faithfullie, notwithstanding that many among them hated him deadlie. In this manner vsing all possible diligence, MAXIMINVS directed his journey towards *Rome*, with the best fouldiers, and the greatest prouision of munition he could, with intent to assuage his wrath; by the execution of his extreme cruelties: and so he began to march; not so fast as he would, for the great number of men, of carriages, and baggage which went with him, and want of victuals: for all the cities (being risen against him) had put all the victuals and fruites of the earth in safe keeping.

While as these things passed in *Germany* and *Rome*, CAPELLIANVS, who was Gouernour of the Prouinces of *Nubidia*, and *Mauritania* in *Africa*, rebelled against GORDIANVS, as well for that they were auncient enemies, as for that CAPELLIANVS was a very great friend vnto MAXIMINVS; and had been settled there by him: who, as soone as he heard that the GORDIANVS were chosen Emperours, put those Legions which were vnder his command in order, leuying thereto the greatest forces he could, and took his way towards *Carthage*, against whom came yong GORDIANVS, with all the forces he could leue (the old man remaining in the citie in great care and feare of that which afterwards followed) and these two Armies ioyning battaile (which was very bloudie) CAPELLIANVS in the end had the victory, and GORDIANVS was ouerthrowne and slaine: for the greatest part of his people were *Bjonian*, or raw fouldiers, and not accustomed to the warres. The father hearing of the death of his sonne; and of the losse of the battaile, seeing no hope of reliefe, and the victorious enemy at the gates of the citie, with the girdle which he ware hung himselfe: and so died he with reproach & dishonorably (hauing a few daies enioyed the name of Emperor) who had liued fourscore yeeres very honourably & in great reputation. And CAPELLIANVS following his victorie entred *Carthage*: where he slew the principal of those which escaped from the battaile, and robbed many houses & temples, shewing great cruelty both within the citie, & abroad in the countrey; robbing & sacking towns & villages, in colour of reuenge for the wrong done to MAXIMINVS;

Young Gor-
dianus slaine
in a battaile.

And old Gor-
dianus hung
himselue in his
girdle.

seeking by all means possible to please his souldiers, with a desire to make himselfe Emperor.

The fame of this aduerture came speedily to *Rome*: wherewith the Romanes were incredibly troubled and perplexed, to see themselves deprived of the fauour and succour which they hoped for from *GORDIANVS* and his sonne. And knowing that *MAXIMINVS* came like an enraged lion against them (for redresse and remedie against so great a danger) the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Iupiter*; and after many consultations held betwene the principal & best experienced men of the citie, they chose *MAXIMVS PVPIENVS* and *CLODIVS BALBINVS* for Emperours; both which had held great offices, and had been valiant Captaines and gouernours, and liued with great fame. And to please the people which consented not to this election, the Senate named young *GORDIANVS*, nephew to that *GORDIANVS* who hanged himselfe in *Carthage*, *CÆSAR*, who was his daughters sonne, and of the age of eleuen yeeres.

Maximvs Pu-
piens and
Claudius Bal-
binvs chosen
Emperours, and
Gordianus the
nephew of old
Gordianus
made Cæsar.

These two being created and sworne Emperours, and hauing taken the Imperiall robes and ensignes, they leuied the greatest forces that in *Rome* and the borders thereof they were able. *MAXIMVS PVPIENVS*, who was the wiser and more sufficient man, left the citie, to make head against *MAXIMINVS*, who with great haste and turie came towards *Italy*, and had conceiued incredible ioy, for that he was giuen to vnderstand of the death of *GORDIANVS* and of his son, and of the victorie which *CAPRIANVS* had obtained against them: but after that he knew of the election of the new Emperours in *Rome*, his rage and wrath redoubled. And vnderstanding that *PVPIENVS* came against him with a sufficient Armie, he put his troupes in order; and hauing passed the Alpes, entering into *Italy*, where he thought to haue found great plenty of victuals, he found all cleane contrarie: for all sustenance was carried away, and those places and townes which were not fortified, and able to defend themselves, were abandoned and left desert: wherefore the souldiers for the hunger and want which they endured, began to murmur and to speake ill of *MAXIMINVS*; and he punishing some of them for it, grew hatefull to all.

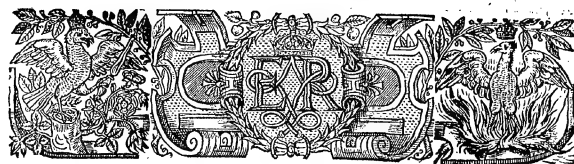
Maximinus
entered Italy.

Drawing neere to the citie of *Aquileia*, which hee made account to enter without difficulty, he found very great resistance: for besides that the citie was very populous and rich, there were within it for the defence thereof, two Romane gentlemen, which had been Consuls; the one was called *CRISPINVS*, and the other *MENFELVS*; who had in such sort furnished the citie with men and munition, that *MAXIMINVS* with great difficultie passing the river, and encamping himselfe before it, gaue a very cruell assault, in which much people died of either side: but those which were within, defended themselves so valiantly, as he was enforced to alter his determination, to raise his siege, and to retire. While as *MAXIMINVS* lay before *Aquileia*, and *PVPIENVS* with his Army marcht toward him, *Rome* endured a great affliction: for there grew a contention betwene the Pretorian souldiers and the people of *Rome*, about two souldiers which had beene slaine by two Senatours, whose names were *GALLICANVS* and *MICENAS*. And both parties taking Armes, there were slaughters and cruelties committed, the like whereof haue bin seldom heard of: for the city was set on fire, & a great part thereof burnt, the new Emperour *BALBINVS* not being able to quench or stay it: who seeing that he could not redresse so great an inconuenience, retired himselfe to his palace. So as whosoever shal wel consider hereof, shall finde that the three yeeres tyrannous government of *MAXIMINVS* (for so long it lasted) was the cause that the citie of *Rome* and the whole Romane Empire were neuer free from warres, tumults, robberies, murders, and all manner of calamities. And he (as I haue said) lying before *Aquileia*, preuailling little by the assaults which he gaue, by reason of the great resistance made by the besieged, and wanting victuals (for *PVPIENVS*, and the Senate had commaunded all to be carried away out of that territorie, and the borders and marches thereof), and ioyntly herewith his souldiers daily hearing that all the East had revolted and rebelled against him, by letters sent from the Senate of *Rome*: With this feare and for the secret hatred which the old Romane Souldiers bare against him, they agreed to mutine and to kill him, seeing that *Rome* (wherein were their parents, their wives, children and kinsfolkes) and also that all *Italy* was enemie vnto them, and had proclaimed them rebels. It happened that *MAXIMINVS* and his sonne one day about noone reposing themselves in his Tent, the souldiers and many others with them, came very boldly to his pavilion, and without any resistance flew him: the like they did by his sonne, saying, That of an euill fire could neuer prooue good whelpe; when he had reigned three yeeres, and was fixtie and odd yeeres old; and his sonne nineteene, and somewhat more. His death was approoued by all the

Maximinus
and his sonne
flame in his
Tent.

Arme:

Army: and as soon as it was knowne in the City of *Aquileia*, they opened the ports, and became all friends. They sent the heads of this tyrannous Emperour and his sons, to *Rome*; where with vspeakable joy they were receiued: and by the way they carried them to *PVPIENVS*; who was in *Ranenma*. This hapned in the yeer of our Lord 246.



THE LIFE OF MAXIMVS PVPIENVS AND CLODIVS BAL- BINVS, ONELY OF THOSE NAMES, and seuen and twentieth Roman Emperours. (**)



After the death of *MAXIMINVS*; *MAXIMVS PVPIENVS* & *CLODIVS BALBINVS*, without any contradiction continued Emperours; which (as I said) were so already created: and *PVPIENVS*, who then was in *Ranenma*, with all speed went to *Aquileia*, to content the Army which *MAXIMINVS* had left there; where, by those of the City and of the Army, he was with great joy receiued, sworn, and obeyed: and he paid the souldiers, and gaue them great rewards, and afterwards dispatched and sent the Legions very well contented to their Prouinces and places where they vsed to remain. And himselfe came to *Rome* with some companies of Germans for his guard, by reason of the discord betwene the Pretorian souldiers and the Citizens; who, vnderstanding of the death of *MAXIMINVS*, pacified themselves, and went with the Senate to receiue *BALBINVS* into the Empire, and *GORDIANVS* for *CÆSAR*, as is afore said: and so they were most solemnly entertained. And being comm into the Senate, besides the ordinary acclamations, blessings and applauses, in remembrance that these Emperours were created by the Senators, they vsed such like speeches: Princes, wisely chosen, rule accordingly; and those which are chosen by vnwise men, and such as knowe little, in like manner end their daies: wherein they seemed to note the men of warre, who made choice of *MAXIMINVS*. Which speeches the Pretorian souldiers took in so ill part, that they presently began to mislike and to be discontented with the Raig of *PVPIENVS* and *BALBINVS*; and they held themselves for scorned and disgraced, in that the Senate should seem to triumph ouer them, and to haue taken from them the authority to make Emperours: so great was their pride and ambition, that from thence forth they not onely wished, but practised the death of them both, who gouerned all things most excellently and prudently, and made very good and profitable lawes and ordinances; and into all the Prouinces where need required, sent ordinary Legions, doing iustice to all men indifferently, greatly honouring the Senate; and generally to all men shewed themselves gentle and courteous. But all this sufficed not to get the good will of the souldiers: for, vertue and goodnes do not pacifie the hatred of the wicked; and by so much their enuy & mallice the more increaseth, by how much they see those whom they hate, exercise themselves in vertuous and good actions: In such sort, that as those accursed men in time of peace were not so much esteemed, neither had the liberty to liue so dissolutely and licentious, as in the time of warres; all their care and studie therefore was (although they did dissemble it, and keep it secret) how they might without any danger to themselves, kill those two vertuous and honourable old Princes, *PVPIENVS* and *BALBINVS*. Whereto, the emulation, jealousie and contention, betwene these

Speeches vsed
by the Senators.

Emulation be-
tween Bal-
binus and Pup-
pienus.

these Emperours, although in secret, opened the way to their determination; for BALBINVS held himselfe for farre more Noble and of a more ancient house and family, then PVPPIENVS: For it was three hundred yeeres or little lesse since that his ancestors came from the Isle of *Cales in Spain*, with the great POMPEY; and being made citizens of *Rome* had liued cuer honorably and richly: and therefore as PVPPIENVS was but of a new risen family, hee made account to be more regarded then he, and disdained him. And PVPPIENVS notwithstanding that he was a newer citizen and lately risen: yet was he of greater courage, very graue and seuer, and had held many offices and magistracies; which with great valour and wisdome he had discharged, and therefore was of opinion that in true nobilitie, which wholly consisteth in the vertue of the person, he did farre excell BALBINVS. And thus their vaine presumption cost them both their liues. Notwithstanding that they stood vpon these points; yet they no way forgot ought that might concerne the good government of the Empire. These two wise Emperours agreed between themselves, to goe the one into the East against the Parthians; or to say better, the Persians, which ruled in the East, as I haue already declared, and by means of the ciuill discords past, had entred the bounds of the Empire, and taken certain Cities: And the other to the warres of *Germanie*. And as one day all the whole Citie was busie in beholding certain games and pastimes which were made, with them was also the greatest part of the Emperours guard and household; so as they remained in their Palaces smally accompanied, without any mistrust or suspicion of any trecherie. Whereof the Pretorian souldiers being aduertised, they came with great furie fully armed in order of battaile, towards the Emperours Palace: Which when PVPPIENVS vnderstood, and that they came to kill him, hee commanded in great haste the companies of Germanes which were his guard, to be called: the which truly had beene sufficient to haue defended them. And he also gaue BALBINVS to vnderstand thereof, desiring him to doe the like. But BALBINVS entering into a fond suspicion, that PVPPIENVS sent for his guard to haue done some thing against him, did not only leaue that vndone which was requested at his hands, but hindred it, so as the guard was not called. By which means the Pretorian souldiers had oportunitie to enter the Imperiall Palace in safety: and there finding none to resist their furie, they took both the Emperours and dispoyling them of their Imperial robes, vied the poore princes with all kinde of villany, as if they had been two theues; carrying them through the midst of the Citie towards their Camp: But hearing that the Almaines came to rescue them, they flew them upon the way; leaving their dead bodies in the streetes. And the yong GORDIANVS meeting them by chance (who, as we haue said before, at the request of the people was chosen CÆSAR) was by them hailed AVGVSTVS and Emperour. And they crying to the people said, that seeing those two Emperours were dead, which in despite of them were chosen by the Senate, they should now receiue GORDIANVS for Emperour, which they themselves had desired to be made CÆSAR; and so they went to their lodging leading the youth with them, who yet was not fully fourteen yeeres old.

The Almaines after they vnderstood of the death of PVPPIENVS and BALBINVS, seeing there was no hope to rescue them, returned to their lodgings, which was in the fields nere to *Rome*. And so these two good Emperours ended their liues, hauing reigned two yeeres: and in rewarde for pacifying the Empire and deliuering the same from the tyranny of MAXIMVS, these base rascalls murdered them, which PVPPIENVS (as saith IULIUS CAPITOLINVS) did before Prognosticate: for when they were chosen, he said to BALBINVS; Tell me BALBINVS, what good shall we reape, if we kill this accursed cruell beast MAXIMVS: BALBINVS answered; We shall win the loue of the Senat, & of the people of *Rome*, and generally of all the world. It is true quoth PVPPIENVS, but I feare me we shall incur the hatred of the men of warre, and that it will cost vs our liues. Which hapned as we haue declared, in the yeere of our Lord 242.

The Emperors
Balbinus and
Puppienus slain
by the Pretorian
souldiers.

Gordianus Ne-
phew of the old
Gordianus
proclaimed Em-
perour.

The words of
Puppienus to
Balbinus when
they were cho-
sen Emperours.

THE



THE LIFE OF GORDIANVS THE YONGER; SO CALLED, FOR THAT HE WAS NEPHEW TO THE OLD GORDIANVS, being onely of this name, and the eight and twentieth Emperour of Rome.

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After the death of these two good Emperours PVPPIENVS and BALBINVS, GORDIANVS being chosen by the Pretorian souldiers (who in their life time was CÆSAR) the Senate and people of *Rome*, seeing no other remedie, willingly approued his election; for he was generally well beloued of all men for the deserts of his Vncle and grandfather: and through this election ensued concord and agreement between the souldiers and the citizens; and so he began his government in good order and had good successe. The first thing he did, was to make many feasts, games and shewes, and to giue many donatiues and rewards both to the citizens and souldiers; whereby he made himselfe exceedingly well beloued. This hapned, by reason that this yong Prince followed the counsell of wise men.

This Gordi-
anus was Ne-
phew of the old
Gordianus
who died in A-
frica.

Presently in the beginning of his taigne a certain Captain named SABINIANVS rebelled in *Africa*; and it succeeded so well, that the Governor of *Mauritanie* by the commandement of GORDIANVS, comming against him; those which conspired with him, tooke him prisoner, and craving pardon for their offence, brought him to *Carthage*; and there deliuered him into the hands of GORDIANVS his Captaines. Who being freed from this care, there remained yet another, which was for the warres against the Persians, who (as we haue said) vsurped certaine Lands of the Empire; against which it was concluded that the Emperour GORDIANVS should goe himselfe in person: and notwithstanding that he was then very yong, hauing married the daughter of a most learned and eloquent Gentleman, whose name was MISTHEVS, whom he presently made Prefect, the authoritie and counsell of the father in law made the raigne of the yong Emperour GORDIANVS very fortunate, and much esteemed. For, notwithstanding that MISTHEVS was but of a meane parentage, yet he was a man of much vertue, and so discrete and considerate in all his actions, as, notwithstanding that GORDIANVS was but a childe and very yong, and somewhat inclined to vice and sensuality, yet he made him an excellent Prince and Gouernor, both in peace and warre. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that the principall and most necessary thing that appertaineth to any King or Prince to make him good, is, to haue good and wise men for his Counsellors, and that his Court be replenished with honest men, and of good conuersation: Which the same GORDIANVS apparently manifested in a letter written by him to his father in law, in answer to another written by him, wherein he had counselled him what he ought to doe, and had reproofed him for some thing that he had done, in this manner:

Mistheus fa-
ther-in-law to
Gordianus.

Q4

The.

A Letter
written by
Gordianus to
his father in
law Mithridates.

The Emperor GORDIANVS AYGVS TVS, to his Father, and Pretorian Prefect, greeting, If the Almighty Gods had not defended and protected the Roman Empire, I had truly by this time been deceived, and sold by these wicked and dishonest men: for I now know, and do very well comprehend, that I ought not to have given the charge of the Roman Cohorts to FALIX, neither to SERAPION of the fourth legion: And because I will not rectify all my errors, I acknowledge that I have done many things that I ought not. But thanks be to the Gods, that thou guiding and instructing me, which doth nothing for courtesies or reward, I have learned and understood many things, which being shut up in my palace with my servants, I should never have learned, neither was it possible for me to have known. For consider a little I pray thee what I could do, being blinded, and sold by MAYRVS, who was confederat with GORDIANVS, REVERENDVS and MONTANVS; so as whatsoever they commended or reproved, trusting to their iudgement, I presently accepted and allowed. The truth is, Father, That Prince is very unfortunate, who hath not about him those which may plainly tell him the truth: for, as the King cannot be among the people, neither can he know what passeth and what is said, of necessitie he is to understand it by the relation of those with whom he is conuerfant, and according to their information, good or euill, to gouerne and dispose of all matters. God giue thee health. By this letter is confirmed that which I said; and how that the good counsell of his father in law, was of great efficacie to make him a good Gouernor.

A great eclipse
of the Sun.

A great earthquake.

Gordianus going to the wars against the Persians.

Gordianus his victory against Sapor King of Persia.

The death of Mithridates.

In the beginning of the reigne of this good Emperour, there were seene certaine signes and tokens in the aire, and vpon the earth, whereby many men did prognosticate that his reigne should not long continue. The first was so great an eclipse of the Sun, as the day seemed to be turned to night: so as euery where the people kindled lights, thereby to see to do their necessarie busines, so long as the Eclipse continued. And, about one yeere after, there was so great and terrible an earth-quake in a manner through all the prouinces of the Empire, that many cities and townes were destroyed, and some were swallowed vp by the earth, which did open in many places. This being past, and the losses repaired in the best manner that could bee, GORDIANVS departed from Rome towards the wars of Persia, with great prouision and infinite summes of money to pay the souldiers which he carried with him, which were many in number, and excellentlie well armed and trained: for he had as good an Armie as euer had any Emperour; and marching ouer land from Italy to passe the streight of Hellespont, he took his way through Asia, to stay the Gathes and other nations which came downe with intent to haue inhabited Thracia: against which he obtained some victories, and left those prouinces free from troubles, and in peace. Having past that streight, he marched with his Armie through Syria, and came to the citie of Antioch which the Persians had taken, and fought some battailies with the mightie Sapor King of Persia, who succeeded his brother ANTAXERXES in that kingdom; where obtaining some notable victories, he recovered the citie of Antioch. From thence he went further, and conquered the great cities of Carras, and Nisibe: for being terrified with the first battailies, Sapor was in so great feare, as notwithstanding that he had leued a very sufficient Armie, yet he not onely durst not fight with GORDIANVS, but leauing the said cities and others, he retired himselfe into his kingdom, abandoning the limis and confines of the Roman Empire. In this warre all things were gouerned and managed by the counsell and direction of MISTHVS, GORDIANVS his father in law, who was his Prefect and capitaine generall: who gouerned all things so well, that he failed not in any thing; and so by his counsell and valour GORDIANVS obtained many victories: and the Romane Armie proceeded, being excellentlie well instructed and trained, aswell in the discipline which apperteineth to souldiers, as in all other things which were requisite for the warres. The like happened in all other matters, which were expedient for the good government of the whole Empire: for he was so good and so wise a man, and therewith the good inclination and disposition of the Emperour did so concur, in whom wanted no sufficientie nor discretion for his age, that all the time of his reigne (which were fixe yeeres) the Roman Empire enioyed peace, rest, and all happines. And while as all things were in this estate, MISTHVS fell sick and died, IULIUS CAESAROLINVS writeth, that he was secretlie poisoned by PHILIP, who succeeded him in his charge, and was afterwards Emperour, and who also was the cause of the death and ruine of the Emperour GORDIANVS; who as soone as MISTHVS was dead, made PHILIP his Prefect and Capitaine generall, nothing suspecting him of treason. This PHILIP was borne in Arabia, of a base and dishonorable parentage; but a very valiant man, and bred vp in the warres in the Romane Armies, and had held many offices and governments. As soone as this

this barbarian was aduanced by GORDIANVS to that high dignitie, he practised how he might obtaine the Empire for himselfe, and fought by all meanes to win the good will of the souldiers, and to make them enemies to GORDIANVS. It happened that in the Armie was great scarcitie of victuals, which was done by the secret practice of PHILIP: and the souldiers imagining the negligence of GORDIANVS to haue been the cause thereof, determined to make PHILIP equall with him in the Empire, and that he should bee as his tutor and gouernor: which the vertuous yong GORDIANVS patiently endured. For he could not withstand the audacious determination of the souldiers: and PHILIP, seeing himselfe equall with him, became presently so insolent and audacious towards GORDIANVS (by reason of his young yeeres, and the fauor of the Armie) as he began to command all, as though hee had been sole Emperour. But GORDIANVS being vnable to endure this disgrace (for great and Noble mindes can hardly suffer themselves to be despised and oppressed) assembling the Armie, complained openly to the Captaines and souldiers, of the pride and ingratitude of PHILIP, calling to minde the benefites which he had bestowed vpon him, and sought to perswade them to depose him from the Empire.

The wickedness
and ingratitude
of Philip, and
the misery of
Gordianus.

PHILIP seeing this, setting all shame apart, assembling together such as were of his faction, and seeking to get the good will of all men, brought his purpose to so good issue, as the miserable Emperour GORDIANVS being abandoned, was brought to such extremitie, as he sent to intreat PHILIP, that if he would not permit him to be his equall, yet at the least that he would be pleased to allowe him the dignitie of CESAR: which seeing he could not obtaine, he desired that he might be his Pretorian Prefect. Which being also denied, he requested him to doe him the fauour, that he might be one of his Captaines so long as he should liue. To this his last petition, his cruell minde seemed to yeeld: but afterwards considering how much GORDIANVS was beloved in Rome, in Africa, and in all the other Prouinces, as well for his naturall vertues, as for the nobilitie of the house from which he was descended, he commanded him to bee slaine. And this was the end of the Noble and worthy yong Emperour GORDIANVS; who reigned fix yeeres: foure alone, and two in the company of PVBIVS and BALBINVS, in the year of our Lord 247, and in the twentieth yeere of his age.

The death of
Gordianus.

Ann. Dom. 247

GORDIANVS was of a pleasant and very Noble condition, of gentle behaviour, very studious, and giuen to learning; so as they write, that he had in his Library threecore and two thousand Books. He was infinitely beloved of the Senate and people of Rome, and generally of all nations of the Empire, and no lesse by the souldiers and men of war, who called him their son. Although in this short sodaine furié, after the mannere of beasts they murdered him by the procurement, practice and treason of PHILIP; yet their furie being past, they made him a sepulchre in the confines of Persia, whereupon they wrote this inscription in the Latine, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues, to the end that of all men it might bee read and understood:

To the sacred GORDIANVS, whomersome the Persians, the Greeks, and the SAYMATES, extinguished the Roman Civil discords, and likewise subdued the Germanes, but not the Philippiens.

Which seemeth to be annexed thereto, for that in the Philippien fields he was put to the worke by the Alanes; and also for that he was commanded to be slaine by PHILIP.





THE LIFE OF PHILIP THE FIRST, AND NINE AND TWENTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(*)



Philip made
peace with the
Persians.

By the subtlety and wicked practices (which we haue already before declared) this traitor PHILIP came to the Empire; and was sworne and obeyed by the whole Arme: he presently aduertised the Senate of his election, and of the death of GORDIANVS, concealing the manner thereof; alleaging that he died of a naturall infirmite. The Senate giuing credit to his letters, approved his election, and gaue him the name of AVOGUSTVS: which when he vnderstood, hauing a great desire to come to Rome, and to see himselfe Lord thereof, hee made a dishonourable peace with the Persians: and leaving vnto them the Prouince of Mesopotamia, and part of Syria, he came with his Arme, towards Rome. But first he desired to visit his countrie Arabia; wherein, for a memo: all of his name, he builded a Citie, which he called Philopolis, neere the place where he was borne, and made his sonne his companion in the Empire, whose name was also PHILIP, a child of six or seuen yeeres old: who (as AVRELIVS VICTOR, and EVROPIVS doe write) was naturally so fad and fowre, as he was neuer seene to laugh, neither could any man by any deuise prouoke him to laughter. PHILIP being come to Rome, although he was receiued as soveraigne Lord, yet was his comming nothing pleasing to the Senate nor Roman people, considering that he had giuen away the Prouince of Mesopotamia to the Persians. Which when he vnderstood, after that he had made a great donatiue, and distributed much money and other gifts among the people, thereby to get their good wils and loue; he sought occasion to make warre against the Persians, and proclaimed the same, with a resolution to recouer the honour which he had lost. But that warre ended before it began, without any breach of peace: for the Persians promised to restore the Prouinces without warre or any opposition.

Secular games,
and why so cal-
led.

PHILIP hauing now raigned two yeeres (and a thousand yeeres being expired since that Rome was founded) he commanded certaine feasts and games to be made, which they called Secular, which was (as it were) to celebrate the birth day of Rome; which feasts were made in Rome euery hundred yeeres. Yet concerning the time there were many opinions; and some Emperors celebrated these feasts and shewes before their times, the Emperour CLAVDIVS before remembred. But the truth is, that they were called Secular, for that they could be made but once in a mans whole life time. Finally, they were the most sumptuous and solemne that were made in Rome: for so did OCTAVIVS make them, and CLAVDIVS also, as I haue said. And afterwards the Emperour DOMITIANVS, although he obserued not the iust computation of the yeeres, as did the Emperour CLAVDIVS, but followed the account of AVOGUSTVS

OCTAVVS CAESAR: and after that, SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS, and now this PHILIP celebrated the same, with the greatest pomp & magnificence that euer had bin seen before this time, as EVROPIVS recordeth, who saith, That in the place called Circus Maximus, were hunted and slaine an infinit number of wilde beasts; and there also fought two thousand sword-players, who (as we haue said) slew one another to giue delight to the beholders, in a furious manner as men now adaires vs to fight vpon challenges in single combats. It is also written, that in POMPEIUS Theatre were such shewes and games; that they lasted three daies and three nights continually; wherein were so great lights that men might see as well at midnight as at noone daies; whereof EVROPIVS and POMPOIVS also make mention. In these sports and about the end of them; as they were many, there being little heed taken, POMPEIUS Theatre took fire, and the greatest part of the timber worke was burnt, with other sumptuous buildings neere vnto it; which fire was hardly quenched. PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth, that this PHILIP was the first Christian Emperour that was truly baptized, and that belceued, and receiued the faith of CHRIST. Other authors affirme, that both hee, his mother and his sonne were christened; and that ORIGEN wrote certaine letters to him; wherein he perswaded him to belecue and to obserue the Christian faith. Others say, that he did but faine and dissemble it, thereby to make himselfe the stronger against DECIVS, through the helpe of the Christians, which DECIVS rebelled against him. But I rather beleue OCTAVIVS and EVROPIVS.

Philip bapti-
zed a Christian.

PHILIP and his sonne liuing thus in the quiet possession of the Empire, the Gothes, which in the time of GORDIANVS had infested Thracia, came now from Scythia with a very great Arme through Misia into Thracia, and did much hurt there, burning many cities and townes: against whome, the Emperour sent for Captaine one MARINVS, a man very expert in the warres, and very valiant of his person; who when he was settled in his charge, with the aide and fauour of the men of warre, whereof he before was Captaine, and of the ordinarie Legions of Illyricum, leaving the seruice wherein he was employed, resolved to rebell, and to make himselfe Emperour, holding it lawfull to betray him, that had been a traitor to another; and for such was presently sworne and proclaimed by the Arme.

Marinus re-
belled against
Philip.

When PHILIP vnderstood hereof, he was much troubled: and in great feare complained to the Senate of the ingratitude and presumption of MARINVS. Some write that DECIVS was there present: who being a man of great widom & experience, very Nobly defended, and was afterwards Emperour, did comfort and encourage him, and perswaded him not to be grieved therewith: for (quoth he) MARINVS his presumption will shortly cost him very deare, which happened so indeede: For, within fewe daies after, the same Arme which had chosen him, being discontented with the manner of his carriage toward them, were as ready to bereaue him of his life, as they were to make him Emperour; and accordingly slew him. Which newes being brought to PHILIP, and he remembering what DECIVS had said in the Senate, gaue him the charge and command of the Arme against the Gothes and Scythians, with a great encrease both of men and munition, and of all things necessary for such an enterprife. DECIVS as a man of experience and discretion, and sufficiently able to discharge that office, came to the Army: where within fewe daies all the souldiers, as well for the worthinesse of his person, as also for that they stood in feare of PHILIP for those matters lately past, resolved to make him Emperour: and so indeede by force and against his will they made him to take the ensignes, name and dignitie of Emperour.

Decius made
Emperour by
the souldiers
against his wil.

When DECIVS saw himselfe advanced to so high an estate, he practised a cunning policy, which was thus; He priuily sent a secret messenger to tell PHILIP that he had accepted the title of Emperour; being perforce constrained thereto, as was well knowne; but held no man for Emperour but PHILIP; and that he therefore should not be offended: for he did assure him, that as soone as he could possibly get any libertie, he would renounce the Empire. This he did to the end that PHILIP should take no care, nor make any such preparation against him, as reason required; and finally, to temporize vntill that he might encrease his power, and make himselfe able to defend his cause. But PHILIP (whether he gaue credit to his speeches or no) forslow not his businesse, but determined with himselfe to repose no trust in any other Captaine, but to goe against him himselfe in person; and to that end leuied many new troupes, and sent for the ordinarie legions out of sundry Prouinces, threatening and swearing that he would teare DECIVS and the rebellious legions which were with him in pieces; And so departed from Rome, commanding his men of warre with such choler and in such haue

Preparation
made by Philip
against Decius.

Philip slaine
in Verona by his
owne souldiers.

tic manner, as he became hatefull to all men; And they holding, **DECIVS**, more worthy of the Empire, before he went out of *Italy*, in the Citie of *Verona* proclaiming **DECIVS** Emperour, his owne souldiers slue him, cutting his head off, by the midst of his face, iust with the vpper row of his teeth.

When as the newes hereof came to *Rome*, the Pretorian souldiers killed his melancholicke sonne, who was neuer knowne to laugh; being (according to some writers,) about the fift yeer of his and his fathers raigne; and after some other writers, the seuenth: Which happened in the yeere of our Lord two hundred, fiftie and two, after **EVSERIVS** his computation.

Truly it was the iust judgement of God, that by the same meanes that he obtained the Empire, he lost the same: and the same souldiers by whose hands hee put his good liege Lord **GORDIANVS** to death, even the very same souldiers murdered him: and, as he was a traytor and disloyall to his soueraigne; so found he none faithfull to him being Lord.



THE LIFE OF DECIVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(*)



PHILIP and his sonne being both dead (in such manner as before is exprested) **DECIVS** without any contradiction was confirmed Emperour: for the Senate presently chose him in his absence, and gaue him the title of **AVGVSTVS**, and so did all the Prouinces and the Armies. For, all writers affirme, that morally this **DECIVS** was an excellent man, and was endued with many vertues and sufficiencies: hee was very wife and discrete, and of great experience, and had held many offices and dignities before hee attained to the Empire; which he obtained not by fauor or any sinister meanes; but for his deserts and goodnesse: And so governed the same wisely and vprightly, with singular equitie and authority. The like he did in the Empire, during the

small time he enioyed the same: and aboue all, he was a most politick, valiant and excellent Captaine; so as he might iustly haue been numbered among the good Emperours, if he had not (as an infidell) persecuted the Church of God, and all Christians, with most barbarous cruelty; such, as the like thereof had neuer been seene: the which (as some writers affirme) he did of malice, and for the hatred which he bare against his predecessor the Emperour **PHILIP**, for that he was a Christian: And so in his time the Church of God suffered the seventh persecution. In such sort he persecuted in his cruelty, staining therewith his other vertues, that he crowned many with martyrdome; leaving to vs examples of their holy and vertuous lives and endings

The seventh persecution of the Church of God.

endings. This Emperour was borne in a Citie called *Cabali* in the lower *Pannonia*, which wee call *Hungarie*, and (as we haue sayd) was of a very Noble and ancient Lineage. As soone as he saw himselfe an absolute Lord, through the desire he had to come to *Rome*, he made **CORNELIVS LICINIUS VALERIANVS** Generall of his mightie Armie, who was a wife man and of great experience: so as for his good conditions, and his age, being threecore and fixe yeeres old, hee was of great authoritie, and to all men seemed most to bee fitt for that charge.

When **DECIVS** was come to *Rome*, he shewed himself in all things a very good Gouernor, and preferred the authority of the Senat; following their counsel in all matters of government. And among other things, he permitted them to chuse a Censor at their pleasure, which was an ancient Magistracy of great authority; for his office was to correct the manners and customes, and to reforme the abuses and disorders of the people, and therefore had supreme iurisdiction ouer all men: and this office, from the time that *Rome* came to be commanded by one head, the Emperours vsurped, and made themselves Censors. Whereupon the Senate chose the said **VALERIANVS** for Censor, notwithstanding that hee was absent; and, moreover, without any request made by **DECIVS**, they nominated his sonne (whose name was also **DECIVS**) **CEASAR**, and his Successor. And so he liued in the City about one yeer, governing all things with great wildome and equity, by the aduice and consent of the Senate, to the great contentment of all the Roman people, excepting the Christian Common-wealth: against which, hee (as a blinde man) made general edicts and decrees; whereby he commanded them to bee slaine and persecuted, as **EVSERIVS** writeth. And whereas the Goths, at this time inuading *Thracia* and *Misia*, had subdued the greatest part of those Prouinces, **DECIVS** determined in person to make head against them; and, carrying his sonne with him, hee left the government in the hands of the Senate; and, leuying new forces, he marched against the Gothes; and, coming where his Legions were, within fewe daies after hee joined battell with them: in the which although it were very doubtfull, yet in the end hee had the victorie; and slue thirty thousand of them; constraining the rest to flee to the mountains and other places of hard access, not daring to come into the Plaines; and he brought them to such extremitie, as he had easily ruined them, if he had not bene betrayed, as you shall heare. For, the King of the Gothes sent him word, that if he would giue him leaue quietly to depart, he would abandon that Land, and returne to his countrie. But the Emperour hauing taken the passages, imagining that he might easily kill them, or take them prisoners, and so punish their breach of peace granted them in the time of **BALDINVS**, would not yeeld to the Kings request. Hauing brought them to such a streight as they could not escape out of his hands, he gaue the charge to a notable Captaine of his, whose name was **TREBONIANVS GALLVS**, being a Roman Gentleman & Gouernor of the frontiers of *Misia*, to keepe certaine passages, through which the Gothes might passe; and to that effect gaue him the command of a great number of souldiers. Who, hauing a desire to make himself Emperour by such means as then were vsed, not onely discharged his office wherein he was imploied, very ill; but gaue secret intelligence to the King of the Gothes, that he would let him passe, aduising him therewith to diuide his Army into two parts; the one half wherof he should lay in ambush, and with the other he should assault the Emperours Camp, who mistrusted no such matter; and that, faining fear, he should flee back, and draw the Emperour into his ambush, where he might in safety kill him. This contract being made, the effect followed, as writeth **POMPONIUS LETVS**: but **IORNANDVS** relateth it after another manner. Yet all Authors agree, that, through the treason of his Captain **GALLVS**, the Emperour **DECIVS** came to a battell with the Gothes, to their great aduantage: wherein notwithstanding that hee and his souldiers fought most valiantly, yet both himself and his sonne therein ended their liues. **IORNANDVS** writeth, that, before a man could well iudge of the victorie, the yong **DECIVS** was so mortally wounded with an arrow, that hee fell from his horse in fight of his father the Emperour: who with a loud voice called to his souldiers, willing them not to be dismayd: for, the death of one Knight would bee no hinderance to the Common-wealth, neither to the battell. But in the end foreseeing his ruine, and that the Gothes apparently had the victorie; to the end he would not fall into his enemies hands, he clapt his spurs to his horse, and (giuing him the head) leapt into a deep lake of water that was thereby; wherein, through the waight of his armour, he was soon drowned: so as his body was neuer found. The Gothes, following the victorie, made great slaughter in the Roman Army, which was put to rout; and those which escaped fled to the Legions with **TREBONIANVS GALLVS** commanded;

Valerianus made Censor by the Senate. The Senat chose yong Decius for Censor, and his fathers successor.

A battell between Decius and the Gothes.

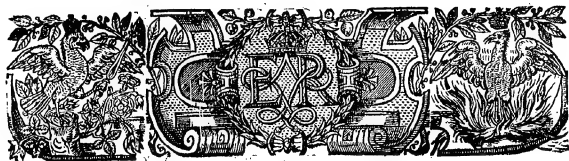
Trebonianus Gallus betrayed Decius, and was the cause of his death.

A battell between Decius and the Gothes.

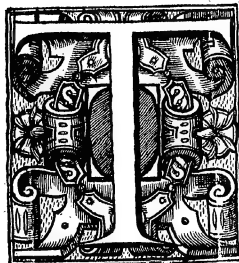
The yong Decius, seeing his son mortally wounded fell in the ground. The miserable death of Decius.

An. Dom. 154.

manded, who as a confederat with the *Gothes*, was in safety; and sought no reuenge for the death of the Emperor. And in this manner ended the life and raigne of the Emperor *DECIVS*, who had oftentimes deferred the same for the cruelties which he commanded to be executed vpon the *Christians*, which hapned in the yeere of our Sauour 254. and in the fiftith yeere of his age, when he had raigned but two yeeres. It is not knowne who was this Emperors wife, neither what his father and ancestors names were, or who they were; neither can we set downe any particularities, as we haue obserued in the liues of other Emperors, for that no author maketh any mention thereof, and all write very little of him. I say this, to the end that the reader may vnderstand, that I will not presume to write at large in a matter wherein I find such breuities vsed by authors: for I seeke rather briefly to set downe the naked truth, then to beautifie the Historie with fictions, as I haue scene some men doe. My purpose from the beginning hath been to be briefe: for I do not properly write an Historie, but the sum and an abbridgment of Histories, containing the liues of the Emperors, whereof we will write more largely when it shall seeme more expedient; although that in the times whereof we now write, Historiographers wrote so negligently, and obserued so little order, as a man can hardly draw that little out of their writings which we treat of.



THE
LIFE OF TREBONIANVS GALLVS,
ONLY OF THAT NAME,
AND ONE AND THIRTITH
ROMANE EMPEROR.
(*)



A disonorable
peace made by
Gallus with the
Goths.

THE *Gothes* hauing by the meanes aboue mentioned obtained this victorie, wherein both *DECIVS* and his son died, those souldiers which thence escaped recouering *GALLVS* his Camp, hailed him Emperor; knowing nothing of the treason which he had committed: and he which desired nothing more, accepted the same, and took the Ensignes of the Empire. When the newes of the death of *DECIVS* and of his sonne came to *Rome*, and of the slaughter made in the Roman Armie (before that *GALLVS* his treason was discovered) the Senate vnderstanding that the Armie had chosen him for Emperor, and that his companies had refused those which escaped from the battaile, confirmed his election, and gaue him the name and title of *AUGVSTVS*. But this *GALLVS*, notwithstanding that hee was a Gentleman and descended of an honourable house, was not contented with the treason which he had vied towards his Emperour and soueraigne Lord, but through a desire to com to *Rome*, made peace with the *Gothes*; the most shameful and dishonorable, that euer was made by any Roman since that *Rome* was first founded: for hee promised to pay them

them yearly a great summe of money; making that people which was held for Loid of the world, and Subduer and Tamer of all other Nations, tributarie to the barbarous: so as, to the end he might be called Emperor, he made both himself and the Empire tributarie and subject to the *Gothes*. Such power hath ambition and desire to reign, that men thereby make themselves slaves to some, conditionally that they may command and haue authority ouer others. And hee prospered as ill therewith as hee had deferred: for, the *Gothes* afterwards brake the peace, and did more harm in his time than in any Age before, sacking and spoiling the Provinces of *Thracia*, *Misia*, *Thessalia*, *Macedonia*, and the Confinnes and Frontiers thereof: for all which he took little care. And, on the other side, the *Perfians* in *Asia*, seeing the good successe of the *Gothes*, entred with great power into the Countreies of *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*; which were provinces of the Empire: and afterwards, passing forwards, they subdued *Armenia*. But *GALLVS*, taking no care for these things, made his son *BOLYSSANVS* his companion in the Empire, who was a very childe. And afterwards he not onely permitted the persecution inflicted by *DECIVS* vpon the *Christians*, but increased the same.

There began also in his time a most cruell generall pestilence, whereof died an infinite number of people; which beganne in *Ethiopia* in the Confinnes of *Egypt*, and from thence infected all parts of the world, and continued ten yeeres. During which time (as *PAVLEVS OROSIVS* recounteth) there was no Prouince, no City, nor priuate house, which was not left in a manner desolate with this vniuersall plague; whereof hee compiled a Book, as *EVSEBIVS* and *S. CYPRIAN* bear record, who liued in those times. So as all the Raigne of this wicked Emperour was unfortunate and mournfull; as well for the Provinces which hee lost, as for the calamities before recited. Onely hee had one notable victory in the Prouince of *Misia* against the *Gothes*, vnder the leading of *EMILIANVS* a Captain of his: where he slew many thousands of them, and followed the execution for certain daies. This ouerthrowe was the ruine and total destruction of *GALLVS*: for, *EMILIANVS*, waxing proud for so great a victory, and returning from it with an imagination of that which afterwards ensued, gaue great gifts among his souldiers; and so, getting their loue and good will, was chosen and sworn Emperor. Which when *GALLVS* vnderstood, with all the haste hee could make hee parted from *Rome* with a great Army, leading his son with him. Against whom *EMILIANVS* boldly cam to a battell, and had the victory: wherein *GALLVS* and his son were both slain, and their souldiers went to serue *EMILIANVS*. This hapned in the yeere of our Lord 256; *GALLVS* being then (as testifieth *AURELIVS VICTOR*) at the age of seuen and forty yeeres, and in the second yeere of his most vnhappy Raigi.

The *Goths* broke
the peace made
with Gallus.

The *Perfians* entered the provinces of the empire

A vniuersall
plague in the
time of Decius

Emilianus
overthrowe the
Goths in a battell.

Emilianus
killed
his father.

The Emperor
Gallus and his
son both slain in
battell.



THE
LIFE OF EMILIANVS, ONLY
OF THIS NAME, AND TWO AND
THIRTITH EMPEROR OF *ROME*.
(*)



EMILIANVS succeeded *GALLVS* in the Empire. Some Authors account him not in the number of the Emperours, and shew a reason for it, considering the small time that he held the same, which was rather in name than effect. But, seeing he was so, I haue thought good to make particular relation of him, for as much as *EVETORIUS* and other Authours haue done the like. I say then, that the Emperour *GALLVS* being ouerthrowne and slain; and *EMILIANVS*, remaining victorious; joyning both Armies in one, hee beganne to vie the name and authority which was giuen him. But, seeing the time of his Raigi was so short that

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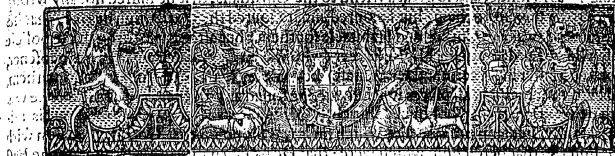
The origin of
Emilianus.

Large promise
made by Emili-
anus.

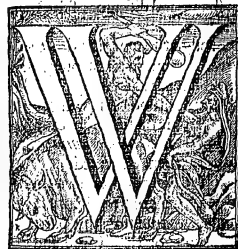
Emilianus slain
by his fouldiers,
& Valerianus
made Emperour.

it lasted not above foure moneths, there can no worthe thing be written : for as his time was very briefe, so doe authors briefly write. He was by birth an Africane, borne in the countrie of *Mauritania*, of base and obscure parentage, and from his youth was bred vp in the wars: and as he increased in yeeres, so did he in honor and offices. At length the Emperour *DECIUS* made him Captain General, and Gouernor of the frontiers and confines of *Sarmatia*; in which charge *GALLVS* left him, and there succeeded that which we haue recited, which was to obtaine a victorie against the Gothes, and to rebell against *GALLVS*; and afterwards to ouerthrow and kill both him & his son, and to make himself Emperour. When as these matters were ended he wrote with all speed to the Senat, giuing them to vnderstand of his victory and election, putting them also in mind of the negligence and euill gouernment of *GALLVS*, and of the Prouinces which the Roman Empire had lost in his times, promising very confidently to recover *Thracia* from the Gothes, and *Mesopotamia* & *Armenia* from the Persians, and to cleere all the confines of the Empire from their enemies : which his purpose as he would haue put it in execution, he was preuented; for the Army which was in the Alps (whereof *VALERIANVS*, a man of Noble birth and of great authority, was General) opposed, and in no case would allow the election of *EMILIANVS*, but rose against him, and chose their commander for Emperour. Which when *EMILIANVS* fouldiers vnderstood, moou'd with the reputation of *VALERIANVS*, which (as we will declare in his life) was very great, and to auoide ciuil wars, they resolu'd to confirm his election : and so in a manner by the Common consent of them all, *EMILIANVS* was slaine, being 40 yeeres old, when he had reigned little more then 3 moneths. All his troups went to serue *VALERIANVS*, to whom they iware, and obeyed him for their Lord and Emperour. And this was the end of the reigne of *EMILIANVS*, because his end should be answerable to his beginning. And in truth, writing this discourse, and considering of the estate & condition of things in those times, I was moued with great admiration and pitie, to think of the miseries of that age: for where there was such insolency and disorder, as fouldiers did daily murder their Emperours, and chose others as they pleased, and no man sought to punish them, or to reuenge the wrong; what shal a man think was done in particular prouinces: what robberies, what rapines and outrages were there vsed? What execution of iustice could that Emperour command to be done, which came to the Empire by treason, and killing his soueraigne Lord? It is easy to be beleued, that he would willingly pardon all Offences, ypon condition that he might be obeyed, especially such as were committed by powerfull and mightie men. And moreover, oftentimes the newes of the election of an Emperour was scarcely published, and his election confirmed, before that the like newes came, that he was slaine by those which had chosen him, or by some other personage of more power. And it may be that it happened so vnto them, for that they took no other care, nor busied themselves about ought else, but how they might support themselves in the Empire. And so the reader shall find that thirteene Emperours which preceded *VALERIANVS*, of which we will treat, died violent deaths; and none of them naturally, in his bed, beginning from the time of the good *MARCVS AVRELIVS*, vntill this man. And so the same *VALERIANVS*, together with his son, & other Emperours also died by the sword. In the time that this *VALERIANVS* & *GALLIENVS* reigned, there were thirte tyrants which vsurped the name of Emperour, who killing one another, or plotting it by some other means, none of them died his naturall death; so as, when one was proclaimed Emperour, he might be assured to com to an ill end; in such sort, that among all the miseries of those times, the greatest was, To be an Emperour : and the Emperours were such, and came to that dignity by such means, that by Gods iust iudgement they made such ends. And though in all estates there were disorders and confusion (and so it appears by the histories of those times) yet only the holy faith and Christian doctrine increased, as well in vertue and holiness of life, as in number of people; but they escaped not free from persecution. This I thought good to note & observe in this place, thereby to shew that men ought not so much to blame these times wherein we now liue, as some haue done; commending the customs of ancient times, diffaming and reprouing all that passeth in our time. I deny not but wee now are wicked and finners; but let the discreet Reader make a comparison of the order now obserued in all things, with the gouernment of those times; and he shall cleere perceiue the difference, and how farre this doth excell those times past. God grant that we may equall the good and happy times, in vertue.

THE



LIFE OF VALERIANVS ONLY OF THAT NAME AND THREE AND THIRTY THE EMPEROR OF ROME.



WE haue already declared, how that *VALERIANVS* was chosen Emperour, by the fouldiers whereof he was General; and how that *EMILIANVS* was afterwards slaine, by the hands of his owne fouldiers; and that all reduced themselves vnder the seruice of *VALERIANVS*; and that in this manner he was held for Emperour both in *Rome*, and abroad; with as great fauor and good liking of all nations, as eueryday had bene *VALERIANVS* when he was chosen Emperour, was of great age : for all authors which write of him affirme, that he was then fullie threescore and ten yeeres old; which time he had spent with great honor and fame both vnder good and bad Emperours, by meanes of his vertuous qualities and valour; and had attained to many dignities, and had held many magistracies and offices; among which, in the time of the Emperour *DECIUS* he was made Censor of *Rome*, and was highly honored by the same *DECIUS*, and by all the Senate; and was also of a very Noble and ancient house and familie. Finally, in all his life time before that he was Emperour, he was honored and happie in all his doings; and so there was great hope that he should haue repaired all the calamities and miseries of his time; which happened cleane contrary : for after his ioyfull beginning, in all the rest of his age he was miserable and vnfortunate. When he came to the Empire hee had two sonnes, the one called *GALIENVS*, and the other (as himselfe) *VALERIANVS*; which he had by several women. *TREBELLIVS POLLEX* and others say, that *VALERIANVS* was but his nephew. His victorie and election being knowne in *Rome*, and with great ioy and gladnes applauded; *GALIENVS* being there, was by the Senate and people chosen *CÆSAR*; and his fathers successor, as afterwards he was, as *EVYRHOPIVS* writeth : but *SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR* saith, that his father made him *AVGVSTVS*, which was his equall and companion with him in the Empire: both the one and the other might well be. His second sonne *VALERIANVS* (as some say) was made *CÆSAR*; and others name him not. *VALERIANVS* beginning to take vpon him the gouernment of the Empire, the first thing he did, was to nominate and appoint Capitaines (men of experience, and that had shewed themselves valiant) chosen among many Noble men, which had serued in the warres against the Parthians, the Persians, the Gothes, and other northerly nations : and so he determined to goe himself in person (and did so) to the warres of the East, against the Persians, which was most dangerous: for *SAPOR K.* of *Persia* had invaded & taken certain prouinces of the Empire. There was also then in the East, one *CORIALVS*, an audacious man, and of great account, who by the consent of *SAPOR K.* of *Persia*, proclaimed himself Emperour, seising on *Cæsarea*, *Antioch* & other cities and places in the borders; but his prosperitie soon ended: for his own people of malice & fearing *VALERIANVS* coming, slue him etc the Emperour arrived : who, *EVSBEIVS* saith, in the beginning

Valerianus fa-
uoured of all
men.

Galiens made
Cæsar by the
Senate.

Corialus cho-
sen Emperour
by the consent
of the King of
Persia, and his
death.

of his Raig was so milde, and so great a friend to the Christians, that he suffred not any wrong or violence to be done vnto them; but fauoured and honoured them in so high degree, that his Houle and Palace was as a Church and Habitable for them: but afterward, through the policie and perswasion of a Magician or Nigromancer (who was an Egyptian born, an arrant coferner, and a notable Master in forcerie and witchcraft) hee not onely desisted from fauouring them, but vied extreme cruelty in all places wherefoeuer he found any of them; so as in his time was the ninth persecution of the Catholick Church, whereof PAVLYS OKROIV in his Histories maketh particular mention. For which sin it was supposed, that God plagued him with the great miseries that befell him, which were; that He passing with a great Army into the East against Sapor King of Persia, Sapor, who was a man of great courage, and very mighty, came to encounter him; between whom it was supposed there would haue been a very great battell: but it happed otherwise. For, the Emperour through the negligence, as some say, of the Generall of his Army who conducted it; but, as others say, through the treason and deceit of the same Generall, was set in a place without any sufficient guard: where being compassed about by Sapor's men of war, all the passages were taken; in such sort, that, being vnable to make any resistance, he was taken prisoner by Sapor, who was a proud Barbarian: besides the other injuries which he vied to the poor old imprisoned Emperour, euery time he took hork he made him to stoop down; and he, setting his foot vpon his neck, mounted on horseback.

In this forrowfull bondage and misery liued this poor old man six or seuen yeeres: and his son GALIENVS took no care to procure his liberty; so the great shame and disgrace of the Imperiall Majesty.

This imprisonment of the Emperour was so much abhorred through the world, and Sapor was so much blamed for the exceffue cruelty which he vied towards him, that not onely those which were subject to the Roman Empire, but also the barbarous Kings which were friends to it, were greatly displeased therewith: so as presently, when they vnderstood thereof, they wrote their Letters vnto him, that he should freely without any ranfome set him at liberty: of which Letters, TREBELLIVS POLLIO translateth one, which I will set down *verbatim*; whereby it may appear, how much the power of the Romans then was by them esteemed.

BALSOLVS King of Kings, to King Sapor, greeting. If I were assured that the Romans might at any time be wholly overcome, I would reioice with thee for the victory which thou hast obtained against them; whereof thou makest such vaunts, accounting thy particular good to be profitable for vs all. But, seeing that through their fortune, or their force and vertue, that Nation is so mighty; consider and take good heed, that the taking of an old Emperour (and that through treacherie) redound not to the ruine of thy self and thy successors: and consider how many people and nations the Romans, of enemies, haue made subjects and vassals to their Empire; by which in former time they haue been overcome. We haue heard and knowe that in times past the Gaules overcame them, and that the great and mighty City of Rome was entred, yea and burned by them; and now it is manifest, that the same Gaules are subject to the Romans. And haue not the Africans ouerthrowne them sometimes? Yet at this day they are their subjects, and do serue them. I will not make mention of any more ancient and farther remote examples: onely I will say, that MYTRIDATES, King of Pontus, was Lord of all Asia; and yet in the end was ouerthrowne by them: and at this day all that part of Asia which he commanded, is subject to the Romans. If thou wilt follow my counsell, make benefit of the occasion which is offered thee, to obtain a perfect peace with them; which thou maist doo, by restoring VALERIANVS to his people. And so I conclude, that thou hast had great fortune: whereof I am glad if thou knowe how to vse it.

This is the contents of this Letter, and of others which he receiued from other Kings; which in effect do import the same. And the Bactrians, the Albanians, the Iberians, the Scythians of Mount Taurus, and other nations of the East, were so much displeased with the taking of VALERIANVS, that they would not receiue the Letters wherein Sapor wrote vnto them of his victory: and so they sent their Ambassadors to the Captains of the Romans, offering them their aid and assistance for the deliuey of the Emperour. But all auailed not to mitigate the pride and presumption of that cruell King: for, all the time that VALERIANVS liued in his power, he vied him worse than if hee had been the basest slave in the world; and in the end (as EUSEBIVS writeth) hauing commanded his eies to be pulled out, hee died of age and sorrow in prison. And ACOATHVS (an Author of no small authority) writeth, that before he died, Sapor caused him to be flayed aliue: such was the pride and cruelty of this barbarous King.

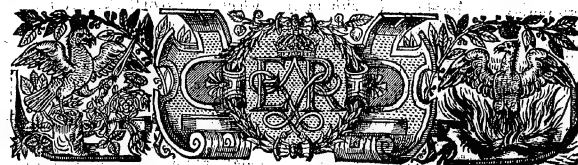
The ninth persecution of the Christians.

Valerianus taken prisoner by Sapor King of the Persians, and his escape.

A Letter from King Balisus to Sapor King of Persia.

The death of Valerianus.

VALERIANVS died in the eight yeere after that he was chosen Emperour: and because that the most of the time he liued in prison, the rest of his raigne they put to the account of his sonne GALIENVS; who was chosen Emperour at the same time with him.



THE LIFE OF GALIENVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND THIRTITH ROMANE EMPEROR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

Valerianus being taken prisoner by the King of Persia, his sonne Galienus, in whose company he had reuled the Empire the space of seven yeeres, neither made any preparation to revenge the wrong done to his father, neither took any care to redeme him from imprisonment with money or any other means: and so seeing himselfe alone in the Empire, wholly forgetting his father, leading a life no lesse carelesse then dissolute; spending his time in banqueting, his things, lasciuiousnesse, and in beholding sometimes bloudie and cruell, and sometimes pleasant and ridiculous spectacles. This Emperour made so small account of his owne honoy, and was so carelesse of the Empire, as notwithstanding that he vnderstood of the rebellion of many Princes, and that many men were made Emperours; yet he seemed not to regard the same, alledging that he could liue well enough without them: In so much as a woman, Queene Zenobia, presumed to make head against him, and to defend her selfe against his Armies. Finally, going against Aureolus, who made himselfe prince of Slanonia, he was besieged in Milan, through the conspiracy of some which aspired to the Empire; and was slaine in battaile, when hee had reigned eight yeeres alone, and seuen together with his father: whose death, although it was displeasing to his soldiers, was not much lamented by the Romans; who vnder his government bad scene in a manner all the whole Empire ruined, together with his owne greatness.



When VALERIANVS was taken prisoner, his sonne GALIENVS was admitted for sole and absolute Emperour; although thasin his fathers time he was but AVOVSVS. I haue already declared how offensive the imprisonment of VALERIANVS was, and how that all the world surmised that GALIENVS would haue employed all his power, for the liberie of his father, and to haue been reuenged of the iniurie done vnto him: but he put no such matter in practice, for it was the least part of his thought; so as it is to be presumed, and many were then of opinion, that he was rather glad that his father was a slave to the King of Persia, then otherwise: for by that meanes he was sole Lord of the Empire; which he commanded fiftene yeeres: seuen yeeres in the life time of his father, although in prison; and the rest afterwards. The Historie of which Emperours, is the most confused and hardest to write, of all that euer I haue

In the time of
Galenus were
thrice Empe-
rours in suc-
cessive parts.

The authors
except,

Macrinus came
into the Empire
by force, and
was the
time of Galie-
nus.

Great harvests
done in sundry
parts of the
world in the
time of Galie-
nus, by Earth-
quakes and
other strange
things.

have read or heard of so long in the space of little fifteen years, there were more excellent men which rook upon them the name of Emperours; or were so, although tyrants, then with three hundred yeeres before, after that IULIUS CAESAR had oppressed the libertie of Rome. For, in the time of G A L I E N V S there were thirte Emperours chosen, and obeyed in diuerse places. Let the different reader then consider, that where there happened so many accidents, which often came together, what order can be obserued, but that there will be confusion and obscuritie in the Historie: especially considering the breuitie I am to observe, and having so little light from authors. For I say, that although many have treated of the life of this Emperour, yet no one hath written so plainly & distinctly as he ought to have done: and besides this, in some things he is one while cleane contrary to the other. Therefore I will, by my best endeavour, to bring this obscure and confused matter to light: where with let the Reader be satisfied, seeing I cannot possibly doe otherwise, except I should write the matter very much at large; which were to fill the whole, thereby to set one part in order. I say then, that in the reign and time of G A L I E N V S, there were greater waues and calamities, then the Romane Empire had euer endured. For VALENTIANVS (as PAVLVS OROSIVS noteth) having generally persecuted the Church in all places and parts vnder his subiection; it pleased God, as well in his owne person, as in his ministers and officers, and in all those which therein were confederates, to vnderstand and notable punishment in all parts, in the time of his sonne; and the greatest part thereof in his owne time, living in captiuitie. And notwithstanding that G A L I E N V S as soon as hee alone swaied the scepter of the Empire (as EVSEBIVS and OROSIVS testify) commanded the persecution inflicted vpon the Christians to cease, sending his letters and edicts to all parts: yet as hee did it as an Infidel, and for feare onely, so the diuine iustice ceased not to punish the excessive cruelties past, for a sained present amendment. So as during the whole life time of G A L I E N V S, the Empire was vltured by diuers tyrants, which were called Emperours: onely Italy and Rome continued firme to him.

And in that time also, strange Nations entred and invaded the Empire with fire and sword; of one side the Germanes came downe into Italy, and passing the Alpes came as farre as RAVENNA: The Gothes robbed and spoiled all POMIS, and a great part of Asia the lesse; and in Europe all GRACIA, MACEDONIA, and their confines: The Sarmates subdued and robbed Austria and Hungary. The Germans passing through France entred Spaine, to the citie of Tarragona, which they ruined. The Persians and Parthians, already possessing Mesopotamia, seized vpon the greatest part of Syria. So as in confusion all things went so to wracke, as all writers affirme, that the Romane Empire had then ended and come to confusion; had not those tyrants, which in many places rose and called themselves Emperours (some of which were very valiant and worthie men) holpen to defend and plucke the Empire out of the hands of those strange Nations, as wee will declare. And the Emperour to whom it belonged to provide for all things, although that in the beginning hee made some good shew of himselfe, performing some things as a valiant Capitaine, and outscame and slew INNOCENTIVS a wife and valiant Knight, which rebelled and was called Emperour, being Capitaine and gouernour of Hungary and Austria; and also fought a battaile wherein hee ouercame the Gothes, in which victories he vsed incredible crueltie, so as in one citie hee left no man living, of what age soeuer: Yet afterwards hee gaue himselfe so much to vice and sensuality, that when as the world was infested with wars and combusions, he continued the most part in Rome, taking his pleasure among whores and bawdes, compassed about with roses and flowers, seeking new delights; oftentimes bathing himselfe; studying how hee might keepe figges and other fruites greene all the yeere, and how they might last two or three yeeres, hauing ordinarily at his table most exquisite and delicate meates, and of great cost. And in such manner hee passed his time, that nothing troubled him, neither took he any care for the losse which daily enlied in the territories of his Empire. It is strange, To consider, that the Romane Empire at that time was not onely molested with warres and persecutions by men, but euen the very heauens and elements did seeme to conspire, and to plague it: for TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that the heauens were darkened in such sort, that for many daies space, they neuer saw the Sunne; and therewithall the earth did oftentimes shake in Rome, in all Italy, in Africa, and other countries: and with those Earthquakes, many great buildings fell downe, and shew an infinite number of people. Principally in Asia many cities were destroyed, and the earth opened in many places; and shewed great vaults and caues; and there sprang out at them great streames of salt water. And there were heard thundrings and torings in the bowels of the earth, without any thunder in the aire, as is vsuall: whereat many were so amazed, as they

did

died with feare. The Sea exceeded the bownds, and ouerflowed and drowned many cities; and many prodigious and wonderfull things happened. After this followed the most cruell pestilence that euer was heard or written of: so as in Rome there died in one day thereof full chouldan persons. For all which accidents G A L I E N V S took so little care, as though there had been no such matter. And when it was told him that the whole kingdom of Egypt rebelled against him, he answered; And what then? Cannot we live without the linnen cloth of Egypt? Being advertised of the spoile and losse of other provinces, he answered so scornfully, that he seemed not to care for any thing: which was the occasion that so many tyrants made themselves Lords and Emperours in his time. Of which it shall not be amisse to say something, seeing that we haue shewed the life and conditions of G A L I E N V S, and of his raigne; to the end that his historie may be the better vnderstood. If I should speak of them all at large, and describe their parentage, and all their acts, it would bee an endlesse worke: for (as I said) they were in all, thirte. But let the reader vnderstand, that all the accidents and occurrences cannot bee set downe in order as they passed: for they were so many, and happened in so many places, and many of them at one instant, that it would bee impossible to bee well vnderstood, if I should observe the order of the time, wherein euery thing happened: for to speake of one matter I must leaue another, so as the historie would be abrupt and very confused. And therefore we will begin with those matters which happened in the East; and when we haue briefly giuen notice thereof, wee will passe to other parts. Wherefore let him that shall read it vnderstand, that many of these things came to passe at one instant; and sometime before those which are treated of.

VALENTIANVS then (as we said in the beginning) being taken prisoner, and his sonne vnging no industrie to set his father at libertie, the souldiers and Capitaines which remained in the East, went disperfed and scattered with great sorrow for the disgrace they had receiued; greatly offended with the carelessness of G A L I E N V S. Wherefore BALISTA, who was Prefect and Generall of VALENTIANVS Armie, an excellent man of warre, very sufficient, and diligent in making prouision for the Armie, and in all other things requisite for the warres; and another singular Capitaine of great experience and age, who was of greatest estimation of any man of his time, whose name was MACRINVS, assembling the Romane Legions and cohorts together; with the consent and good liking of them all, they agreed to chuse an Emperour, to defend and preserve the bounds of the Empire, to recouer what was lost, and to set VALENTIANVS (if possible) at libertie; seeing that G A L I E N V S took no care thereof. And after long consultation betwene BALISTA and MACRINVS, in the end MACRINVS was chosen and obeyed for Emperour; and with him his two sonnes, the one named MACRINVS, and the other QVINTVS, were made his companions in the Empire: and hee presently made BALISTA Prefect or Generall of his Armie. When MACRINVS saw himselfe an Emperour and mightie by reason of the Armies in the East, which hee speedily drew together and put in good order; he marched with them to the confines of Persia, and in some battailes staid their insolenies by reason of their former victories. But standing in feare of a valiant Capitaine whose name was VALERVS, who was Proconsul in the prouince of Achaia in Gracia; hee sent against him a great Armie vnder the command of PISO, who had bin Consul, and was a Noble and valiant gentleman, to seize on that countrie, and thence to passe into Italy. When VALERVS vnderstood thereof, to the end he might be of greater authoritie and power, he caused himselfe to be chosen Emperour, and took the ornaments and ensignes of the Empire: wherewith hee drew so many men vnto him, that PISO was driven to retire with his troups into Thessalia, and there was ouerthrowne and slaine by such as VALERVS sent against him; PISO hauing first proclaimed himselfe Emperour, vnging the same policie which his enemye had done. But VALERVS did not long enioy this victorie; for within few daies after, hee himselfe was slain by his owne souldiers. And MACRINVS, who reigned Emperour in the East, hauing notice what had passed concerning VALERVS and PISO, not contenting himselfe with that which he held, determined with a great Armie to goe to Rome, to tunc the Emperour G A L I E N V S (if hee were able) and other tyrants which rebelled; leaving behind him QVINTVS one of his sonnes, and with him BALISTA, with certaine troups of his best souldiers, for feare of ODEBATES, of whom we will speake hereafter. He began his journey with five and fortie thousand good men of warre: and marching ouer land through Asia the lesse, passing the streights of Constantinople, he entred into Thracia. But before all this, there arose another tyrant in Slavonia and Dalmatia, whose name was AVREOLIUS, and was commander of those men.

Macrinus made Emperour in the East, together with his two sonnes.

Valens made himselfe to be chosen Emperour.

Piso slaine by Valens his souldiers.

Valens slaine by his owne souldiers.

8f

Aureolus Em-
perour in Dal-
matia.

A battaile be-
tweene Macri-
nus and Au-
reolus, where-
in Macrinus
was slaine.

A peace made
by Galienus
with Aureolus.
Posthumus
Emperour in
France.

Odenatus tak-
eth the name
of Emperour.

The prowess of
Odenatus.

Odenatus de-
creed by Ga-
lienus for his
companion in
the Empire.

of warre, which for the Empire were in those quarters, who (as some say) against his will, was constrained by his souldiers to take upon him the state and ensignes of the Empire. So as it appeareth that in that small time, every one held himselfe sufficient to be an Emperour; and that Armie which made none, was held to be of little worth and of no reputation but truly the world paid them their due, for none of them died of their naturall death, and most of them were slaine by those which chose them. MACRINVS being to passe with his Armie through those countries which were in subiection to AVRRVLVS; as both of them fought to be foueraigne Lords, they fell at variance, and MACRINVS fought a battaile with AVRRVLVS his forces, whereof an excellent man called DOMICIANVS was General; wherein MACRINVS and his sonne were overcome and slaine, there ending their high designs and great power; But before he fought this battaile (in his way passing through the prouince of *Arabia*) he ouerthrew the *Goths*, who had made great spoile and slaughter in the lands of the Empire: whereupon they retried, and a little withdrew themselves. And of MACRINVS his souldiers which escaped from the battaile, 30000. went ouer to AVRRVLVS; and so where AVRRVLVS thought he should haue lost, from thence arose his gaine. Which newes when the lawfull Emperour GALIENVS vnderstood in *Rome*, finding himselfe too weak to subdue AVRRVLVS, he made with him a kinde of league and peace, thereby to end the warres which he had begun against POSTHVMVS, another great Captaine who rebelled in *France*, and was called Emperour: of whom (although this be his place) we will speake hereafter, first to make an end of the troubles in the East, notwithstanding that in all parts of the Empire there were tyrants; neither can we make an end of AVRRVLVS, because he outliued GALIENVS, and died in the time of his successor CLAVDIVS. I say then, that in the East there was an excellent man, whose name was ODNATVS, who was Prince and Captaine of a certaine people called Palmerini, inhabiting a prouince in *Syria*, who seeing all things out of order (as all the rest did) fought to make himselfe absolute, and in the beginning (as writeth TREBELLIVS POLIIO) had the title of a King: but afterwards things succeeding prosperously, he took upon him the name and state of an Emperour, imparting the title and dignitie with HERODVS the eldest of three sonnes which he had by his first wife. This his tyrannie was both honorable and profitable to the Romane Empire: for he performed many notable exploits against SAPHOR King of *Persia*, who held VALENTINVS prisoner: so as sauing the setting of his person at libertie (for that could not be done) in all the rest he gat sufficient satisfaction for that which was lost, and recovered what SAPHOR had vnruly. For, raising many troupes of excellent good souldiers; he gaue him many battailes, in which he gat the victorie, recovered all *Mesopotamia*, and the noble cities of *Nisibe* and *Garrus*, and compelled King SAPHOR to flye (having first ouerthrowne him) and taking his wiues, his treasure and riches, he marched to the citie of *Typhonie*, and had other great adventures and victories. But for asmuch as his chiefest purpose was against MACRINVS and his sonnes, he sent a great present of the jewels and prisoners which he had taken from the Persians, to the Emperour GALIENVS; and GALIENVS was so inconstant and so base minded, as he not onely accepted the presents, but confirmed his election, giuing him the name of AVGVSTVS and his companion in the Empire, and he triumphed in *Rome* for the victorie which the other had obtained in *Asia*. While as ODNATVS gat these victories in the East, other great multitudes of *Goths* (besides those which were alreadye entered by *Thracia* into *Gracia* and into *Europe*) came downe into *Asia* the lesse, and so in *Bithynia*, burning and spoiling the countries.

When ODNATVS vnderstood of the death of MACRINVS and of his sonne, (as I haue declared) he presently resolved to march against QVINTVS, who was his other sonne, whom he had left in the East with BALISTA the Prefect of his Armie, when he was proclaimed Emperour. And this iourne proving so prosperous to ODNATVS as the rest had done, with little difficulty he gat QVINTVS into his power, and caused him to be slaine, and afterwards did the like to BALISTA. And although that some say, BALISTA was consenting to the death of QVINTVS, and that afterwards he attempted to make himselfe Emperour, yet all agree that he was put to death by ODNATVS: and in this manner remained he without any contradiction Lord of all the Prouinces of the East, and valiantly warred against the Persians. Hee had two other sonnes, the one called HERENNIVS, and the other TIMOAVS by his second wife ZENOBIA, the most manly and valiant woman that euer was in the World.

ODNATVS living in this prosperity feared of all the Princes of the world, it happened that

that a colen germane of his, whose name was MIONIVS, practised his death in hope to haue had the Empire of the East after him, and used such means that ODNATVS and HERODVS, his eldest sonne (who by his fathers order was also called Emperour) were both found dead: and MIONIVS the traitor and murderier, as he was wickedly moued to kill ODNATVS, so he pleased God to permit him to be slaine in the like manner, who was within few daies after put to death by the same souldiers which help him to execute his treason; being a man which no way deserued the Empire, except by being of kin to ODNATVS: for he was a most vile and wicked man. ZENOBIA, ODNATVS wife, remaining with her two young sonnes a widow (seeming rather to haue neede of a tutor and gouernour, than to bee able to rule and gouerne others) with courage and iudgement more then manly beganne to rule, and carried herselfe therein with such wisdom and valour, as is incredible: and to the great disgrace of GALIENVS in his life time, and of CLAVDIVS his successor, she possessed the Empire of the East many yeeres, on the one side making warre against the Persians, and on the other defending herselfe against the Romane Emperours. The vertues and noble acts of this woman were so many, that I would I had longer time to describe them: but because they require a particular historie, we will with our wonted pace hold on our way; wherein of force we must retume to meet with her, because that she liued in her prosperitie vntill the time of the Emperour AVRELIVS, of whom we are to treat hereafter, where we will speake of her fall and end, if God permit. But to the end that the excellencies and vertues of this woman may be the better knowne, seeing we recite not her acts, I say first that ZENOBIA was of an excellent good constitution of bodie, and was exceedingly faire and beautifull, not very white, but somewhat browne. Her eies were great and black, very cleere and bright, and in all parts of her body she was proportionable. And as she was verie beautifull and amiable, so had she an honest countenance, and had such white and bright teeth, that they rather resembled pearles then teeth. Her voice was cleere, but sounding deepe more like a man then a woman. Herewith she was most honest and continent, and would neuer ly with her husband after that she was conceiued with childe; neither twile, vntill that by naturall signes she knew whether she had conceiued or no. She was very wise, and learned, and spake the Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian tongues perfectly, and was very liberrall and temperate in all things; somewhat seuer, and yet pitifull. In her diet she was most temperate: but yet when she invited any guests, she would a little exceede, more to please others, then for any naturall desire. She was serued very ceremoniously, and with great honour, after the custome of the Kings of *Persia*.

When she made any speech to her soldiers, or fate in counsell among them, she came armed with a caske vpon her head, and rode in the like manner. She delighted much in hunting, and did other things shewing strength and courage, as though she had bin a valiant and gallant Knight. She vaunted much that she descended from CLYOPATRA, and from the PTOLOMYES, Kings of *Egypt*; and she said, that she also descended by another line from great SEMIRAMIS Queene of *Babylon*. By means of this her prowess and valour, she held the Empire of the East, and was callid AVGVSTA, the space of many yeeres. As for her two sonnes HERENNIVS and TIMOLAVS, I find not written what their end was, but onely that they had the habit and ensignes of Emperours, and are reckoned in the number of the tyrants of those times. TREBELLIVS POLIIO writeth, that the Emperour AVRELIVS caused them to be slaine. Others affirme, they died of their naturall death. When as the Emperour GALIENVS (being in *Rome*) vnderstood of the death of ODNATVS, thinking to make a better hand against ZENOBIA, he commanded souldiers to be leui'd, and to be sent into the East against her and the Persians, and sent with them a Captaine whose name was HERACLIVS, who with his troupes was ouerthrowne by ZENOBIA'S forces. The *Goths* also in those times made another incursion into *Asia* the lesse, sailing through the sea called *Mare Euxinum*, and were overcome by ATHENVS and CLEOPHANTVS, Captaines sent by GALIENVS; yet for all that, they made great spoile in those coasts, and were also againe overcome by sea, by another Captaine callid VERNERIVS; and so that nation did much harme in the confines of the Empire, although that sometime they were ouerthrowne. About this time there was in the kingdom of *Egypt* another Captaine of certaine companies of Romanes, whose name was EMILIANVS, who after some tumults which happened there did as he saw others do, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and with great courage and audacie seized on that most auncient kingdom. But as these buildings had but weak foundations, so small force and a little foule weather ouerthrew them, which was in this manner. GALIENVS (notwithstand-

Odenatus and his eldest sonne brought to their end through the treason of his cousin germane Mionius.

The valour of Zenobia.

The stature and beauty of Zenobia.

The chastitie of Zenobia.

Her learning.

Her moderation in her diet.

Zenobia destroyed by her husband.

Herennius and Timolavus called Emperours.

Heracles overthrown by Zenobias forces.

ding that he was carelesse and negligent) sent from *Rome* against him a Capitaine called *THEODATVS*; who took such a couer, that *EMILIANVS* friends failing him, hee was apprehended by *THEODATVS*, and afterwards put to death in prison.

I presume, that the Reader will imagine me to be very tedious in writing the life of this Emperor, seeing he was so remisse and negligent; hauing briefly written the liues of others which were good and excellent. But, if he shall consider, that in this History are comprehended the liues of thirty Tyrants (whereof many did better deserue to haue been Emperours, than *GALIENVS*) he shall haue greater reason to accuse me of breuitie, than of being too tedious. But, to auoid the breach of order, I will be as brief as possibly I may.

While matters passed in the East in this manner, the other Prouinces of the Empire were neither in rest nor peace: but rather there was no way of them wherein were not wars, battels, and tyrants which called themselves Emperours; the right Emperor *GALIENVS* solacing himself in *Rome*, contented with *Italie*, which onely obeyed him in peace. The rest sometimes obeyed him, and sometimes they denied him their obedience: and hee, taking no care to finde any redresse, sent onely certain Captains which did something; whereof we will say somewhat. In this general combustion *Africa* forbore not to make some alteration, although not so much as other Prouinces did: for, at that time there was for Captain-generall thereof, a Rome Knight called *FABIVS POMPONIANVS*; and for Proconsul and Gouernor, another, whose name was *VIVVS PASSIENVS*; who, for that they would haue an Emperour of their owne making, agreed to chuse and nominate a Tribune whose name was *CELVVS*, a man much esteemed and commended as well for his excellent good carriage, as for his vertue and justice, and also for his personage: for, he was exceeding tall of stature, and of an excellent good constitution. Hauing effected their purpose, the poor mans majesty lasted but seven daies: for, he was put to death by the order of a woman dwelling in those Countries, who was a kinde woman to the Emperor *GALIENVS*, whose name was *GALIENA*: and after he was dead, they shewed extreme cruelty to his body. After whom, I finde not that any man rebelled against *GALIENVS* in *Africa*: yet great and many scandals, and much trouble, ensued in that Country.

While these things passed in the places aforesaid, in *Hungarie*, and the marches thereof, there was a Capitaine of the Armies in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia*, called *REGILIANVS*, which rebelled; and, with the consent and good will of the Inhabitants of those Prouinces, he was proclaimed Emperour: for, they were greatly incensed against *GALIENVS* for the cruelties by him vsed in those Countries, when he overcame *EVGENIUS*; who in the beginning (wee say) had rebelled in that Country, and been overthrowne and slain by *GALIENVS*. Truly, it is a troublesome peece of work, to make relation of all the Tyrants; and it is as strange a thing to consider, that of all the Captains that *VALERIANVS*, father to *GALIENVS*, made, there was not any one of them but in the time of *GALIENVS* was called Emperour; wherein they shewed little loyalty to their Country and their Lord: but it was growne to a custome so to do, so as they seemed to haue right of inheritance. Neuertheless, it argued the great judgement of *VALERIANVS*, in chusing for his Captains men of so great courage and valour. There were also, besides these Captains, others, who in this confusion of the Empire were called Emperours: among which was one *TYTUS* a worthy man, who in the time of *MAXIMIANVS* had been Tribune, but he continued with this title but six months; for, the same soldiery which had elected him, slue him. And in the same manner began and ended *CENSORIUS*; a man which had been Consul, and had held other offices and dignities. And another Captain, called *TREBELLIANVS*, was chosen and proclaimed Emperour by the *Ysaui*, which are a people inhabiting the mountains, bordering vpon *Cilicia* in *Asia* the lesse, who many times gouerned those Quarters: against whom, *GALIENVS* sent a Captain called *GABRIOLVS*, born in *Egypt*. Between which two was fought a terrible battell; wherein *TREBELLIANVS* was overthrowne and slain. Yet, for all this, the *Ysaui* continued not in peace; but rebelled many times afterwards, more for that their Country was of hard access, than for the valour or vertue of the Inhabitants. And, to make a conclusion, let vs write of those which in *France*, and the marches thereof, were called Emperours, from the time of the imprisonment of *VALERIANVS*, vntill the death of his son *GALIENVS*: which of purpose I haue left till the last, because in those wars *GALIENVS* employed himself, and finally therein ended his daies.

There was for Captain-generall of the Armies in the Prouinces of *France*, an excellent and vali-

The Authors
easy.

Celusus made
Emperour in
Africa, and put to
death by a woman.

Regilius called
Emperour in
Hungary and
Dalmatia.

Titus made
Emperour by his
soldiers, and
slain by the same.

Censorinus began
and ended
in the same manner.

valiant man, whose name was *POSTHVMVS*; of whom (speaking of the Tyrant *AVREOLIUS*) wee made mention; which *VALERIANVS* did highly honour and esteem: and for that cause his sonne *GALIENVS* held him in great reputation, and as soone as he came to the Empire, he sent him his sonne *SALONINVS*, whom hee intitled *CAESAR*, to bee brought vp and instructed by him: But afterwards seeing the neglect and ill gouernment of his father *GALIENVS* (forgetting the loyalty which he ought to his soveraigne Lord) putting the sonne to death, he sought to get the Empire for himselfe: Yet others write, that hee was provoked and compelled by the inhabitants of that Countrey (which hee called *GALLIA*) to accept the name of Emperour; and that they slew *SALONINVS*, scornning to haue a boy for their Lord: But howsoever it was, *POSTHVMVS* with great courage and discretion made himselfe Lord of all *France*, and so gouerned the same for the space of seuen yeeres, defending it valiantly, and obtaining many great victories against the Barbarians and northern nations, which continually invaded it and made inuasions.

Against *POSTHVMVS*; *GALIENVS* leuied an Armie, for that he was looke to *Italy*; and notwithstanding that he was vicious and carelesse, yet he wanted not sufficient courage for the warres; if he would haue followed them, as he did his pleasures and ease. He went against *POSTHVMVS*, hauing with him for Generall of his Armie, a Noble man called *THEODOTVS*; and also another called *CLAUDIUS*; who was a man of great probitie and vertue, and was afterwards Emperour. Being come before a Citie wherein *POSTHVMVS* was, the Frenchmen did not onely defend him, and the Citie, shewing great courage and lustie; but the Emperor *GALIENVS* in a skirmish was wounded with an Arrow, by meanes whereof hee was constrained to rayse his siege. And holding this for a very doubtfull warre, he made peace with *AVREOLVS*, who at that time was called Emperour in *Slauonia*. But that was not sufficient to defeat *POSTHVMVS*; for he was supported by *VICTORINVS*, who was an excellent Capitaine, and a young man, whom *POSTHVMVS* made his companion in his Empire; with whose aide and diligence (although that most commonly his side was overthrowne) he defended himselfe and prolonged the warres many daies; hauing sometimes prosperous and sometimes aduerser fortune.

GALIENVS returning to *Rome*, as if he had left all in peace, entred in great triumph, giuing himselfe ouer to his old course of life and accustomed pleasures; whether daily newes were brought vnto him (besides the strange Nations which molested the Empire) of captaines and other notable men which intitled themselves Emperours: whereof his wickednesse was the occasion; being hated and scorned for his little care and stupidity, which are things which make wicked men audacious; and giue good men hope and meanes to seeke redresse.

POSTHVMVS living all this time (as I said) in great prosperitie, together with his sonne of his owne name whom he intitled *CAESAR*, and afterwards Emperour, and his companion in his Empire; he gouerned with great iustice and securitie. But the Frenchmen, desirous of innovations, rebelled against him and chose for Emperour a Captain whose name was *LOLIANVS*, a man of good fort, very valiant and of great experience: and these two, waiting one against the other, *POSTHVMVS* and his sonne were slaine by him and them; and so hee was paid for the treason which he committed against *GALIENVS*. And *LOLIANVS*, remaying Emperour in those parts, notwithstanding that he was very valiant and of great power, yet he could neuer attaine to that authoritie which *POSTHVMVS* had; as well for that he was not chosen by common consent, as for that *VICTORINVS*, whom (as we haue said) *POSTHVMVS* proclaimed Emperour and his companion, held a great part of the countrey and was called Emperour. This *VICTORINVS* was a womans sonne, whose name was *VICTORIA* or *VICTORINA*; which was so valiant and manly, and so desirous to raigne, that shee was therefore called mother of Armies, and *VICTORINVS* was altogether ruled by her counsell; and she afterwards after the death of her sonne, took vpon her to make an Emperour of her choosing: so great was her minde and policie.

VICTORINVS with the fauour and reputation of his mother, made resistance against *LOLIANVS* the new Emperour, which slew *POSTHVMVS*, so as *VICTORIANVS* obtained a victorie against *LOLIANVS* and slew him; and remained sole Lord, together with his mother whom he called *AVGVSTA*. To say the truth, *VICTORINVS* was an excellent and valiant Prince; yet luxurious, and therefore raigned but a little: for by the treason of a soldier (from whom he had taken his wife) he was slaine in the Citie of *Agrippina*, now called

Saloninus son
of Galienus
put to death by
Posthumus
who also was
called Emperour.

The French re-
belled against
Posthumus, or
his place chose
Lolians.
Posthumus &
his sonne slaine
in the warre a-
gainst Lolians.

Tetricus
chosen Empe-
rour by the
means of
Victorinus.

Saturninus and
Marius called
Emperours, the
one was slaine
properly, and
the other raised
up by daies.

A conspiracie
against Galie-
nus.

Galienus and
his brother
Valerianus
slaine.

Colleine in Germanie: which when his mother vnderstood, with the aide and assistance of some of her friends she proclaimed her nephew VICTORINVS Emperour, who was the same VICTORINVS sonne. But the furie of the men of warre was such, as they presently slew the sonne as they had done the father. Yet for all this, VICTORINA gaue not over her desire to rule and command: for by the means of her friends and favourites, she perswaded TETRICVS, a Senator of Rome, who had a certaine government in France, to proclaim himselfe Emperour, and his sonne CÆSAR; which he did, and proved an excellent and valiant Prince; and made himselfe Lord of all France, and of the greatest part of Spaine, obtaining some victories against the Northern nations: whose reign continued long, even vntill the time of AVRELIVS. The right Emperour GALIENVS enioyed Rome and all Italy, which never forsooke him: and the other tyrants (by turnes) the one destroyed the other, or else were slaine by their owne souldiers. I ghesse that I have very neere treated of all the tyrants, except of one whose name was SATVRNINVS, and of another called MARIVS. OF SATVRNINVS, I say, that the souldiers which chose him, presently bereaved him of his life: and MARIVS his Empire lasted but seuen daies.

Through all parts and provinces of the Empire there were committed infinite murders, robberies, violencies, insolencies, and all kinde of cruelties, tyrannies and treasons, with famine, pestilence, and other miseries and calamities, seldom heard of, but in the time of this GALIENVS; and the greatest part thereof caused through his vice, crueltie, and negligence: and so it pleased God that hee had the like end as other euill Emperours had; which was complotted in this manner. A great Capitaine (whereof the warres produce abundance) called MARTIANVS, compounding with another called HERACLIANVS, and one other whose name was CÆRONIVS, determined to kill GALIENVS, to the end that one of them might have the Empire; either of them pretending that they did it for the general good of the Empire. And having laid their plot, they presently put it in execution: for it happened that GALIENVS went from Rome with a great Armie against AVREOLVS, who (as we have said) was called Emperour: and they two had been companions in the Empire. But afterwards falling at variance, AVREOLVS took the citie of Milan; and GALIENVS having besieged it, MARTIANVS and the other traitors, which had agreed with AVREOLVS, fained that the said AVREOLVS was making a fallie, and came to charge that place where GALIENVS was: whereupon he with greater haste then good speed, went from his lodging finally accompanied; but before that the rest of the Armie could come together, hee was slaine by those which came with him, together with a brother of his, whose name was VALERIANVS. And so GALIENVS ended both his life and raigne, when as the Empire was little lesse then rent in pieces and vsurped by forraine nations: for the Gothes and Scythians held a great part of Thracia, and of Macedonia in Europe, and some provinces in Asia. ZENOBIA reigned and ruled all in the East: and in France and part of Germanie, TETRICVS and VICTORINVS: and in Slawia and Illyricum, AVREOLVS, who was besieged in Milan; and so all the rest lived, part vnder the obedience of GALIENVS, and part vnder tyrants. The souldiers of his Armie were greatly offended with his death: for they hoped to have had the lacking and spoile of that citie, so as MARTIANVS and his companions were driven to satisfie them with readie money: but none of those conspirators could attaine to the desired title of Emperour. This happened in theyere of our Saviour IESVS CHRIST 271, after EVNERVS, in the fifteteenth yeere of the raign of GALIENVS.



THE



THE
LIFE OF CLAVDIVS THE
SECOND, AND FIVE AND THIR-
TITH EMPEROR of ROME.
(*)



AM now freed from no small labour, having finish't howsoever the life of GALIENVS; whose history is confused and out of order, and by authors written obscurely, as it appeareth: which being ended, I come now to relate the life of CLAVDIVS the second, who was one of the most vertuous and valiant Princes that euer was in the world.

As soone as the Emperour GALIENVS was dead, the Souldiers of his Armie were so displeased, as neither MARTIANVS nor any of those which conspir'd with him in his treason, could or durst take vpon him the name of Emperour; but rather by the common consent of all men, CLAVDIVS who came thither with GALIENVS, one of the most excellent Captaines of them all, as well for his bountie and vertues, as

for the worthinesse of his person, and the great and notable seruices which he had done in former times, was chosen Emperour. It cannot distinctly be set downe of what linage or countie he was: for some affirm, that he was born in Delmatia; and was descended of an ancient family: others say, that he was of Dardania, and descended from the bloud of the Troians: and some (as AVRELIVS VICTOR saith) affirmed, that he was the sonne of the Emperour GORDIANVS. He was a very tall man of person; his eyes were cleere and bright, and he had a great and full face; and was very strong and of marvellous force: so as in wrestling and other exercises, which young men did vs, he euer vantage the prize; he was also vertuous, and had excellent good parts. He was very chaste and continent; temperate, iust and vpright, both before that he was Emperour, and in the time of his raigne. He dearly loved his friends and kinsmen, and greatly honoured strangers. He hated the euill, and severely punished them; and was an extreme enemy to vnjust Iudges. He made excellent lawes and ordinances, and in very short time reformed the Common-wealth: so as when he died, it seemed to be another world. Before that he was Emperour, he did many noble feates of Armes in the seruice of GALIENVS, against POTHIMIUS in France, and against the Gothes in many parts, and likewise in other wars. Wherefore he was worthily chosen by all men to the dignitie of the Empire. For which occasion, as soone as his election was knowne in Rome, the ioy was great which was conceived thereat by all estates: and they confirmed his election, with great applauses and blessings of the Senate.

The picture
strength of
Clavdivs.

S 2

When

The victory of
Claudius A.
against Aureo-
lus.

The death of
Aureolus.

After sundrie
arguments
Claudius pre-
pared himself
to go against
the Gothes.

How com-
mends made
by the Gothes.

Claudius his
Letter to the
Senate of Rome.

When CLAVDIVS was inuested in the Empire, he gouerned the same with so great wisdom and courage, as a good Prince was requisite. The first enterprize he had being Emperour, was against AVREOLVS, who (as we said) was in *Milan*. Who, vnderstand- ing the death of GALIENVS, fortified himselfe in such sort, as hee made account to haue remained sole and absolute Emperour. But CLAVDIVS, hauing reinforced his Armie, fought many battailes with him, amongst which, in one which was very famous, he obtained the victorie worthily, fighting therein most valiantly. Whereupon AVREOLVS retired into *Milan*, and from thence sought to come to some composition with CLAVDIVS, as he had done with GALIENVS: but CLAVDIVS, as a vertuous and victorious Prince, would not heare of any agreement with a tyrant, but answered, That such demands might well haue been made to GALIENVS, who could haue endured AVREOLVS his conditions, and stood in feare of him: but of him he was not to expect any vnjust or vnlawfull matter. AVREOLVS was afterwards slaine, as some say, by his owne fouldiers; and as others say, by CLAVDIVS his commandement, fighting at the foote of a bridge. But wherefoeuer, CLAVDIVS became Lord of his Armie, and of all the countries which he held: and going with this victorie to *Rome*, he was there receiued with great triumph and feasting, where he settled the affaires of the Empire in such sort, as could not be bettered: he did nothing without the consent of the Senate. And his goodness comming to be knowne, he was obied in all parts of the Empire, sauing in such as were vsurped by tyrants and barbarous nations. And as all his studie and care was, how he might restore the Empire to her former libertie, and to recover what was lost, exposing his person to all kinds of dangers, it was debated in the Senate, and that very doubtfully and with diuers opinions, what warre was first to be vndertaken, and whether he should goe against TETRACVS and VICTORINA, which held *France* and *Spaine*, or into the East against ZENOBIA, or else against the Gothes and other Nations, which also vsurped and infected sundrie parts of the Empire.

But the good Emperour CLAVDIVS, soone resolued them of that doubt, saying; That the first warre that he would vndertake should be against the Gothes, and other barbarous Nations, for they were enemies to the Common-wealth, but as for the Tyrants they were enemies to him only: wherefore, he was bound to reuenge a publike wrong before a priuate intestine. This his resolution being approved by the Senate and people of *Rome*, he with all possible diligence raised the greatest Armie that euer was leied by any Emperour for such a warre, and truly hee could not well haue had any lesse, considering the present necessity: for the Gothes (as IORNANDVS in the Acts of the Gothes, and PAVLVS OROSIUS, and others doe write) had for the space of fifteene yeeres vsurped many parts of the Empire, and had destroyed many Cities, amongst which some were very great, and of speciall note. And notwithstanding that by MACRINVS, and by CORNELIVS AVITVS, and in one place by the same CLAVDIVS in the time of GALIENVS, they had been sometimes defeated and ouerthrowne; yet neuertheless they still held all *Thracia*, and in a manner all *Macedonia* and other prouinces.

At such time as CLAVDIVS resolued to make warre against the Gothes, they through their greedy desire of spoile and booty, and for reuenge of some battailes which they had lost, beleeuing that CLAVDIVS would be sufficiently busied in warring against TETRACVS and other Tyrants, moued many northerly people and Nations to come against the Romans. Whereupon they ioined themselves with the Heruli, Truagii, Virungi, and other Nations, exceeding, in all, the number of three hundred thousand fighting men besides seruants and disarmed people: and taking their way through *Hungarie*, and downe the *Danubie*, they freighted two thousand Barks and Ships with men and munition. Some are of opinion (as I say) that this Fleet came downe the *Danubie*; and others affirme, that this was a Fleet that the Gothes had by Sea: ancient Authors wrote it so confusedly, as I continue of my first opinion, that the Gothes were neuer mighty by Sea; neither then, nor at any time before. In conclusion, they brought so many men, and so great store of Armes and victuals, as they made the whole Empire to quake for feare; only the invincible Emperour was not dismayed, but with a gallant Army marched against them: and being ready to come to blowes with them, he wrote a briefe Letter to the Senate, wherein he shewed the great difficultie and danger wherein he was; and yet wanted not courage to assault his enemies, the effect whereof was this:

Fathers conscripe, I do giue you to vnderstand, and hold it for certaine, that into the boundes of the Romane Empire are entred three hundred and twentie thousand men of warre,

I goe

I goe to fight with them; if I ouercome them, it is reason that you giue me such thanks and reward as such a deede shall deserue. But if it happen otherwise, consider I pray you that I fight after that GALIENVS hath reigned, the commonwealth being rent in peeces, and almost ruinate, and that I shall fight after the tyrannies and rebellions of EYBENVS, REGILIANVS, LOLIANVS, POSTHYMVS, CELVS, and many others, which in contempt of GALIENVS rebelled against their country and commonwealth. And wee may well say that we now haue neither whole sword nor lance: for *France* and *Spaine* which are the sinewes and strength of the Empire, are vsurped by TETRACVS, and the crossebowes and archers (although it be a shame to speake it) ZENOBIA hath them all: so as hauing such want of all things necessarie, whatsoever small matter shall be vs performed, is to be reputed great.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, CLAVDIVS led with him an excellent and well gouerned Army: and by his wisdom and good direction, comming to a battaile, the Gothes were ouerthrowne, and an incredible slaughter made of them. This was one of the most noble victories that euer was gotten, wherein there was a great number of enemies slaine and taken prisoners, and great abundance of spoile taken by the soldiers. Inasmuch as the same CLAVDIVS in a letter (extant to this day) sent by him to LVDIVS BROCHVS, writeth, that he had slaine, taken, and put to flight three hundred thousand men, and taken two thousand ships: so as the houses were filled (almost to the tops) with swords, lances, shields and targets of the subdued: and the banks of riuers, the sea-shore and the fields were full of bones, and the wayes covered with the dead carcases of the enemies. For this victorie there was conceived great ioy in *Rome*: and for that cause they made many vowes and supplications to their gods. In this battaile were taken many barbarous Kings, and other men of great account; and there were so many prisoners, as there was neither prouince nor citie wherein were not many slaues of that nation.

After this victorie in *Thracia* neere to *Constantinople*, and in *Macedonia* neere to the citie of *Thessalonica*, CLAVDIVS his Captaines fought sundrie battailes with the Gothes which were possessed of those cities in all which, through his good fortune, his enemies were ouercome, in such sort, as he restored to the Romane Empire all that which they had vsurped: so as the Gothes were wholly driuen out, and in long time after durst not hold vp their heads. Likewise this most valiant Prince (as EVROPEVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR report) had another very notable victorie against the Germanes, neere to a Lake called *Venacum* (now *Garda*): the enemy being little lesse then two hundred thousand strong: so as hauing freed the Empire from frangers, and meaning to haue gone against TETRACVS and ZENOBIA, or against some other tyrants remaining, it happened that the good Emperour fell sick in such sort, that as TABELLIVS POETIO saith) within few daies after he died of his naturall death; a thing which I most desire to see in an Emperour, which seldom happeneth but in such as are good and iust, as this Emperour was. When he died he had reigned only two yeeres (and for his death (except TETRACVS and ZENOBIA) all were very sorry) which happened in the yeere of our Lord 279; and by a decree made by the Senate, he was honoured with all kind of honours and placed in the number of the gods. His body made of gold was set vp in the Capitol, and his target of gold was set in the Senate. Truly they did in with great reason, for considering his high attempts in the beginning, without all doubt, it had pleased God to haue given him longer life, CLAVDIVS had wholie defeated all the tyrants of the Empire, and had againe set it in perfect libertie.

A most noble
victorie obtain-
ed by Clau-
dius against the
Gothes.

Claudius his
victorie a-
gainst the Ger-
manes.

The death of
Claudius.

His body
made of gold.





THE
LIFE OF THE EMPEROVR
QVINTILIVS, ONELY OF THAT
NAME, AND SIXE AND THIRTITH
EMPEROR OF ROME.

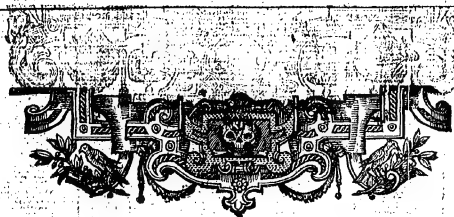
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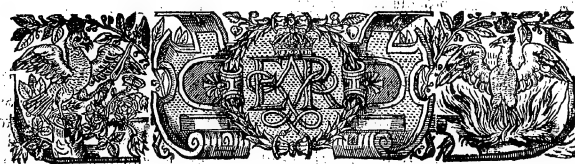
THE Emperour CLAVDIVS had a brother whose name was QVINTILIVS: who as he was his brother by nature; so was he in behaviour, condition, and vertue: for he was very wise, and as expert in the warres as in ciuill gouernement: by reason whereof he was much esteemed and beloued, and was left with certaine Legions to guard Italy, when his brother went to the warres against the Gothes. The death of CLAVDIVS being published, the little Armie which QVINTILIVS commanded, moued thereto by his deserts and vertues, chose him Emperour; and his election was approved by the Senate of Rome being aduertised thereof, and they gaue him the name of AVRELIVS, after EVTROPEVS, and he

hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to make a good show of his valour; hauing taigned onely seuentene daies, newes was brought him that the victorious armie which his brother had with him, as soone as he was dead had made choise of a Noble man called AVRELIVS, for Emperour; of whom we will presentlie discourse. Wherefore QVINTILIVS bring our of hope to be able to make his partie good against him, as well for that he was a man of great valour, and courage; as for that his Army was the whole power of the Roman Empire, desiring to die in his estate rather then to live deuided thereof, hauing first sounded the will of his souldiers, and finding no hope in them, he called his veins to be opened, and so died voluntarily bleeding; hauing reigned as some say, twentie daies; and as others say, foure monethes.

The death of
Quintilius.



THE



THE
LIFE OF AVRELIVS, ONLY
OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN
AND THIRTITH EMPEROR
of ROME.

(*)



AFTER QVINTILIVS, AVRELIVS succeeded in the Empire, or to say better, after CLAVDIVS: for as loon CLAVDIVS was dead, in the same manner as the Army in Italy chose QVINTILIVS, the other great Armie which CLAVDIVS led, chose AVRELIVS, and he remained Emperour; and was one of the most mightie that euer reigned in Rome; and is by Historiographers compared in his feates of Armes with the two greatest and best Captaines of the world, which were ALEXANDER the Great, and IVLIVS CÆSAR, for the great victories which he obtained in the small time of his reigne, and the Prouinces which he subdued with incredible celeritie, marching from one to another, as we will briefly declare; although that in his condition he was neither equal to them, neither did he any way imitate them; chiefly, he did much differ from CÆSAR in clemency, for he was cruell and bloudie: wherefore it was said of him, that he was necessarie for the Empire, but yet he was ill beloued by the greatest part. Others said, that AVRELIVS was fit to be a Captaine, but not to be an Emperour; and so he is neither accounted among the good Princes, nor amongst the euill: for, of the one side, he set the Empire at libertie, by destroying all the tyrants; and of the other, he vfed much crueltie. Some say, that he was borne in Dacia, and others say, in Misia, the truth whereof is vncertaine: and so FLAVIVS VOPISCVS, who doth most copiously and particularly write his life, leaue it in doubt; but all agree that he was of a meane familie, and of poore parentage. He was tall of stature, and of great strength, and had a gracious and pleasing countenance; and with his faire aspect hee seemed to be a perfect man. In his diet he did somewhat exceede ordinary. From his infancy he was inclined to the warres and militarie discipline, and in obseruing it, and making it to be obserued, he was most seuer. He was of great courage and singular strength, and exceedingly desirous to come to blowes with his enemies. Being a private souldier, he euer affected battailes, assaults, skirmishes and encounters: and for that there was another in the Armie whose name was also AVRELIVS, so distinguish the one from the other, they called this, AVRELIVS with his hand vpon his sword: for vpon all occasions he was in a readinesse with pike or sword in his hand, desiring to be doing. With which readinesse and valour hee made himselfe famous wherefoeuer he came, and performed notable matters in his owne person. In so much that THEOPHILVS and FLAVIVS VOPISCVS report of him, that in the warres of Sarmatia he hapned in one day to kill fortie of his enemies with his owne hands, and at fouerall times aboue nine hundred men: which made him so much esteemed among the Romanes,

The disposition
of Aurelianus.

The valour
of Aurelianus.

as in their dancings which they vsed in those times, among certaine sonnets and catches sung by the dancer, they vsed to pronounce this verse:

*A thousand and a thousand,
one alone hath killed a thousand.
A thousand yeeres and a thousand
line he, alone which killed a thousand.*

He did other things, which although they seeme to be but meane and of small importance, yet they demonstrate the valour and fortitude of this man; whereby he was preferred to great offices and commands in the warres. He was many times Capitaine and Tribune, and aboue forty times was Lieutenant to other Captaines and Tribunes. In which offices hee did so severely punish souldiers for their infolencies, and did so strictly observe the discipline of the warres, that he was much feared of them: and did likewise many notable things in battailes and skirmishes; and principally in the warres which his predecesor CLAVDIVS had with the Gothes, hee wonne more honour then any other Capitaine did; hee being General of the horse.

Which his doings were the occasion, that, CLAVDIVS being dead, he was by the general consent of the whole Armie chollén and made Emperor. And, QVINTILIUS being dead, who was obiecd in Rome, the Senate and people of Rome approovd his election, and held him for Emperor. Having accepted the Empire, without any longer stay hee marched with his victorious Army against the Suevians and Sarmates, northerly nations, which had invaded the bounds of the Empire. With whom he came to a battell, and obtained a most honourable victory: but therein befell him one mishap, whereof many inconveniences ensued; which was, that heeing busied in this warre, the Marcomanni, and other most fierce Nations of Germany, came down into *Italie*, and made great spoil and slaughter in that part which is now called *Lombardie*, and in the marches of *Milan*; whereof they were in so great fear in Rome, as they thought they should have been wholly lost: which put all into combustion, every man speaking ill of AVRELIANVS. But, when as he heard the newes, hee was greatly grieved, and came with all speed to the rescue of *Italie*. And this was so dangerous a war, that never vnto *Placentia* there wanted but a little, that the Emperor had not been wholly overthrowne: for, joining battell with their whole powers on either side, they fought a whole day from Sun to Sun; and AVRELIANVS lost in that Fight the greatest part of all his troops: so cruell was the battell. But hee afterwards reinforcing his Armie (in three notable battels having the victorie) ended the warre, destroying the whole Armie of the Marcomanni; and from thence went to Rome, much displeased with those which had murmured and spoken ill of him: amongst which were some that had practised against him. And whereas he was very cruell (notwithstanding that hee was received with great feasting and solemnities) he vsed so cruell punishment for light offenses, and of so small importance, that any gentle or mercifull Prince would have dissembled, and made no reckoning thereof. But he would not do so; but, to the contrary, put many cruelly to death: for which cause he came to be extremely feared, and therefore generally hated. Hee enlarged the wals of Rome, and fortified the same, repairing that which was decayed; which was not lawfull for any Emperor to doo, but for such as had enlarged the Prouinces and Limits of the Roman Empire: for, by that title, AVGVSTVS CÆSAR, TRAIAN, and also NERO, enlarged the wals.

Cruelly vsed in Rome by Aurelianus, and the occasion thereof.

Aurelianus enlarged the wals of Rome.

Aurelianus departed from Rome into the East against Queen Zenobia.

Having settled all matters in Rome (his chief delight consisting in Arms) hee could stay but few daies there; but speedily departed towards the East against the great ZENOBIA, accounting it a shame that a woman should hold the East Empire; in disgrace of Rome and the Emperors thereof. And, passing through *Slaunmia*, and thence through *Thracia*, he had some conflicts against certain barbarous Nations which fought to resist him, and to haue stopped him in his journey. But, keeping his way, hee came to *Byzantium*, which is now called *Constantinople*; and so passed with all his Armie into *Asia* the lesse, which is now subject to the Turk: first pacifying the Prouince of *Bithynia* which then rebelled; all the nations yeelding themselves into his hands, without any battell or making resistance.

From thence hee marched into *Cappadocia*, where, forthat the City of *Tiana* (which in that Country was an ancient Colonie of the Greeks; being the Country also wherein the famous APOLLONIVS TIANYVS was born) made resistance and would not receive him; hee swate that he would punish the Inhabitants in such sort, that hee would not leaue a dog aliue among them: which his resolution hee afterwards altered and reuoked. For, by the illusion of

the

the diuell (God permitting it for some vnknowne cause) there appeared vnto him in a dream (for it seemed vnto him that he saw a vision) one which told him that it was APOLLONIVS TIANYVS, which warned him to forbear to destroy his Countrey *Tiana*, and gaue him also further aduice. Which, as they write, was the occasion that hee not onely pardoned the *Tianians*, but from thenceforth he was not so cruell as formerly hee had been. So as in *Tiana* hee onely put HERACLAMON to death, who betrayed the City into his hands; which hee said he did, for that he which had been a traitor to his Countrey, could never bee faithfull to him. But his wealth which was very great he commanded to be giuen to his heirs, to the end that no man should think he had condemned him to bee executed for the desie of his goods. And to the souldiers, complaining that hee had not giuen them the spoil of the City, wherein hee had sworn that he would not leaue any liuing, no nor a dogge; hee answered, I promised that there should neuer a dog remain aliue in *Tiana*, and I giue you leaue to kill them all.

A just reward for treason.

When the Emperor had gotten this noble City, he from thence marched to *Antioch*, which bordereth vpon the Mount *Taurus*; where, granting a generall pardon, with one onely battell of small resistance, neer to a Wood called *Daphne*, hee scald vpon all that Prouince. And, leauing all those Countreies in peace, hee passed thence into *Syria* against ZENOBIA; who with another woman called *Zavalla* (in a manner as many as herselfe) attended his coming with a very great Army of singular good Souldiers and excellent Captains, trained vp with great experience in the warres with her husband ODENATVS; and afterwards in other wars against the Persians. The two Armies coming neer the one to the other, a most cruell warre beganne between them. For, ZENOBIA, not as a woman, but as though she had bin HANNIBAL, provided and performed whatfoeuer was fit against the Romans. Finally, after some encounters they came to a battell neer to the City of *Emesa*, which bordereth vpon the deserts of *Palmyra*, a Prouince in *Syria*; which was so bloody and doubtful, that AVRELIANVS was well neer overthrowne: for, his Cauallerie, being tired with fighting, began to retire, refusing the battell, and were ready to haue turned their backs, and to flee: but heeing detained by their Captains, and by the footmen constrained to stand firm, he obtained the victory, and ZENOBIA escaped by flight.

A cruell battell between Zenobia and Aurelianus.

Zenobia surrendred and was led to flight by Aurelianus.

When AVRELIANVS had obtained so noble a victory, he went into the City of *Emesa*, and from thence to the City of *Palmyra*, which is the Head of that Prouince, and ZENOBIA'S principall seat. In which way his souldiers endured many wants and difficulties, wrought by their enemies where they were to passe; and the City with such courage made resistance, that his souldiers were greatly distressed; and the Emperour himself in person incurred many great dangers: which plainly appeareth by a Letter written by him to a familiar friend of his. Whereupon AVRELIANVS, desiring to make an end of this war, thinking to induce ZENOBIA to yeeld herself into his power, sent her a Letter wherein he did assure her of her life, and that he would giue her all her treasure, her jewels and her money; and that shee should liue free and at liberty in any place of city where the Senate should appoint.

ZENOBIA, hauing received this Letter, in lieu of granting or requiring peace, became therewith more haughty and proud than before; answering him with another very proud Letter; which, NICOMACHVS, a Writer of those Times, translated out of the Syrian into the Greek Tongue; and FELIXVS VORTISEVS hath left it to vs in Latin: which I will sette down, to the end that the haughty presumptuous minde of this woman may be made knowne to the world, which faithly thus:

ZENOBIA, Queen of the East, to AVRELIANVS AVGVSTVS, greeting. No other Captain vntill this day, but thou; hath required by Letter that which thou demandst of mee: for, those things (AVRELIANVS) which are to be tried by warre, by Arms and force are to be demanded and determined. Thou requirest that I yeeld and giue my self into thy power, as if thou hadst neuer read that CLEOPATRA, Queen of *Egypt* (from whom I am descended) would rather kill herself, than liue in the power of OCTAVIANVS, in any dignity or liberty granted by him whatsoever. Let thee knowe, that I shall not want the relief of the Persians, which I expect. The Saracens will also come to my aid; and the Armenians fauour me. Thou dost well knowe, that the theecus of *Syria* were sufficient to overthrowe and disorder thy Army. If then the forces and succours which I expect shall come vnto mee, thou wilt abate the pride and presumption wherewith thou dost now command me to yeeld my self, as though I were absolutely overcome. And so she ended her Letter, glorying more in her valour, than in her eloquence.

A letter written by Zenobia to Aurelianus.

This

Zenobia takes
prisoner by Au-
relianus.

The emperor of
Zenobia made
to Aurelianus.

Aurelianus his
Journies.

The Palmirins
rebelled.

The Egyptians
rebelled.

This Letter being receiued by AVRELIANVS, hee made no account thereof; but drew neer with his Armie, and commanded his Captains to besiege the City more straightly, and with such order and policy to assault the same, and to defend his Camp, that he failed not in any thing of the duty of an excellent Captain. For, upon the way coming to ZENOBIA, hee overthrew the succours which came from *Persia*, and did the like by certain companies of *Saracens*. And the forces which came from *Armenia*, what through fear and fair promises, hee drew to his service, and made them his friends; in such sort, that ZENOBIA, seeing herself overcome, in the best manner shee could fled from the City with Dromedaries, carrying such treasure with her as the shortnes of the time would permit: and, travelling towards *Persia*, shee was overtaken upon the way by certain horsemen which the Emperor sent after her. And so AVRELIANVS took her, and the City of *Palmyra*, and afterwards all the whole estate of the East. And although many counselled him, yet he would not put ZENOBIA to death, purposing to haue her alive in his triumph. But he put the Philosopher LONGINVS to death, for that it was said he had penned the Letter which ZENOBIA wrote unto him. TREBELLIVS POLLIO writeth, that when this valiant woman was brought into the presence of AVRELIANVS, he said unto her; Tell me, ZENOBIA, how durst thou presume to contemne Emperors, and to defend thy self against their power? Whereat she answered, excusing herself, and honouring him, saying: Only thee, AVRELIANVS, I acknowledge to be an Emperor, for that thou knowest how to overcome. But as for GALIENVS, AVREOLVS, and the rest, I never held them for Emperors nor Princes. In this manner (as I said) ended the power of ZENOBIA.

The Emperor AVRELIANVS having ended this warre, leaving order and forces in the East, returned into *Europe* the same way he went: and, coming into high *Germanie*, he subdued a certain people called *Carpi*, which were in Arms, and overthrew them in battell. Vpon this occasion he was in *Rome* called *CARPICVS*: whereat he was both angry and sorry, that for that only victory they should giue him a surname. And therefore caused himself to be called *GOthicvs*, *SARMATICVS*, *ARMENICVS*, *PARTHICVS*, *ADIBENICVS*, *GERMANICVS*, and *SYRICVS*, after the names of the Countries and Nations which he had subdued.

As matters stood vpon these rearmes, and he being to march against *TETRICVS* the tyrant of *France*; newes was brought him that the *Palmirins* which had bene under ZENOBIA were revolted, and did rebell, and had slaine *SANDARIO* whom he had left there for Captaine and gouernour of the Citie, with sixe hundred archers with him; and that they had made *ARCHELAVS*, who was of kinne to ZENOBIA, their Prince. When AVRELIANVS vnderstood thereof, with his accustomed courage and expedition (which was naturall unto him) he returned by great iournies into *Asia*: and being come into *Syria*, he made no stay until that he came to the Citie of *Palmyra*; which when he had taken, he inflicted most cruell punishment, by putting all sorts of people to death, men, women, old folkes and young children, without leaving any living creature therein. And afterwards he left the whole Citie desolate, and almost all the other Cities, which consented and conspired therewith in the rebellion. Without any long abode in *Asia*, in great haste he returned into *Europe*, where he happily pacified all matters; so as there remained no part, but all was in obedience. Neuerthelesse, for as much as the people were accustomed to the libertie and euill customes permitted vnder the gouernment of GALIENVS, a certaine Captaine called *FIRMVS*, who was in *Egypt*, arose, and made all that Kingdome to rebell; and, as some write, made himself Emperor: and, as others write, crying Liberty, hee promised to maintain the liberty and priuiledges of that Country. Which when this warlike Emperor vnderstood (who, for expedition in the wars, was a second *IULIUS CÆSAR*) he would put no man else but himself in trust, and returned the third time into *Asia*, and thence came into *Egypt*; and at his first entry with great difficulty hee recovered all that Kingdome, and left it in peace and quiet.

At that time (as AVRELIANVS VICTOR, and EUTHROBIUS report) there was a Captain in *Dalmatia* whose name was *SERPTIMIVS*, who also rebelled, and proclaimed himself Emperor. But AVRELIANVS needed not to come against him: for, the same legions and souldiers which chose him, conspired against him, and slue him. So as there rested nothing for AVRELIANVS to do, but to defeat *TETRICVS*, who held a great part of *France* and *Spain* with title of Emperor, as is before said. Whereof AVRELIANVS made great account, and came from *Egypt* with intent to go against him; this warre being in all mens opinion very doubtfull:

never-

neuerthelesse AVRELIANVS tooke so good order therein, as it was soone ended. The reason was, that *TETRICVS* being a tyrant, and no lawfull Emperour, the legions and men of warre vnder his command, became so dissolute and presumptuous, as he was no longer able to endure their insolencie and pride, but chose rather to live a subject to the Emperour AVRELIANVS, then to be an Emperour ouer such subjects, with vexation toile and reproach. Wherevpon hee secretly wrote to AVRELIANVS, and brought it so to passe, that hee voluntarily yielded himselfe; and so all became in peace and quiet, subject vnto AVRELIANVS.

Tetricus sub-
mitted himselfe
to Aurelianus.

And as at other times the legions had betrayed their Captains & Emperors: so now the Emperour to be rid of trouble deliuered vp his legions to another: which is a great example & proof of the miseries, ielousies, and troubles, into which they are involved, which vnjustly and tyrannously hold dominions; daily expecting and fearing death, and to be dispossest of their gouernments; whereof ancient Histories are full: and in our time we haue seene with our eyes, that although they escape for a time; yet there is no day wherein they are not vexed with the insolencies and dissoluteness of those, by whose aide they maintain their tyrannies: and most commonly they are by them brought into greatest danger. And so to keep themselves on foot, they vse great cruelty against their subjects, and shew themselves partiall, remisse, and humble to their fauorites and friends. And above all, the secret martyrdome and remorse of conscience doth torment them: whereof *DIONYSIVS*, *MARIVS*, *SYLLA*, and other famous tyrants which haue been, are sayre presidents: who, vpon their subjects, committed most horrible cruelties, and of their friends and companions endured incredible insolencies and intolerable audacious presumptions. Which *TETRICVS* knowing well, although he were not vnprouided nor destitute of power, courage or valour; yet he voluntarily yielded himselfe to AVRELIANVS, holding it for a more difficult thing to command with trouble, then to serue with quiet. Which discrete aduice may serue for a rule and admonition to flee and eschew a vanitie much vsed by those which in townes and common-wealths maintaine factions and discords, and will command and tyrannize ouer that which is none of their owne; who thereby vainly and foolishly make themselves seruile and slaves to very base fellows, flattering them and giuing what they will haue; because they will not endure the companie of those which are their equals: then which there can be no greater madnesse. It proued no euill counsell that *TETRICVS* tooke: for he liued many years after in great honour and peace, and ended his dayes as we will declare: whereas otherwise if he had persisted in his tyrannie, he had made such an end as all such had; which was eyther to have bene slaine by his enemies, or by his owne souldiers; and the time which he should haue liued, would have been full of continuall feare and ielousie.

AVRELIANVS having fully subdued and pacified all the Prouinces of the Empire, and reduced the same to the ancient power and reputation, by taming and subduing the tyrants, and by expelling the strange and barbarous Nations with force, felicitie, and admirable expedition, hee resolved to come to *Rome* to receiue the triumph for his victories: which was giuen him with the greatest solemnity and pompe that could be deuised, which in respect of my accustomed breuitie cannot particularly be recited. It may suffice to say in brieue, that it was one of the most stately triumphs that euer was made in *Rome*, wherein were led an infinite number of Prisoners and Captiues of diuers and sundry Nations, great variety of wild Beasts, as Tigres, Lions, Onces, Elephants, Dromedaries, Beares, and such like. There was also abundance of Armes taken from those which were overcome, and most rich and sumptuous chariots: one, which had bene of *ODENATVS*, ZENOBIA'S husband; another which she herselfe had made: and another which the King of *Persia* voluntarily sent to AVRELIANVS for a present.

A most stately
triumph prepared
for Aurelianus.

There went also in that triumph the great ZENOBIA, most richly attired, in cloth of great price set with pearle and stone, in manner of a prisoner bound with chaines of gold. There were in the number of them, of whom AVRELIANVS triumphed, *TETRICVS* and his sonne, whom the father had intitled Emperor. AVRELIANVS entred in another chariot, which had bene the Kings of the *Goths*, drawne by foure staggies; and after him came all the victorious legions both of foote and horse, most rich and gallantly armed, bearing boughes of lawrell or of palme in their hands: there were also many other things of great Pomp. And he in this manner went to the Capitoll to do his sacrifices according to the custom, & thence to his Palace, and the next day were made in *Rome* all kinds of sports and feasts, such as were wont to be made,

Prouinces giuen
to Tacitus by
Aurelianus.
His beauty to
Zenobia.

made, with addition of many things above ordinary, and more than other Emperors had done. He likewise gave many gifts to the people, as the custome was at such times. **TACITVS** he made Governor of *Lucania, Calabria, Puglia, and Campania*, with other Prouinces of *Italie*; and did him great honour together with his sonne. To *Zenobia* he gave lands and possessions, the rents whereof sufficed to maintain her honourably: and so he lived and died, being highly honoured and commended of all men; still preserving her antient reputation, and the honour of her person.

The tenth per-
secution of the
primitive church

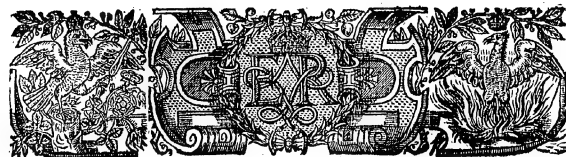
AVRELIANVS being victorious, and in this prosperity (as his chiefest delight was in the warre, and to bear Arms) resolved to leuie a choice and selected Armie, and therewith to goe into the East to make warre against the Persians, in revenge of the injurie done to the Empire by the imprisonment of the Emperor **VALERIANVS**; and within short space he marched thitherwards. And as he was valiant, wise, and a most excellent Captain; so had he without doubt performed great matters, had not death (through the secret judgement of God) by the way made frustrate his high attempts and designs: which (as **OROSIUS** and **EUSEBIUS** testify) God permitted for a punishment of his wickednes. For, having reigned six yeeres, favouring, or at leastwise tolerating the Christians to live free and at liberty, he suffered not the Catholick Church to be molested or persecuted: wherefore, notwithstanding that he was an Infidel, our Lord God (who leaueth no desert vnrewarded) gave him so many victories, and so good successe in all his actions. But in the end, deluded by the Diuell, and the counsell of wicked men, he determined to persecute the Christians, and sent abroad his Letters and Edicts to that effect; which was the tenth persecution of the Church. But, being ready to signe the same, there suddenly fell a thunderbolt from heauen so neer vnto him, that all men thought hee had been slain: yet, besides this signe and warning giuen him to desist from his wicked resolution, God permitted his death; and that his owne seruants, in whom hee reposed most trust, should kill him, which was thus: As he was euer cruell, and had put many to death for light occasions, his principall Secretarie, who managed his most secret affairs (whose name was **MENESTRVS**) being in fear of his life, for that **AVRELIANVS** had threatened him for a matter of small importance, resolved to practise the death of his Lord: which to effect, hee presently wrote a forged memoriall, wherein it seemed that **AVRELIANVS** had set down the names of certain persons which he would cause to be slain: among which he wrote his owne name; and shewed this memoriall to all those (or to the greatest part of them) which were contained therein: many of which were odious to the Emperor; which made the matter the more likely to bee true. And as the Secretary was of great credit by reason of the place hee held, and they knowing the Emperors cruelty, presumed as much, and thoroughly beleueed it: whereupon, they speedily agreed to make an end of the Emperor, for fear that hee otherwise would haue done the like by them. And, hauing resolved vpon the manner, they slue him as he went one day with a small guard from *Heraclea* in *Thracia* (for, many Cities are so called) towards *Byzantium*, now *Constantinople*.

The death of
Aurelianus.

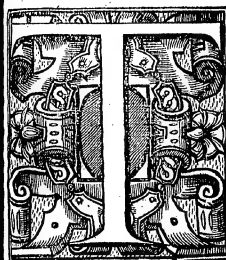
Menestheus
procured the
death of Aure-
lianus.

The death of
Aurelianus.

He died (according to **EUSEBIUS** computation) in the yeer of our Lord 278, and in the sixt yeer of his Reigne; a small time truly, considering his great and noble acts. He left neither sonne nor nephew, but one onely daughter. The Senate was very forrie for his death; but the people, much more: for, they liued in greater security, and without danger of his cruelty. And for his noble acts they canonized him, and numbred him among their holy Emperors. When the treasure of **MENESTRVS** was discovered, they draue a stake through him, and did cast out his body to the dogs, and to bee deuoured by wilde beasts. It is not written that the rest were punished, because peraduenture they were prime men; and so great, that no man durst procure their punishment.



THE LIFE OF TACITVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND EIGHT AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.



HE was like and invincible Emperor **AVRELIANVS** being dead, as we haue said, who with such valour brought all the Prouinces of the Empire to peace and tranquillity; and in so short a time, that it seems the fear and reuerence which they bare him in his life time, held the same authority euen after his death [For, no man attempted to make himselfe Emperor in any of the Prouinces wherein Legions lay in garrison, as at other times they were wont to doo; neither durst the Armie which was with him chuse an Emperor, he had in such manner tamed the Prouinces and the pride of the people: And the Captains which then were with him were also better aduised, and took warning by the death and confusion of those which in the time of **GALIENVS** had usurped the name of Emperors] Therefore, for that they

deemed none worthy of the Empire, they desiring to auoid the like inconueniences as befell in times past, and to the end that a good Emperor might be chosen, who with his authority might preferre and maintain the present estate, the men of warre of **AVRELIANVS** his Armie sent word to the Senate, that (as reason was) they should chuse and name an Emperor; and that they would obey him, and confirm his election.

The Senate, knowing that the Armie was not wont to bee contented with a Prince of their chusing, made answer, that they should name and make choice of one, and that the Senate would approue their doings. In this straining of courtesies, six moneths passed (which may serue for a wonder to him that hath read the former Histories); in which the world was without an Emperor, and the Empire was gouerned by the Senate, and such Officers as **AVRELIANVS** had left. At the end of which time, ouercome by the entreaties and Ambassages from the Armies, the Senate made choice of **TACITVS**, a Noble man, who had been Consul, and was a good man, and of great age, who earnestly refused the same; so as there were many complements between them about the matter. But in the end he accepted thereof, to the great my of the Senate and Roman people, and also of the Pretorian Cohorts which ordinarily lay neer to *Rome*. And so he performed the solemnities, donatives, and gifts which the new Emperors were accustomed to make. **TACITVS** was very old when hee came to the Empire; but of great experience in magistracies and offices of charge, and had euer liued a vertuous life. Hee was very temperate in all things, milde and kinde, and a louer of iustice and equity.

When as **TACITVS** had taken vpon him the government of the Empire (as a good Prince free from ambition) he did all things by the aduice and counsell of the Senate; and held such a course in all his actions, that the whole Empire was in peace and tranquillity, and justice was euerly where administered with quietnes: and to that end he made excellent lawes and ordinances, abolishing certain abuses and euill customes in *Rome*. But, for any notable matters which Readers commonly desire in Histories (as, wars, battels, great adventures and accidents) there

The Armie sent
to the Senate to
chuse an Empe-
ror.

Tacitus chos'n
Emperor.

THE

were none in his time, as well for that he found all in peace and in good order, as for that hee reigned but a small time which was but six moneths, and those not fully expired. What death hee died, the Authors doo not certainly set down. Some say, that his owne souldiers slue him vpon the way travelling towards *Asia*, whither he was going with an Army to make war against the Persians: but *Sextus Aurelius Victor* and others write, that hee died of a burning Feuer in the City of *Tharsus*; which seemeth most likely to be true: for, he was a zealous man, and much beloved. Among his other vertues, hee was very temperate in his diet, and in all other things; so as hee would not allow his wife the Emperesse to wear any precious stones or jewels of any great price: and he much honoured the memory of good Emperours, His country or linage I finde not written. He left no son, either naturall or adoptiue.

In those times sprang the famous Hereticks of the Manichees; whose Originall and Maister was a wicked man called *MANE*: who with his Followers were so wicked and such Infidels, that they presumed to say, that there were two Gods, the one good, the other euill; adding thereto, that the one was the Originall of all goodnes, and the other, of all euill. And this horrible and diuillish Heresie lasted in some wicked men about two hundred yeers: against which, *Saint Augustine* and other holy Doctors opposed themselves. The life of this *Tacitus* is written by *Flavius Vopiscus*, whom I haue followed, and the other Authors about named.

The death of
Tacitus.

The originall of
the heresie of the
Manichees.



THE LIFE OF FLORIANVS. ONELY OF THIS NAME, AND NINE AND THIRTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

(*)



SOON as *Tacitus* was dead, a brother of his named *FLORIANVS*, trusting in the needesse of blood to the last Emperor, without any authority or election took vpon him the name of Emperor: which hee did through the fauour of part of the Armie, and of certain principall men which were with him. But his estate continued but a small time: for, when the Armies in the East vnderstood of the death of his brother *Tacitus*, they made choice of *PROBUS*, of whom we will speak hereafter, who was a man of such authority, and so well beloved, that *FLORIANVS* vpon the newes thereof held himself forlorn. And, knowing that all the martiall men would abandon him (as, many of them already had done) he made his veins to be opened (imitating *Quintus*, who, as we haue said, did the like); and so he died (as the other did) bleeding, about two months after hee had taken vpon him the name and title of Emperor. Wherefore, he could doo no such notable matters might be worthy writing. He was a man very like his brother *Tacitus*; as well in condition and goodnes of life, as in the shortnes of the time he held the Empire. He died in the yeer of our Lord 279.

The death of
Florianus.

THE



THE LIFE OF PROBUS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.



ALTHOUGH *Probus* were of no very Noble Family, he was so honest a man and so vertuous, that, in consideration of his vertuous deeds, he was thily deserved to be chosen Emperor. After that he was confirmed in that dignity, he shewed himself to be so affeeted to the people, and so kind and loving to the Senate, that by common consent and a publicke decree hee was called *Pater patriae*: and so him moreover were granted all the titles and dignities that might enable and make him famous. In his time arose infinite wars and troubles, so as hee spent all his life time in managing of Arms: wherein being victorious, hee entered Rome in triumph, having tamed and vanquished the Frenchmen and the Germans, and subdued some which would haue made themselves Emperors: amongst which was one *Saturinius*, a valiant and politic man. And, seeing that all the Empire was in peace and order, hee was used to say, that within a while there would be no need of martiall men: which when they vnderstood, they began to murmure and to conspire against him: principally, because he would not permit them to line in their accustomed liberty. And going with great preparation towards the wars against the *Parthians*, he was slain by them upon the way. His death was greatly lamented in Rome, and generally through the whole Empire; missing such a father as in many respects did worthily deserve to be called *Probus*.



PROBUS succeeded *FLORIANVS* (or rather *Tacitus*) in the Roman Empire, who was chosen Emperor by the Legions & the Armie in the East, presently when as they vnderstood of the death of *Tacitus*, to the end they would not stay for one to be chosen at the pleasure of the Senate. But this *PROBUS* was so valiant a man, and so excellent a Captain, and so held and reputed for such by all men, that the Senate and people of Rome presently confirmed his election.

There hapned, in the time of this excellent Prince, such and so many wars, as well against tyrants as strangers, and he obtained so many victories, that hee might very well be compared to *Aurelianus*; of whom a little before we haue written: and in like manner wee may parallell him with *Hannibal*, with *Cæsar*, or with any other great and famous Captain of ancient time; whose acts seem greater than the acts of this Prince, by reason they were so fortunate, as to haue them registred by those eloquent and excellent Writers which celebrated the same. Which ornament failed in those which wrote the liues of the Emperors of these times, and a hundred yeers before: and in long time after there were not found any so eloquent; or rather, neuer since. And although they write the truth of the History, yet oft times it is written so abrupt, and so brief, as it makes their acts to seem less than they were. But the discreet Reader, considering the acts of some of those Emperors which we haue already written, and which we are to write hereafter, shall certainly knowe, that the deeds and prowesse of *Probus*

of these Princes, were no way inferiour to theirs which were so famous; but in some sort might rather seeme greater, if they well consider what nations and people they were, against which they fought. Which as they were no lesse valiant or fierce, then those of ancient times; so were they more expert and of greater skill in the warres, and in aught else that was requisite.

The origin of
Probus.

But to returne to our good Emperour PROBVS: he was borne in *Hungary* in a citie called *Sirmia*, of noble parentage, principally by his mothers side. His fathers name was MAXIMVS, a man very famous, and one which followed the wars, and had had the leading of martiall men; and being Tribune, died in *Egypt*; His wife liuing after him, with this sonne and one daughter, which was his sister. This young PROBVS prouoed to be so vertuous and so valiant a young man, as the Emperour VALENTIANVS who died prisoner in *Persia*, made him a Tribune, being so young as hee then had no signe of any beard. He performed in the time of VALENTIANVS, and of his sonne GALENVS, and of AVRELIANVS, and CLAVDIVS (wherein happened great warres, with many battailes and conflicts) such notable seruices, both as a fouldier and a Tribune, and afterwards when he was a Captaine; that he was held and reputed for a most valiant man, and make men now to admire him, which reade his doings. In giuing assaunts to cities, he was many times the first man vpon the scaling ladders, and the first that entred the enemies camp or fortresses. He was victorious in many single combats, man to man, and in battailes freed many Romane citizens from death: wherefore according to his deserts, there were giuen to him many ciuill crownes, collars, bracelets, launces and banners, with other ensignes, deuices and martiall priuiledges. And afterwards being a Captaine of Legions, and Generall gouernour of prouinces; there was almost no nation but was subdued by him, in the infinite warres which were in those times.

In *Asia* hee subdued a people called Marmarides, and ouerthrew some mightie tyrants and rebels. In *Egypt* being a captaine, he fought against the Palmyrines, who would haue vsurped that countie and kingdom; but he brought them to quietnes with great part of the East, in the seruice of AVRELIANVS. In the time of CLAVDIVS, he ouercame the Gothes in many battailes; and in the time of AVRELIANVS, the Sarmates and Germanes; and often was victorious in many other parts. And with these victories and noble acts, with the goodnes of life and behaviour hee made the discipline and knowledge of Armes equall: So as he was in all, a good and a valiant Souldier, Captaine, and Emperour.

Many letters (recited by FLAVIUS VOPISCVS) written by GALENVS, CLAVDIVS, AVRELIANVS, TACITVS, and other Emperours and Princes of that time, beare record of that which is said of him, in which they extoll the vertues, valour, and excellencie of this man: wherefore he was infinitely beloued, and honored generally. Which plainly appeareth by the manner of his election: for the Armie which was in the East desiring to make haste in choosing an Emperour, being aduertised of the death of TACITVS; the Capitaines, and Coronels drew their souldiers into the field: and without any former request, practice or agreement, they began to shew vnto them, that it was requisite to make choise of an Emperour, a man which should be valiant, honest, religious, good, pitifull, wise, and adorned with all vertuous qualities: which speech they vied in sundrie squadrons and parts of the Armie. The souldiers without any priuate conference cried out with one voice, Let PROBVS be Emperour. AVGVSTVS, God keepe and preserue thee PROBVS, and with such other words and applauses, shewing the great loue and affection they bare vnto him.

Probus proclaimed
Emperour.

When PROBVS had accepted of the Empire, he presentlie wrote a brieue letter to the Senate, but yet with great honour and respect, approving what was done the last yeere in the election of his predecessor. TACITVS: and excusing himselfe for hauing accepted of the Empire, without the knowledge and confirmation of the Senate, he laid all the fault vpon FLORIANVS, who for that he had taken vpon him the name of Emperour; the Armie was therefore forced to make choise of him. His letters being read, there was made great shew of ioy, and they applauded his election with many blessings, and gaue him the name of AVGVSTVS, Father of the countrey, and they also made him high Priest, and gaue him tribunall power and authoritie. When PROBVS had receiued this decree from the Senate, he was very glad: and taking good order for all things, and leaving sufficient garrison in the East, he came into *Europe*; where he was receiued by the Armes, which sware to be faithfull vnto him. The first thing he did after his coming, was, to leaue the greatest Armie hee could; wherewith hee went into *France*, which euer after the death of AVRELIANVS was subject to the Germans, who made themselves Lords and masters of all the chiefe Cities of that countrie. After that he came in-

to

to his enemies countie (whose number was infinite) there began a most cruel and bloudie war: for the souldiers of either side were very valiant and expert. There passed (as saith VOPISCVS) many bloudie battailes betweene them, whereof one continued two daies together: so as euenly the darkness of the night parted the fight, the victorie seeming to incline sometimes to the Romanes, and sometimes to the Germanes, which is found written in the ancient Chronicles of *Germany*; as witnesseth HANNIUS, a moderne writer: but in the end, through the good prouision, and direction of PROBVS, he prevailed after that he had obtained many victories against the Germanes, wherein died 400,000 of the men, and a great number of the Romane Army. He wrested out of their possession sixtie principall cities, and draue them out of all that which they had vsurped: and passing forwards he took other cities, and his Armie made great spoile and hauckes. Being thus ouercome, they yielded obedience, and became assailes to the Empire: which without my particular relation will plainly appeare by a letter written by PROBVS to the Senate, which saith thus: I giue thanks (fathers conscript) to the immortal Gods, seeing they haue approved your iudgement of me, shewing it to be reasonable and true. For know that I haue conquered, and subdued all *Germany*, and that nine Kings of sundrie Nations and Prouinces haue prostrated and humbled themselves at my feete, or to say more rightly, at yours; and are now become subjects, and fight in our armie against other barbarous Nations more northerly. You shall (saith he) conscript) make your accustomed prayers unto the Gods, seeing that we haue slaine foure hundred thousand of your enemies, and sixteen thousand men very well armed haue yielded themselves vnto us; and we haue recovered threescore Cities which they held, and all the Prouinces of *France*. All the Crownes of gold which the French Cities gaue unto me for presents, I send vnto you, to the end that by your hands they may be consecrated, and offered to the most good and mightie IVPITER, and to the rest of the immortal Gods. The prey that we haue taken is greater then all the harmes that they haue done vnto us. The fields in *France* are ploughed and tilled with Oxen taken from the barbarous; &c.

A civill battail
fought between
Probus and the
Germanes.

A Letter writ-
ten by Probus
to the Senate.

And so in his letter he proceedeth, signifying vnto them his victories for which, in *Rome*, was made great ioy, feasting, and supplications to their gods, according to their rites and customes. After this conquest, he came with his forces into the Prouinces of *Slavonia*, invaded by the Sarmates, which are the inhabitants of *Russia*, *Polonia*, and others as is aforesaid, and had the same in possession, which warre was no lesse dangerous then the last, for the great multitude and fiercenes of those Nations with which he fought certain battailes: Wherein he shewed himselfe a most prudent, hardie, and valiant Captaine; and hauing wholly subdued them, he forced them to flie out of the bounds and confines of the Empire, the greatest part of them being either slaine or taken. And from thence with great expedition hee marched with his Armie into *Thracia*, which with therest is now called *Gracia*, wherein is the great Citie *Constantinople*; and marched farther towards the North, with a resolution to make warre against the Gothes in their owne countrey, and whollie to subvert that Nation for reuenge of the harmes and spoiles which they in time past had done in the Empire. He was of such reputation, and all Nations stood in such feare of him, that where soeuer he came, hee found no resistance: for they sent to yeelde their obedience, and bound themselves to be confederats, and friends to the Empire. Whereupon leaving *European* peace, he went into *Asia*, with an intention to haue made warre against the Persians and ARABVS, who then was King of *Persia* and *Parthia*; and passing so through *Asia* the lesse he invaded the Province of *Sauria*, which is apart thereof, bordering vpon *Cilicia*, which (asin the life of GALENVS we said) is mountainous, craggy, and hard to be assaulted, ill to be conquered, and easy to defend, wherein were many theenes and tyrants which sought to make themselves Lords of that Countrey; all which the valiant Emperour subdued, not without great toile and danger: for the inhabitants being fortified by the naturall situation of that countrey, defended themselves courageously; so as there passed dangerous battailes and conflicts betweene them, but PROBVS in short space pacified all. And they say, that entring the countrey he desired to see the naturall and artificiall fortifications thereof: which he much mervailed at, and said, that the countrie was hard to be wonne, and easy to be defended. He divided the fields which he there took from the tyrants, among his old souldiers, and such as had borne themselves valiantly in that seruice. After that he had pacified all that region, he marched into *Soria*, and into the Eastern parts; but first he went against a certaine people which they called Blemij, which came out of *Ethiopia*, and had taken part of *Arabia*, of *Palesina*, of *India*, and the Cities of *Belotania*, and *Ioppa*, now called *Iopla*.

Probus drave
the Sarmates
out of Slavonia.

Narcissus King
of Persia yielded
to Probvs.

Iapha, which was then a famous citie. And hauing ended this journey, he marched towards *Persia* against *NARCISSVS* King of the Persians and Parthians; who was the most powerful King of the world, and whose predecessors and successors euer troubled the Roman Empire. But *PROBVS* (of whom we now treat) was so much feared and esteemed, as *NARCISSVS* durst not oppose against him; but by all means procured peace, restored what he had vnrped, gaue him other great gifts, and yielded to such conditions as *PROBVS* required. So as hauing no enemies against whom he might wage warre, he returned againe into *Europe*, leaving the whole state of the East in peace and vnder good gouernment. Coming into *Thracia*, which countie was dispeopled, through the warres and spoile which the *Gothes*, *Sarmates* and other barbarous nations had made; and for that many nations which were wont to be enemies, had now submitted themselves to do him seruice, and desired him to giue them som land to inhabit, where they might be his subjects; he gaue vnto them the prouince of *Thracia* and the marches thereof, diuiding fields by lottes amongst them, where they should inhabit and till the earth. These were of many Tribes and nations, as *Vandals*, *Gothes*, *Guntanes*, and other people, whose number was infinit. But this counsell proued afterwards very dangerous, and prejudiciall, as hereafter you shall heare.

In this time was a generall peace through the whole Empire, and there was no King of forraine nation, that durst attempt any alteration. But as mens hearts are commonly (euen from their infancy) more inclined to euill then good through the corruption of our nature, wanting forraigne enemies, there arose some domesticall combustions; and those which were wont to make head against forraigne enemies, made themselves enemies.

There was in the East parts a Capitaine whose name was *SATVRNINVS*, who was both valiant, expert in the wars, discrete and of great iudgement, and in the time of *AURELIANVS* had been Generall of those frontiers, being by birth a French-man. This man coming to *Alexandria* in *Egypt* about some matters of importance which wee know not; without his knowledge or imagination, the *Egyptians*, as they were euer vnquiet, rebellious and desirous of innovations; by a common and general consent, hailed him Emperor, and called vpon his name with so great obstinacie as he durst not refuse it, neither forbear to say that he consented thereto. But imagining that through his absence this tumult would haue bin pacified, he departed from *Egypt* and came into *Palesina*. But they neuer giuing ouer what they had begun, and as those troups whereof he had the command, did not onely consent thereto, but were very glad thereof. He himselfe standing in feare of *PROBVS*, clad himselfe in purple, which was the imperiall colour (but some say crimson; which was the colour of the imperiall robe) accounting it the safest way. But it is written, that when his Capitaines and souldiers came to sweare obedience, and to doe him such honour as was accustomed in such actions; *SATVRNINVS* entertained them weeping, saying vnto them, Let it not my brethren and companions in Armes be imputed vnto me for pride and presumption; what I now shall say vnto you; for this day doth the common-wealth lose in me a necessitie member; for I was the chiefest man in restoring *France*. I being a free Capitaine recovered *Africa* from the *Moores*. I pacified *Spain*, and did other things to the honour of the Empire; but what auailed it to haue done all this; for with this daies worke all is lost. And as his Capitaines and Coronels encouraged and entreated him to be merrie; this wise man, who well knew what it was to raigne with tyrannie, answered them, saying, My friends, you know not what it is to raigne. But I will make you vnderstand it in my selfe: for from henceforth there will daily hang ouer my head, threatening me and putting me in feare of my life, swordes, gleaues, shields; and on euery side I see my selfe assaulted with halberts, lances, and other weapons; and I begin to stand in feare of those which haue the garde of me, and to suspect those which keepe me companie. I shall not eate any thing that shall taste well, neither without suspition. I can traualle no way in safetie. I shall not vndertake any warre to my owne liking, neither shall I beare Armes for exercise, but forced: and although I did assure my selfe to the contrarie, yet truly it is impossible for any Emperour to please and content all his subjects. For if he be an old prince, they will say that he is insufficient and an vnprofitable dord: if he be young, they will say, he is rash and furious, and hath not wittenough to be a soveraigne; And so there will neuer want imputations to blemish him. Beleeue me my friends, in that you make me Emperour, you binde me to death. But one thing doth some thing recomfort me; which is, that I shall not die alone. But seeing that you will haue it so, I pray to the Gods that the time come not wherein you will be as forrie for what you haue done, as I am at this present. These speeches are recited by *FLAVIUS VOPISCVS* who writeth

Saturninus
made Emperour
against his will.

The miserable
condition of
tyrants.

writeth that he vnderstood them by the report of his Grandfather, who was present when they were spoken.

SATVRNINVS, although (as a wise man) he knew and foresaw into how great danger he thrust himselfe (seeing he could not desist) was nothing dismayed, but with great courage provided all things necessary for the preserving of the estate which he had taken vpon him. And notwithstanding that he was made a Tyrant against his will, yet he desired rather to overcome, then to leade to be. But as the Emperour *PROBVS* was no lesse wise and valiant then himselfe; so when he was aduertised what had passed, with the greatest Forces he was able to leuie, he returned into *Asia*, ordering all things after a new manner with great care, being very cautious of this warre; in respect of the quality of the Capitaine and Souldiers. Both Armies being come into one Countrey; they made of either side cruell warre, and the battailes were verie fierce and bloudie; yet the Emperour *PROBVS* fought to haue come to some composition with *SATVRNINVS*, promising to pardon him, and to intreate him well. And it is supposed, that *SATVRNINVS* would willingly haue accepted thereof, but his souldiers would neuer yeeld thereto; holding themselves thereby to be in no security, seeing they had forced him to take vpon him the name of Emperour. But in the end, *SATVRNINVS* being apparently overcome, he was besieged in a Castle, and there was slaine by the Souldiers against the Emperors will, who would rather haue forgiven him.

After this Victorie, which was held so doubtfull, *PROBVS* returned into *Europe*, and the Souldiers & Legions remained so quiet, and in such obedience, as it grew to be a common by-word; that the Mice did not dare to gnaw for feare of *PROBVS*. But as he was busie in this action (the successe whereof was doubtfull); in *France* and *Germanie* were two Capitaines, the one called *BONOSVS*, who was the chiefe; and the other *PROCLVS*: who raising mightie Armies in *France* and in *Britannie* (where *PROBVS* was ill beloued, for the Victories which he had obtained there) and hauing also some Spaniards, besides the ordinarie Legions of their gouernments; they both tooke vpon them the name of Emperors, and the purple Robe. But for that it would be a long Storie, particularly to recount all that passed, it shall suffice to know; that *PROBVS* neuer rested: so as according to the small time of his raigne, which was but fixe yeeres, it may seeme a wonderfull thing to consider the warres and voyages which he made. But in the end, he found out these Tyrants, and inuaded them both; of which, the warre against *BONOSVS* (as they write) was very dangerous and lasted long: but in the end *PROBVS* had the victory, and *BONOSVS* falling into despair hung himselfe. *PROCLVS* being likewise overcome, fled into the Countrey, where the *Germanes* (thereby to winne *PROBVS* loue) deliuered him: and so he had an entire and compleat Victorie ouer all.

This *PROCLVS* was borne in a place amongst the Alpes neere to *Genoua*, and *BONOSVS* was a Britaine, bred vp in *Spain*; of whom they write, that he would drinke so much wine, as tenne great drinkers could not drinke so much; and that therewith he had two wonderful properties: the one was, that how much soeuer he dranke, he was neuer drunke; the other that when it pleased him, he could pisse as fast as he did drinke, without containing any iot within his bodie: wherefore the Emperour *AURELIANVS* was wont to say of him, that *BONOSVS* was not borne to lue, but to drinke.

After that *PROBVS* had defeated these two great Capitains and Tyrants, it might haue bin held reasonable, that Arms should haue giuen him leaue to haue reposed himselfe in *Rome*; for now his yeeres and traualles required no lesse: but it hapned otherwise, for the Nations and people which he left (as we haue sayd) to inhabit *Thracia*, notwithstanding that the *Bastarni* remained in peace and quiet: yet the *Vandales* and other Nations seeing the Emperour pesterred in the warres (trusting in their strength and multitude) resolved to make no longer abode there, but to inuade all the Prouinces of the Empire, robbing and stealing all they could lay hands vpon: and their number was so great, that no City or Countrey could make head against them, but they spoiled and burned all where soeuer they came. Which, when the Emperour had well considered, imagining that what soeuer he had formerly done for the good and liberty of the Empire, was to no effect or purpose if he suffered this plague to goe on, hee resolved to put himself in hazard, and to go in person into all those parts which these people inuaded. And for that (by reason of their multitudes) they could not march together, he fought with them in sundry places: wherein many were slaine of either side, and the Emperour himselfe was sometime wounded, and in danger of death. But in the end he overcame them all, and

Warlike
Saturninus
of Probvs.

Bonolus and
Proculus called
Emperors.

Bonolus in
despair hung
himselfe.

Proculus was
killed by his
owne Souldiers.

strange quality
was.

Probus warred
against the Bar-
barians.

Probus came
into Rome in
triumph.

A comparison
between Probus
and Julius
Cæsar.

took such order, that he compelled those which by flight escaped from the battels, to flee our of the confines and frontiers of the Empire. And, very joyfull and victorious, finding now no resistance in the world, hee came to Rome; whereinto hee entered in triumph which truly was well deserved: for in Rome there was a law, that the triumph should not be granted but for great victories obtained. Which being so, I see not that either CÆSAR or POMPEY could or did better deserve it, than PROBUS. For, if we consider the number of battels, and victories (although they be not at large described) which he fought, and wanne before that he was Emperor, and those also after, I knowe not when we should make an end of reciting them. There was neuer a Province in the Empire when it was first first extended, which was not conquered atew, or pacified, and brought into subjection by him. CÆSAR was much commended for expedition, surprising his enemies suddenly, and vnprovided: PROBUS was no less diligent and active than CÆSAR; and although his enemies were provided for him, yet he overthrew them and put them to flight. It is said, that CÆSAR slue in diuerse battails above a million of men: and PROBUS, in the first warre, hee made being Emperor, slue foure hundred thousand; and FRANCE (wherein CÆSAR made warre ten years before he could subdue it) PROBUS conquered in one year. As for the other battels which he fought when hee was but a Commander, I hold the number of those which were slain therein, as innumerable as the wars were dangerous and desperate. But if we come to the ciuill wars which CÆSAR made against the Romans; I conceiue those which PROBUS maintained against three tyrants with their ould Legions, to be no way inferior. So as I knowe no reason why wee should not as much extoll the actions of some of those Emperors, as of POMPEY or CÆSAR. But not to swaue from the common opinion, against which we may not contend, giuing to CÆSAR and such excellent men the first place; yet it is reason we should also make an honourable mention of those which were vertuous and valiant, and that we should preferre the memoriall of them for an example to posterity. Which wanted no other thing (as I said in the beginning) but Writers; who might eloquently, and in a good stile, haue particularly written their acts, which the others had: for, if of PROBUS, and of some others of whom we haue already treated, and are to treat hereafter, there had been any which had eloquently written the Histories, relating all their acts and vallant deeds in particular (their bold attempts, their counsels, their orations, their aduertisements, their wonderfull policies, stratagems, and other matters of importance) which doubtlesse hapned without number in such and so great enterprises and battels; wee should not onely bee content to giue vnto these men the second place, but peraduenture wee should contend for the first, considering, they were no lesse excellent in vertue and bountie, than in Arms and valour.

Probus his tri-
umph in Rome.

But, leauing this disputation apait (for, in the end, the world will giue Sentence in the behalfe of CÆSAR, and of those famous men of ancient times) our PROBUS entered Rome, triumphing of the Germans, of the Blemij, and of many other Nations and Tyrants. His triumph was most solemn; and his men of warre entered with him; among which were Germans, Spaniards, and other Nations which had serued him in the warres, as well as the Romans. There were also some excellent and great Captains: of which the most noble were, LEONIDES, DIOCESTANVS, CARVS, CONSTANTINVS, ANABALLIANVS, MAXIMIANVS, PISONIANVS, HARCYLEVS, CECROPIVS, and others; whereof some were afterwards Emperors.

This triumph being ended, the next day (according to the ancient custome) began the feasts, games and sports; wherein were huntings of sauage beasts; more, and more strange, than euer before that time were seen in Rome: for which purpose he caused, in a place called *Circulus Maximus*, a great Grove of wood and a Mountain to bee made, full of very great trees; set in this sort, that they seemed naturally to haue growne there. The place was so capable and so large, that therein were hunted a thousand Ostriches, a thousand Stags, a thousand mountain Goats, a thousand wilde Boars, a thousand fallow Deer, and other kinds of beasts: and the people were permitted, to kill and take thereof at their pleasure. Afterwards there were killed with Lances three hundred Bears; and, in a manner, as many Lions, of those of Libya and of Syria; which was a spectacle representing more maiesty and greatnes, than delight or pleasure.

The next day came three hundred Sword-plaiers; which were men (as wee haue already said) who slue one another to make the people sport; and those which furnished, gained reward and liberty.

These feasts being ended, the Emperor made certain laws, and took care for the good gouernment

ment of the Empire; and all men liued in such peace and quietnes, that PROBUS vsed to say, that he would speedily take such a course, that there should be no more neede of any men of war. Wherefore, as also for that he would neuer suffer his soldiers to be idle, but imploid them in labours and necessarie edifices, they began to hate him and to wish his death; as men which had been accustomed to robbe and steale, and to liue licentiously. And hauing taken order for all matters concerning a peaceable gouernment, he determined to goe into the East, to subdue and wholly to subuert the kingdom of the Persians and Parthians: for there now remained no other power that he needed to care for, to confirme that peace which hee resolved to settle through the Empire. And vndertaking this enterprife, with greater preparation, then euer was made in any other (for now nothing letted him) it seeming to his souldiers that it was not good to haue a Prince so valiant, in whose time they were compelled to liue in such subjection and were punished, and could not follow their old course and former libertie; they resolved to kill him; and in secret many of them conspired against him. So as when hee passed through *Silmonia*, they murdered him by treason; when he had reigned (after EVTROPIVS) fixe yeeres and foure moneths, which (as I said of AVRELIANVS) was a very short space, for the accomplishing of such and so great acts and enterprises, as his were. And some authors write that he reigned not so long. His death was much lamented in Rome, both by the Senate and Roman people. The armie stood not vpon the punishing of the offenders, for no man durst attempt the same: but they erected to this inuincible Emperor a most honorable Sepulchre, whereon was engrauen this Epitaphic.

Here lieth the Emperor PROBUS, iustly for his goodnesse called PROBUS; of all the barbarous nations and tyrants a Conqueror.

This passed (as EVSEBIUS testifieth) in the yeere of our Lord 285. He left neither sonne nor kinsman that durst make challenge to the Empire: and so there remained not any man that fought to eternize the memorie of so great and excellent a man.

Probus slaine
by his owne sold-
iers.



THE LIFE OF CARVS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND ONE and forth Emperor of Rome. And of CARI- NVS and NUMERIANVS, his sonnes, which were also called AVGVSTI.

(*)



NOW were the souldiers againe in possession of authority to chuse Emperors. For, as it appeareth by the proceffe of this Historie, they euer hated that Emperour which was chosen by the Senat. And although that in diuers parts of the Empire there were Armes and ordinary Legions; yet that Armie wherein the Emperour was at the time of his death euer pretended to haue greatest right; and he that was chosen by them, seemed to haue the best title, and was held for right Emperour. And for as much as PROBUS was dead and buried, as we haue said, the souldiers began to consult about the election of a new Emperour: and they all desired to make choise of such a man as might seeme to deserve the same;

The men of war
euer hated those
Emperors, which
were chosen by
the Senate.

Carus chosen
Emperer.

so as neither the Senate nor other Armies should haue any iust cause to except at his election. And in the opinion of the greatest part, CARVS (whom PROBUS had made Pretorian Prefect) was thought very sufficient, as well for that he was a man of great worth, as for that he was of great experience in gouernment; by reason of the charge and offices which he had held; and finally they chose him Emperour, and swore obedience vnto him, to the great good liking of the whole Armie.

When his election was published in Rome, the Senate was nothing pleased therewith: not in respect of himselfe; for of his good conditions and vertues they were very well assured; but for that he had two sonnes, the eldest of which expected to be his successor, whose name was CARINVS, who was a wicked and most vicious man: but they durst not deny their obedience, and so approved his election, through the desire they had to preserve the peace and quiescence wherein PROBUS had then left them. Whence, or of what countrie this Emperour CARVS was, I finde not written in any author. FABIVS CRECILIANVS, which wrote the Historie of his time (as VOPISCVS reporteth) saith, that he was borne in *Slauonia*, but by descent he was an African. ONESIMVS saith, that he was borne in Rome, and that his father was a *Slauon*; neuertheless, he was held for a Roman: which he sheweth in some letters that are by VOPISCVS mentioned. But AVRELIVS VICTOR, EVSEBIVS, and PAVLVS OROSYVS make him a Frenchman, borne in *Arles*. It little importeth whence he was: but as soone as he was chosen Emperour, hee made his two sonnes CÆSARS, CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, with the name and authoritie of AVGVSTI, and hee received them as his companions in the Empire. NVMERIANVS was valiant, wise, learned, a great Musician, and a Poet: But CARINVS was wicked, dishonest, insolent, and giuen to all kinde of vice.

Hauing ended these things, he presently began to make most diligent search for those which had murdered PROBUS, whom he severely punished: which, together with the loue which PROBUS in his lifetime did shew him, took away the suspition which some conceived that he had been consenting to his death. Hauing done iustice, and written his ordinary letters to the Senate, he marched with his Armie to make warre against the Sarmates, who as soone as they vnderstood that PROBUS was dead, came with great furie into *Pannonia*, and with such pride, as they threatened all Italy, and the rest of the Empire: where, after some conflicts, he came to a battaile, wherein he had the victorie, slue of them fixteene thousand, took twentie thousand prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

After this victorie, he vnderstood that in the East, the Persians made some alterations. Wherefore, to effect what PROBUS had intended, he resolved to march presently thither, leaving to his eldest sonne CARINVS the gouernment of France and Spaine, and NVMERIANVS; he took with himselfe, and went with such power and so great an Armie, as he presently took all the countrie of *Mesopotamia*, meeting not any man to make defence or head against him. And passing further, he belieged the Citie of *Thesiphonia*, where the Persians sallied forth to encounter him with a sufficient Armie, between which (as EUTROPIVS writeth) was a most cruell battaile, wherein CARVS overthrew them; and following his victorie, hee took by force the famous Cities of *Selucia* and *Thesiphonia*. And as he was of a great spirit, and experience in the warres (if death had not surprised him) it was then conceived, that he would haue wholly ruined the power of the Persians: for at that time they were at ciuill warres among themselves. But coming with his Armie to the banks of the riuier *Tigris*, through his trauell and heate, he fell extremely sick. Wherewith being much oppressed, there happened one day a great tempest of thunder and lightning, and there fell a thunderbolt into the Emperours tent, wherewith some of those which were about him were slaine, and among them the Emperour himselfe, having reigned but two yeares, which hee spent in continuall traualle and warres, in the yeere of our Lord 287, in the beginning thereof. Notwithstanding that CARVS was a great and mighty Prince, yet the thunderbolt had no respect of him; and I see, that those good Princes had as ill fortune as the most base and wicked. I haue read the Chronicles of Kings, and of other great Princes of many Kingdomes and Provinces: but I neuer heard nor read, that the like deaths ever happened unto any as to the Roman Emperours, at least so commonly: for it is certaine, that no kinde of death, how vile or strange soeuer, but hath bin inflicted upon some Roman Emperour. For amongst them, some haue bin slaine by treason, and commonly by the sword: some by thunderbolts from heauen, as CARVS: some were burnt with fire, as we will tell you of VALENTIUS: Others were hanged, as before we told you of

BON-

BONOSVS, who was called Emperour in the time of PROBUS; and before him, old GORDIANVS in Africa: others tormented and dragged along the ground, as we told you of HILARIANVS and VITELLIVS: others were poisoned, as some before named: others Captiues and throwne into prison, like most base and vile slaues, and so VALERIANVS dyed: others opened their veines and bled to death, as QUINTILLIVS and FLORIANVS: Others were drowned, as DECIVS; and to others hapned other kinds of death. So as hauing not written the liues of about forty or forty one Emperours, it seemeth that death hath made experience in them, that there be as many conditions of death, as of dead men: among which may be numbered the deaths of CARINVS and NVMERIANVS, sonnes to the Emperour CARVS, who were called AVGVSTI: from whose life we will presently begin; and the proceesse of the history will shew others no lesse strange and fearefull.

Of CARVS his two sonnes, which he made CÆSARS with power and authority of AVGVSTI; the yonger, whose name was NVMERIANVS, was with his father when hee dyed: who as well for the worth and deserts of his father, as for his owne, was much beloued of all the Armie and Romane people: wherefore by common consent, as soone as his father was dead, he was chosen Emperour, and for such was generally obeyed. He was married to the daughter of a rich and mightie man, whose name was ARRIVS APER. This new Emperour greatly lamenting the death of his father, and imagining that in that warre at that time there was no more to be done, raised his Camp, and began to retire: and for that he was discaied in his eies, and could not endure the light, he made himselfe to be caried in a close Litter, so as he could not be seene. But as the desire to raigne is the most violent of all other passions, so his father in law ARRIVS APER forgetting the dutie which he ought to his soueraigne Lord, and the loue to his daughter and sonne in law, resolved to kill him, and by means of his great wealth and friends to procure the Empire for himselfe: which he might easily bring to passe, for that he was allowed to come to him when he pleased: so as by his hand (or some other mans by his direction) NVMERIANVS was slaine in his Litter; and to the end it should not be reuealed, they left him therein: and giuing it out that hee could not indure to see any man, they caried him dead two or three daies, practising in the meane time what they had plotted; but as the dead bodie began to smell, the treason was discovered sooner then ARRIVS would; and there was so great a confusion and sorrow in the whole Armie, that euery man took Armes and said, that they would choose an Emperour which should punish so great a treason. But first of all ARRIVS APER was brought prisoner before the Imperiall Iudgement seat: for it was presently knowne that he had committed this murder.

The Armie being in this confusion and tumult, by the common consent of all men DIOCLESIANVS was chosen and saluted Emperour, who was the chief man in the Armie, and one of the most excellent Captaines in the time of PROBUS: he was (as it were) the Emperours steward, and had the rule and gouernment of his household. He was borne in *Dalmatia* of obscure parentage, in so much as some say that his father was a Notarie: and others say, that he was the sonne of a bondman. But he was a man of a great courage, very wise, a great defender and louer of the common wealth, of a quick wit and vnderstanding to make prouision for any occasion that might be offered, according to the time and season: and was of great experience in affaires and charges of importance. He was also a man of high conceits, which he put in execution, but with great wisdom and discretion.

DIOCLESIANVS seeing himselfe called by all men Emperour, with great courage accepted the Empire: and clothing himselfe with the Imperiall robe, he set him in the tribunall seate; and being saluted AVGVSTVS, the first thing hee did, was to make inquirie, how NVMERIANVS came to his death, notwithstanding that hee already knew the same. The treason and practice being discovered vnto him, he made the wicked ARRIVS APER to be brought before him; and with his owne sword slew him; so much was he displeased therewith: And afterwards he made those which were his complices and partakers to be slaine. In this manner was the death of the good Emperour NVMERIANVS reuenged, CARINVS the other brother, who was left CÆSAR and was gouernour of France and Spaine, was very unlike vnto him: for as this was noble, vertuous and giuen to all vertuous actions and exercises, and besides all his other excellencies, we read, he was the best poet of his time, and an excellent Orator: so was CARINVS dishonest, luxurious, an adulterer, and giuen to all kinde of vice: wherefore, he was generally abhorred of all men, in so much that his own father hated him, and being aduertised of his behauiour, said, he held him not his sonne, purposing to depriue him of the Empire.

Hee

Numerianus
chosen Empe-
rour.

Numerianus
slaine by his
father in law

Dioclesianus
chosen Empe-
rour.

Arrius Aper
slaine by Dio-
clesianus.

Carus his vic-
tory against the
Sarmites.

Carus sur-
rounds the Per-
sians.

Carus slain
with a thunder-
bolt.

Several kindes
of death befall
the Roman
Emperors.

Cælius over-
thrown and
slain.

Hethen remaining in *France*, hauing put from him all the good and vertuous men which his father left with him, conuersing altogether with such as himselfe vnderstood of the death of his father, and of his brother, and also of *DIOCLESIANVS* his election. And as (although wicked and vitiuous) he was valiant and of great courage, without amending any of his euill conditions, but rather with his libery encreasing the same; so he leuiued the greatest forces he was able, and with great diligence made prouision to make head against *DIOCLESIANVS*, hoping to remaine sole Emperor. Whereof when *DIOCLESIANVS* was aduertised, he with great expedition came out of the East into *France* against him. And as of either side there was both great power and courage; so they had sundry skirmishes, which were very fierce and cruell; but in the end, each of them setting vp his rest, they came to a battell, which was the last and most cruell; wherein *CARINVS* was justly ouerthrowne and slain. And in this manner remained *DIOCLESIANVS* at that time sole Lord and Emperor, which was in the year of our Lord 288.



THE
LIFE OF DIOCLESIANVS,
ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND
OF MAXIMINIANVS, THE TWO AND FOR-
TITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.

(*)

Dioctlesianus, for his vertue, desired the dignitie of the Romane Empire: to whom the gnomment seeming heauie and burthensome, he took for his assistant and companion Maximinianus, who carried himselfe with such lone, loyaltie and so much reuerence towards him, and he towards Maximinianus, as they seemed to be rather two most loving brothers than Emperors. He made Constance and Galerius Armentarius, Cæsars; to which hee gave the charge of managing/indrie warres, which he could not himselfe follow in person: and having obtained many victories, and triumphed together with his Cæsars and his Augustus; in the end he refused to leaue the Empire, being growne old, and he perswaded Maximinianus to doe the like: wherewith he was well content, and neuer after could be induced againe to accept of that dignitie and government; notwithstanding that he was by many men much entreated. He was very cruell against the Christians, and destroyed many of their Churches, because they should not haue conuenient meanes and places to assemble together. In the end being very old, it is said that he killed himselfe with poison, for feare to be put to some shamefull death, and unworthily truly of his glorious life.



HE original of *DIOCLESIANVS*, and the manner of his election we haue aboue expressed; together with his wisdom and valour: It remaineth now to declare the successe of his life, and acts, in such manner, as *PAVLVS OROSIVS*, *EYRROPVS*, and other ancient authors haue left it in writing. Before which I will tell you one thing of *DIOCLESIANVS*, which I doe not vfe to obseue in the liues of other Emperours, for that I hold it a vaine thing; although recorded by those authors which I follow in this Historie: which was, the augurie or forewarning that each of them had, that he should be Emperor before he was so. Which I will set down for that it seemeth pleasing, and a little to withdraw the readers minde from too much thinking of serious matters, of greater importance. *FLAVIVS VOPISCVS* writeth in

in the life of *NUMERIANVS*, sonneto to the Emperor *CARVS*; that *DIOCLESIANVS* being a poore fouldier, and in his youth serving in the warres of *France*, was lodged in a womans house which was a Magician or Southfayer; or as wel say, a cunning woman, one of those which by the French-men were called Druides; Which woman was his hostesse and did dresse his meate. And making his reckoning with her for his diet (which he did euerie day) as he was very sparing of his purse, this woman said vnto him; Thou art very sparing with me *DIOCLESIANVS*, and truly art too very a niggard. *DIOCLESIANVS* in iest answered her; Pardon me in that I am so sparing in my expences, for I am but a poore fouldier: but I promise thee, that when I am an Emperor, I will be very liberrall vnto thee. Quoth this woman vnto him; Doe not iest with me: for thou shalt be Emperor when thou shalt slaine a Boare. *DIOCLESIANVS* took this for a iest; and as he was of a very haucie mind, he neuer forgot these speeches: and although that he alwaies followed the warres, yet he gaue himselfe much to hunting, and to kill wilde Boares; moued thereto by her words. Afterwards in proceesse of time, *AVRELIANVS*, *PROBUS*, *TACITVS* and *CARVS* came to be Emperors, and he had already killed and daily did kill wilde Boares, but others eate the fish. At the last, when with his own hands he had slaine the father in law to *NUMERIANVS*, whose name was *APRVS*, which signifieth a Boare; it is writen that he then said, Now is my prophcie expired and accomplished: for I haue killed the Boare which did prognosticate to me the Empire: and so he held the Druids prophcie fulfilled. It is said, that he came downe from his throne of purpose to kill *APRVS* *APRVS* with his owne hand: although it seemed not fitting his greatnes to do so vile a dede, yet he did it to confirm the prophcie. It is so writen by these authors: and although I thinke not but that it happened so; yet I hold it but a iest: for this Southfayer did not know what the said, and this which hapned was but by chance; and so much the more, for that *DIOCLESIANVS* was not made Emperor when he had killed one Boare, but after that he had slaine many; and in the end he was made Emperor when he had slain a man whose name was *APRVS*, which in English signifieth a Boare. And for that all the prophcies which I finde writen of these Emperors are after this manner, I forbear to write them: for that they bring no fruit with them, but rather hurt and danger, inciting Christians to haue regard to Southsayings, a thing truly very pernicious, which the infidels obserued through the instigation of the diuell. As soone as *DIOCLESIANVS* saw himselfe free from the warres of *CARINVS*, beginning to take the gouernment of the Empire into his hands, an infinite number of people which were laborers and pezants, rebelled in *France*, in manner of a communitie; the captaines were men fitting their humors, whose names were *AMANDVS* and *HELIVS*; wherfore accounting that war vnworthy of himselfe, he sent thither *MAXIMINIANVS*, whom he had already made *CÆSAR*, for that hee was a man of much worth and very valiant in Armes, who (although with great danger) put to flight and slew a great number of them, so as all places there were in peace and quietnes. But other wars and tyrants rising, holding himselfe alone insufficient for so great a charge, he now made *MAXIMINIANVS* (whom before he had made *CÆSAR*) *AVGVSTVS*, Emperor his companion and equall with himselfe in the Empire; as some other Emperors had done the like. And truly it was a wonderfull matter to see, that they agreed so well together: for *MAXIMINVS* was not only a good and loyall companion in the Empire, but there was neuer any son more obedient vnto his father, then he was to *DIOCLESIANVS*; and so in loue and concord they gouerned the Empire a great space, and obtained many noble victories against their enemies. When *DIOCLESIANVS* had made this choise, he took his way towards the East, for that there was a certain Captayn in *Egypt*, whose name was *ACHILLEVS*, who had seised on that kingdom, and was called Emperor, being mighty and of very great power: and *MAXIMINIANVS* went also into *Africa*, where all the legions and old foldiers were drawn together in a mutinie; and so other nations which their Captains very orderly rose with the countries, and enjoyed therents and tributes; and these for their continuance were called *QUINGENTIARI* or *QUINQA GENARI*. These two enterprises were held to be most important, wherein they had good successe, as we will presently declare. But before those wars began, there hapned other of no lesse importance: for a principall captain called *CRAVSIVS*, or (as others say) *CNARVS*, rebelled in *Britanny*, possessed himself of that Iland, and was called Emperor. And *NARSIVS* King of *Persia* and *Armenia*, taking the benefit of the time, began to war against the Empire, and invaded *Mesopotamia*. One *IVLIANVS* also in *Italy* rebelled, and would haue made himselfe Emperor: But seeing how small meanes he had to maintaine the same, he

A Druid tells
Dioctlesian
that he should be
Emperor.

Dioctlesian
chose Maximianus
for his
companion in the
Empire.

Achilleus cal-
led Emperor in
Egypt.

Cnæus rebel-
led in Britanny.

Julianus, rebelling in Italy, but killed.

Constantius Chlorus made Caesar by Maximianus.

Alexandria taken by Dioclesian, and Achillius was sent to the East.

Maximianus called Hercules

Constantius made peace with Carausius in Britain.

Constantius in great danger was overthrown and overcome both in one day.

stabbed himselfe with his poinlard, and fell into a fire, as AURELIUS VICTOR reporteth. For which occasions the two Emperours agreed that each of them should name one to be CÆSAR and his successor, which should be such a man, as should be of qualitie able to helpe to preferue and defend the Empire, which they did: and DIOCLESIAN chose one GALERIUS MAXIMINUS, who by his surname was called ARMENTARIUS. This man was of so base a linage, that they report him to be the sonne of a Cowheard, and born in *Dacia*; but was a most valiant man, very wise, and an excellent Captain; yet very seuer, and of a churlish disposition. MAXIMINIANVS named another called CONSTANTIUS, and by his surname CLORVS, a man very vertuous, wise, a valiant Captain, and a Roman Gentleman, born of high and Noble parentage. His fathers name was EUTHYPIVS, and his mothers CLAUDIA; Neece to the Emperour CLAUDIUS who had the great victory against the Goths: and, to see the better assured of them, they caused them to put away the wiues they had, and to marrie others. CONSTANTIUS did put away HELEN, by whom hee had already one sonne called CONSTANTINE, who afterwards was an excellent Emperour; and he married with THEODOSTA, the daughter-in-law of MAXIMINIANVS.

When they had made this provision, diuided the Empire among them, and leuied their Armies, the Emperour MAXIMINIANVS went into *Africa*; and DIOCLESIAN into *Egypt*, against ACHILLEVS. GALERIUS ARMENTARIUS went into the East against the Persians. CONSTANTIUS CLORVS CÆSAR remained in *France*, to make head against CARAVIUS, who called himself Emperour in *Britannie*; and against the incursions of the Northern Nations. Which warres, although some of them hapned at one instant and together; I will relate in such manner as shall seem most expedient. And to begin with the Emperours: I say, that DIOCLESIAN being arrived in *Egypt*, ACHILLEVS attended his coming with a great and mighty Armie: and joyning battell (notwithstanding that ACHILLEVS fought very valiantly) DIOCLESIAN had the victory; and ACHILLEVS, slaying himself by sight, recovered the City of *Alexandria*: where, seeking to repair his forces, he was besieged by DIOCLESIAN; and in the time of eight moneths (for, so long the siege lasted) there hapned many battels, skirmishes, and encounters: but in the end the City was taken by force, and ACHILLEVS by DIOCLESIAN'S commandment was cast to be deuoured by Lions and other wilde Beasts. And so in all that Kingdom he vied cruell & extreme punishments, putting to death many thousands of men; but principally of those which had bin leaders and motiues of this rebellion, or had consented thereto.

MAXIMINIANVS the other Emperour, who went into *Africa* against the Quingentiani, in the beginning warred very doubtfully, and with great difficulty: but the greatest part of that people fighting with his power, he vanquished, and constrained the rest to sue for peace; and afterwards went into diuerse parts, destroying the tyrants and theces which were in those Countries: wherefore he was called MAXIMINIANVS HERCVLEVS, for that HERCVLES trauelled many parts of the world, doing the like. And DIOCLESIAN by a new surname was called IOVIUS, of IYPIVIR, who, they said, did overcome and kill the Giants. And so hee and his companions (in his name) overcame and slew the tyrants. The other wars made by the CÆSARS proved not so well at first: for, CONSTANTIUS CLORVS, who was left to make head against CARAVIUS; as CARAVIUS was valiant and wily, and possessed of all *Britannie*, so could he no way preuaile against him, but was rather forced by the Germans that came down against him, to conclude a peace with CARAVIUS. And so CARAVIUS remained peaceable Lord of *Britannie* 7 yeeres. Yet afterwards his companion and familiar friend called AECYVS, slew him, and took the rule of the countrey to himself, which he held 3 yeeres. But he at last was overthrown and slain by ASCLEPIDOTVS, or ASCLEPIVS DOTVS, a Pretorian Prefect: and so *Britannie* was again recovered, after it had bin vsurped by rebels to yeeres. When CONSTANTIUS made peace with CARAVIUS, hee had a dangerous war with the Germans & barbarous nations: with whom, among other battels, he fought one very memorable; wherein, in one same day, he was overthrown, and Conqueror; which hapned thus: Coming to a battell with them in the morning, neere a city of the Ligons or Cigones in *Gallia Belgica*, part whereof is now called *Flanders*; his troops fought so ill, as they were constrained to turn their backs, and to retire to the City: and CONSTANTIUS CLORVS was forced to do the like. But when he came to the gates of the City, he found them fast locked; and was in such a streight, that if they had not let downe a rope, wherewith hee was drawn ouer the wall into the City, he had then been slain by the enimie. When he was within the

the city he call'd the souldiers together, and made such a speech vnto them, as they were greatly alhamed at their dishonor: so as in the evening within fife houres after the first fight (the enemy mistrusting no such matter) he commanded all the gates to be opened, and sallied out suddenly, setting upon his enemies with such courage, that after a long fight they were ouerthrown and cut in peeces; being fewe lesse then 6000 men.

In like manner hapned many great accidents to CONSTANTIUS in those parts. And whileas DIOCLESIAN and MAXIMINIAN Emperours, and CONSTANTIUS CÆSAR followed these warres, GALERIUS began a warre no lesse dangerous, against NARSVS King of *Persia*: against whom (as we haue said) he went. For, besides that it continued long, there were many men slaine on eyther side, without any aduantage or hope of victory to either party, untill at the last they came with their whole power to a set battaille neere to the city of *Carras*; into which GALERIUS CÆSAR entred with lesser forces then hee ought to haue done or was requisite: and fighting with greater courage then discretion, hee was overthrown, and losing almost his whole Armie, he escaped by flight. Whereat the Emperour DIOCLESIAN was so much grieved; that GALERIUS coming to his presence into *Meſopotamia*, meeting him vpon the way alighted from his horse, and came to the litter wherein the Emperour was, to do him honor: but DIOCLESIAN suffered him to go a great while ouer the fields on foote, without staying or willing him to take his horse; blaming him, that he had with so little discretion suffered himselfe to be overthrowne in battaille. In the end, he gaue him leave to depart, inoyning him to leuie a new Armie, and to endeuer to recouer his lost honor, and to defend his prouince. Which GALERIUS (paring from him much alhamed) with all diligence put in execution, DIOCLESIAN remaining with his troops in *Meſopotamia* in the meane time, to the end the Persians should not invade it. And so GALERIUS with all speede went into *Europe* to leuie souldiers; and bringing with him the legions of *Slauonia*, *Dacia*, and *Misia*, he returned into *Asia*, and went into the greater *Armenia*, whither NARSVS the King of the Persians, by whom he had been overthrowne, was already come, with whom hee beganne the warre againe in very good order, with good aduice, and no lesse courage. The two Armies came to neere the one to the other, as by a mutual consent of their Generals they toynd battaille: The one presuming on the victorie past, and to preserve the honor which they had gotten; and the other to recouer their losses. And so the souldiers for these reasons, fought with incredible courage and resolution; which made the battaille very cruell and bloudie: But the Romane Armie consisting of more choise men, and better trained, obtained the victorie; but not without great difficultie and danger. The King escaped by flight, and GALERIUS following the execution entred his camp; where he found great riches, and tooke his wiues, his children, his sisters, and many Noble and principall men of the Kingdome of *Persia*. And marching forwards with his forces, he invaded his countrey, and did great spoile therein, not finding any man that durst to make resistance against him. And from thence he went into *Meſopotamia* to see DIOCLESIAN, where he was receiued as in a triumph: and DIOCLESIAN himselfe went to meete him, and entertained and embraced him cheerefully, doing him great honor.

All matters in the East being pacified, and the Persians & Parthians overthrown, hauing therin spent many yeers, they returned into *Europe*, where MAXIMINIANVS, called HERCVLEVS, Emperour and his companion, and CONSTANTIUS CÆSAR were, who were buſied in the wars before recited; all being (in truth) gouerned and directed by the wisdom of DIOCLESIAN: whose valour, policie, and courage was such, as there was not any that durst disobay him, no not his equall MAXIMINIANVS; so as they all seemed to be his sons and his Captains, rather then Emperours and his companions.

These men held the Empire in peace in three parts, to wit, East, West, and South; but the Northern parts could neuer be thoroughly subdued, as well for their fiercenes, courage, and valor, as for that when they were overthrown and put to flight, they withdrew themselves into most cold, barren, and inaccessible places, which they could well indure being born vnder that climate: so as the Roman Captains held it impossible to passe any further with their Armies, contenting themselves to haue chased them out of the bounds of the Empire; but they would afterwards retume again with more furie then at the first, and were euier troublesome and feared. Now the Scythians, the Goths, the Sarmates, the Alans, the Carpi, the Catti, the Quades, and other nations in great numbers assembling themselves, with a desire to rob and steale, and to inhabit some more fertile soile, began to make war and did great spoile in the territories of the Empire

Galerius was forced by Dioclesian.

A second battell between Galerius and the Persians.

Galerius his victorie against the Persians.

Barbarous nations rose against the Empire.

Empire; against whom the Emperors and their two CÆSARS marched with their Armies: and dispersing themselves into sundrie parts they followed the wars, although not without losse and great difficultie, the one helping and assisting the other. In the end they all obtained victorie, and the barbarous nations were repulged, and many thousands of them were taken prisoners: and afterwards being set at libertie, certain Prisoners, which by the wars were dispeopled were given them to inhabit. DIOCLESIAN having obtained this victorie and many other, and having settled peace in the Empire by the industrie of himself, of MAXIMIANVS his companion in the Empire, and of GALERIVS & CONSTANTIVS who were CÆSARS; now willing to enioy the accustomed reward of victories, he came to Rome, where he entered in triumph together with the Emperor MAXIMIANVS, and the two CÆSARS: afore said, where was made vnto them one of the most stately triumphs that euer was seene in Rome, wherein was an infinite masse of treasure of the spoile of the East, of Egypt, and of other nations by them subdued: there were chariots full of arms, and of vessels of gold, and silver; and there also were led prisoners the wife and children of the King of Persia, with many other Kings and Captaines of sundrie armies of the Alanes, of the Catti and others, which was in the eighteenth year of the reign of DIOCLESIAN: for so long was the time that he had been busied in the wars, and in providing and giuing order for such things as were done therein. This DIOCLESIAN was so wife, so politick and so valiant in the gouernment of the Empire, as no Emperor either before or after him, held the Empire in the like subiection: for MAXIMIANVS obeyed him as his father, and GALERIVS & CONSTANTIVS as their Lord, and so he was honored and reuerenced more like a King, then an Emperor; and he would haue his subjects adore him, and do him reuerence kneeling vpon the ground, after the manner of the Kings of Persia. And as the custome of the Emperors in former time was, when they were intreated by any eminent men to giue them their hands to kisse, they raising them vp, gaue them peace with their lips on the cheek, and meane men vied to kisse their knees: but DIOCLESIAN commanded by a publike edict, that without any difference all men should kisse his foote prostrate vpon the earth; and for the greater reuerence, he made his shoes to be set with pearle and stone of great worth: And in the top of this his great prosperity, by the instigation of the Diuel, he resolved to persecute the Christians, and this was the 11th generally persecution of the primitive Church after NERO, and cruellst of them all, and lasted longer then any other, for it continued 10 yeeres. The Christians had liued in rest and libertie many yeeres after the persecution of AURELIANVS, and thenumber of them and of their Churches was now so great, that in all the cities of the Empire and out of it there was a great concourse of people, and their Churches were much frequented: with which rest and tranquillitie (as EVSEBIVS, who was a christian author of those times reporteth) the ceremonies and discipline of the Church began to bee corrupt, and feruent deuotion began to wax cold, enuie and contention growing between the Bishops. There was such discord among them, that (as he conceiueth) God did justly suffer the persecution which then happened, which in truth was so cruell, as no tongue is able to expresse the same: Wherefore well saith the same EVSEBIVS, who was present and saw the same, that hee cannot thoroughly expresse with wordes all that which hee saw with his eyes. And both hee and PAVLVS OROSIVS write such things, which were of that qualitie, as there can be no heart so hard, but will haue compassion, and be grieved to heare what they haue written: So as it is wonderfull to consider of the patience and constancie of the persecuted, and of the rage and crueltie of those which persecuted them.

In generally, DIOCLESIAN endeouored to destroy all the Churches and Temples of the Christians, to the end they should not assemble to pray and to vse diuine seruice, and hee burnt all the bookes he could get of the holy scriptures, and would not permit that any man of what condition soeuer, if he were a Christian, should hold any office or Magistracy: and if he were already aduanced to any, he should be deprived and held for infamous, if he elaped with his life. The souldiers and men of warre, being Christians, which would not renounce their faith, were castrated, and deprived of all military honour, and some of their liues. The Bishops and Prelates were spoiled of that which they had, and many of them flaine and martyred, and a flauie which was a Christian could by no means obtaine his freedom. This was common in all the prouinces of the Empire: but particularly in some of them was committed very great crueltie, as in Phrygia, in Egypt, in Syria, and in other parts. Some were sleied alieue, others were torne with iron combs: and so their skins being rent, they were returned to the prisons,

Dioclesians
wreath.

The ciuilitie
Persecution.

Horrible cruel-
ty vsed by Dio-
clesian against
the Christians.

prisons, where they were lodged vpon tile stones, and the sheards of broken pots, to the end that their rest should be more cruell and terrible then their martyrdom. Honest and delicate women, built strong and constant in Faith, were hanged vp by the secte as naked as they were borne, to the end that their life should continue for a space with shame and double torment. Others had their eares, noses, lips, hands, fingers, and feete cut off, hauing onely their eyes left, for a greater torment, and martyrdom vnto them: For others, they with great force bowed downe great armes and boughs of Trees, and fastned the one leg to one bough, and the other leg to another; and then letting loose the said boughs with the force thereof the bodies were rent in sunder. Betwene the nails of the fingers and toes, which are very sensible and tender parts, they thrust thornes and splinters of Canes. Vpon other men, being naked, they cast melted lead and tinne, wherewith they indured most cruell torments. Finally, there were vsed against the Christians such torments and cruelties, as the like had neuer been seen nor imagined: and the number of the murthered (during the time of this persecution) was infinite.

As DIOCLESIAN was in the height of this felicitie obeyed and feared of all the World, he resolved to doe a notable act, the like whereof was neuer obserued in any other Emperor before his time: which was, to renounce the Empire and to liue a priuate life; considering (as some write) like a wife man, the mutabilitie of all things in this life, which neuer continue in one estate; but when they are growne to their height, naturally decline and fall; Taking example by the great POMPEY, MARCVS ANTONIVS, HANNIBAL, and other great Captains and princes, who hauing attained to the highest of all felicitie and prosperitie, were afterwards throwne downe and brought low. Accounting himself also insufficient for so great a charge, by reason of his decrepit old age, and fearing to fall into contempt, he would first contemn all dominion and rule, with so many cares and troubles, and so leade a quiet life in meane estate without care or disturbance. And he was not contented to leaue the Empire himselfe, but he perswaded, and (as we may say) in a manner compelled the Emperor MAXIMIANVS to do the like. Which between them was concluded and agreed vpon by letters and Embassies, in such sort, that both of them vpon one day, hauing gouerned the Empire the space of twentie yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord three hundred and seuen, MAXIMIANVS being in Milan, and DIOCLESIAN in Nicomedia, renounced the Empire; and putting off their imperial robes and ensignes, they came downe from the thrones where they sat, and made themselves equal with other particular and priuate men. First nominating and chusing for Emperors and AVGVSTI, CONSTANTIVS CLORVS, and GALERIVS ARMENTARIVS, who before were CÆSARS. Which, DIOCLESIAN did so willingly and so vnfaignedly, as he afterwards vsed to say, that he then began to liue, and saw the beautie of the sunne. And it seemeth to be true: for after that these two had left the Empire, as we haue said, he would neuer intermeddle with any matter of gouernment whatsoever. But all his care was to plant and ser a garden, and an orchard which he had in Solonia a citie in Dalmatia, where hee was borne, and whither he retired himselfe. And afterwards in proceesse of time being required by his companion MAXIMIANVS and his son in law GALERIVS, who then was Emperor, vpon some vrgent occasions which happened, againe to receiue the Empire, alleging that it was necessarie and expedient for the common good: he would not accept thereof; but answered, that if they had scene and enioyed such quietnes and rest as he had, and the hearbs and trees which he possessed in his countrie, they would not haue sent to haue made any such request vnto him: for he had already trauailed and done enough for the common wealth; and that now God had giuen him time to trauaile and to liue to himselfe; and that he could not put to account that he had euer liued, but since that he liued in peace and rest in his own countrie. They replying, that he ought to haue respect vnto the great acts which he had done, and not to lose the reputation of the victories which hee might haue in his owne time: He answered, That hauing settled his felicitie in the gifts of the minde, it was no vile or base thing, neither ought he to be adiu'dged to contemne temporall riches and rule; and to professe an honest poore life; agreeing with the discipline and examples of the sage and ancient Philosophers: and so finally he would not alter his determination. It cannot be said, but that this wise Prince, did well vnderstand how little worldly dominion and command is to be esteemed; seeing that with it, it bringeth so much trouble, anguish and vexation. And I doo partly beleue, that for some good deed which hee had done, it pleased God (who leaueh no merit vnrwarded) to giue him that rest and iudgement in this world; seeing that in the other life, as a cruell Infidell,

Dioclesian re-
nounced the
Empire.

Constantius
Clorus and
Galerius Ar-
mentarius
made Emperors
by Dioclesian.

The death of
Dioclesian.

he was to pay for the cruelties which he had committed against the Primitive Church; and in the end gaue him such a death as he had deserued. Some say, that he poisoned himself for fear of *LYCINIUS* and of *CONSTANTINE*, who afterwards were Emperours; who in their Letters had threatened him, for that he would not come to their nuptials. Others say, that he died mad, after that he had liued (as saith *AVRELIUS VICTOR*) seventy and eight yeers. What death his companion *MAXIMIANVS* died, I will tell you in the liues of his Successors. Of two wiues which *DIOCLESIAN* had, I finde not that there remained any other sonne or daughter but *VALERIA*, whom he married to *GALERIUS ARMENTARIUS* when he made him *CÆSAR*. Of *MAXIMIANVS* remained one son, whose name was *MAXENTIVS*; who afterwards took the name of Emperor; whom hee had by a woman of *SORIA*, called *EVTROPIA*; and one daughter named *FAYSTA*, whom he married to *CONSTANTINE*, son of *CONSTANTIVS CÆSAR*, who afterwards was Emperôr.



THE
LIFE OF CONSTANTIVS
CLORVS, THE FIRST OF THAT
NAME, AND OF *GALERIUS ARMENTARIUS*,
THE THREE AND FORTITH
EMPEROR OF ROME.

(*)

Constantius
Clorus & Ga-
lerius Arment-
arius made
Emperors.



Resently after that *DIOCLESIAN* and *MAXIMIAN* had resigned the Empire, *CONSTANTIVS* and *GALERIUS* without any contradiction were obeyed and accepted for Emperors, accordingly as the others had ordained; they being, as we may say, sons-in-law to the two last Emperors: for, *GALERIUS* was married to *DIOCLESIAN*'s daughter; and *CONSTANTIVS*, to *THEODORA* the daughter-in-law of *MAXIMIANVS*.

This *CONSTANTIVS* was a very Noble, vertuous, courteous and valiant Gentleman, both of condition and blood: And *GALERIUS* although he were but of a base stock and lineage, yet was hee neuertheless valiant, and a singular good Captain; but therewith cruell, terrible, churlish, incontinent; but well proportioned, and (as *AVRELIUS VICTOR* saith) of a comely and goodly constitution of body. Notwithstanding that in conditions there was great difference betwixt them, yet *DIOCLESIAN* through his great wisdom made them to liue in peace and concord; so as they no way disagreed. But, he being dead, they (as wise men) for fear to fall out, agreed by lot to diuide the Prouinces of the Empire between them. To *CONSTANTIVS* befall *Italie*, *Sicilia*, and *Africa*, with all the Prouinces thereof, together with *France*, *Spain*, *Germanie* and *Britannie*; and to *GALERIUS* was allotted *Slauonia*, *Macedonia*, *Thracia*, *Thessalia*; all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, of *Asia*, of *Egypt*, of *Soria*, and all the East, and the Ilands therein.

The Empire di-
uided between
Constantius
and Galerius.

This

This diuision being made, it seemed a great charge and a burden to the milde condition of *CONSTANTIVS CLORVS*, To haue the government of so many Prouinces as fell to his share: for, he rather desired to gouern well, than to gouern much; and therefore renounced to *GALERIUS* the Prouinces of *Africa*; and of *Italie*, contenting himself with *France*, *Spain*, and the Iles of *Britannie*. Truly he had reason, seeing that one of these Kings at this day is held for one of the most mighty Potentates of the world: so as that part which *CONSTANTIVS* did hold for the small time he liued, he gouerned very wisely and vprightly, to the great good and content of the subjects; and was so highly esteemed and beloued, that in his time there was not any warre or rebellion in any of those Prouinces. He did much honour and fauour the Christians, and would not consent that any violence or displeasure should be done vnto any of them. He died in *England* of sickness, after that he had been (as witnesseth *EUSEBIUS*) sixteen yeers *CÆSAR*, and two yeers Emperor. And in his place his sonne *CONSTANTINE* (whom he had by his first wife called *HELENA*, from whom he was divorced to marrie with the Emperor *MAXIMIANVS* daughter-in-law) was chosen Emperor. The said *CONSTANTINE* was also married to *FAYSTA*, the daughter of *MAXIMIANVS*. And this was the end of *CONSTANTIVS*. But his companion *GALERIUS* hauing accepted that which he desired not (which was *Italie* and *Africa*) and considering also that one man alone could hardly rule and gouern so great an estate well; to the end therefore that he might be assisted in the wars, and in all other accidents that might befall him, he made two *CÆSARS*, which were almost equal in dignity to himself: the one was called *SEVERVS*, whom hee set in the gouernment of *Italie* and *Africa*; and to the other, whose name was *MAXIMINVS*, being (as saith *AVRELIUS VICTOR*) his sisters sonne, hee gaue the gouernment of the East; houlding to himself the Prouinces of *Slauonia*, and of *Gracia*, with supreme powr, as soveraign Emperor about the *CÆSARS*: so as by four heads the world was gouerned: which were *CONSTANTINVS* and *GALERIUS*, Emperors; and *SEVERVS* and *MAXIMINVS*, *CÆSARS*.

The Emperor
Constantius
Clorus died in
England.
Constantine
chosen Emperor
in his fathers
place.

Seuerus and
Maximinius
made Cæsar
by Galetius.

After that *DIOCLESIAN* and *MAXIMIAN* had renounced the Empire; the Pretorian souldiers, who (as hath been often said) remained neer to *Rome*, discontented with the gouernment of *SEVERVS* which ruled it (he being farre absent from thence, going into *Slauonia* to see the Emperor *GALERIUS*) assembling themselves in a great tumult, chose *MAXENTIVS* for Emperor, who (as is said) was *MAXIMIANVS*'s his sonne, who renounced the Empire; whom hee had by a base woman of *Soria*, called *EVTROPIA*: the which bred a great confusion in the Empire, being then in peace; and there ensued so great troubles, as can hardly be described. When the Emperor *GALERIUS* vnderstood hereof, hee commanded *SEVERVS CÆSAR* with all speed to take his way towards *Rome*, where the new Tyrant *MAXENTIVS* was. Being incamped neer to the City, the greatest part of his Armie (for, nouelties are euer most pleasing) went ouerto *MAXENTIVS*: which his father *MAXIMIANVS*, being then in *Lucania*, after he had renounced the Empire, vnderstanding, through desire to rule, came in great haste to *Rome*, vnder pretext to counsell and assist his son in the gouernment; and sent to *DIOCLESIAN*, desiring him to do the like; who (as wee haue said) would not accept of his counsell, but liued in peace.

The Pretorian
souldiers dis-
sent with the
gouernment of
Seuerus, made
Maxentius
their Emperôr.

MAXIMIANVS hauing receiued his answer, and finding himself to be much esteemed, reloued to repossesse the Empire, and to dispossesse his sonne; furnishing, that he being in possession of *Rome*, and that his sonne-in-law *CONSTANTINE* reigning in *Britannie*, *Spain* and *France*, all would yeeld obedience to him. But his imaginations had so ill successe, that hee not onely mist of his purpose, but was so hardly dealt withall by the Pretorian Cohorts (his sonne permitting the same) that he was glad to flee out of *Italie* into *France*, where his sonne in law the good *CONSTANTINE* had the gouernment; who very honourably receiued him, as his father in law, and as a man which had bene Emperor. But he which had set his thoughts only vpon the Empire, and sought by all means how he might attaine thereto, like a wicked and disloyal father in law purposed to haue slaine his sonne in law *CONSTANTINE*: but it pleased God to discouer his treason, to the end that he should receiue punishment for the cruetie which he had vsed against the Christians: for flying from *CONSTANTINE*'s Court he was ouertaken at *Marfeilles*; where hee sought to haue embarked himself, and there was slain: and so *MAXIMIANVS* made an vnforgotten end, his sonne *MAXENTIVS* remaining Emperor and Tyrant in *Rome*, as is aforesaid.

Maximianus
who had renou-
ced the Empire
came to Rome
vnder colour to
give counsell to
his son in the go-
uernment of the
Empire.

Maximianus
perished the
death of his son
in law Con-
stantine.
The Emperor
Maximianus
slain in Marfe-
illes.

When *GALERIUS ARMENTARIUS*, who was the right Emperor, vnderstood of the

ill successe and death of SEVERVS CÆSAR, whom he had sent against MAXENTIVS; he resolved in person to go against him with the greatest power hee was able to make: and, to the end he might leave a good guard in the Prouinces of *Slauonia*, hee made an excellent Captain called LICINIVS, CÆSAR, who was a man of mean condition and base parentage, being but the sonne of a poor Labourer of *Dacia*, but very wise, and an excellent Captain in the warres.

This being done, and having taken such order as was requisite, hee departed with his Armie towards *Italie*, directing his journey for *Rome*: but by the way he was aduertised, that his owne souldiers did treat among themselves of abandoning him, and of going ouer to MAXENTIVS; and that certain companies of souldiers in *Italie*, which vntill then had held for him, had done the like. Whereupon, fearing to be ouerthrowne, he returned to the place where he left LICINIVS; repenting also that he had made him CÆSAR, for that he saw he was of greater power and authority than he desired he should haue bin. GALERIIVS, being so returned, there grew in his flank an impostume; so noisome and pestilent, that no medicines or remedies whatsoeuer were of force to cure it: and it became so corrupt, that there fell a number of worms from it: which did put him to such intolerable pain, that he was ready in despair to haue killed himself. Seeing himself to dy in this manner, he made some of his Physicians which had him in cure, to bee slain, because they could not cure him. And now at the last, without any true repentance, he beganne to think that this hapned vnto him for persecuting the Christians: and therefore in great haste, consulting with CONSTANTINE who reigned in *Britannie, France, and Spain*, he commanded all lawes and edicts whatsoeuer made against them, to cease, and to bee abolished; and to that effect sent his Letters and Decrees into all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, and of the East, where MAXIMINVS (who was CÆSAR for him) gouerned; which, EVSEBIVS (an Author of great truth, and an ey-witness) sets down *verbatim*. And, besides this, he made many Christians to be brought into his presence, whom hee desired and intreated to pray to God for his bodily health; for, hee remembered not the health of his soule, but would haue continued an Infidell still. Wherefore either they would not make so vnjust a supplication to God for him, or else it pleased not God to hear their prayers: for, within few daies after, he died of that his incurable disease; yet some Authors say, that he killed himself.

This his death hapned in the year of our Lord 312, he hauing reigned six yeeres; the first two in companie with CONSTANTINVS, and the rest with the CÆSARS. Being dead, all things remained in this estate: MAXENTIVS, who tyrannously was called Emperor, held *Rome* and all *Italie*. CONSTANTINVS, who indeed was Emperor, held *France, Spain, Britannie*, and part of *Germanie*. LICINIVS, whom GALERIIVS had made CÆSAR, remained in possession of *Slauonia*, and of the Prouinces of *Gracia*, and presently made himself to be called Emperor: and MAXIMINVS enjoyed all the East, with the dignity and name of CÆSAR. Among all which, onely CONSTANTINE seemed to haue just title, for that he was the sonne of CONSTANTINVS, and had married the daughter of MAXIMINIANVS; both which had been Emperors.



THE



THE
LIFE OF CONSTANTINE
THE GREAT, FIRST OF THAT
NAME, AND FORTY FOVRTH ROMAN
Emperor; And of MAXENTIVS, and of MARCVS
LICINIVS, which in his time were called
EMPERORS.

THE ARGVMENT.



THE Empire was diuided among diuers Princes, and each gouerned his part with equall authority: but Maxentius reigning in *Rome* as a Tyrant, behaued himselfe in such sort, that Constantine bare Armes against him notwithstanding that he was allied vnto him, and ioined battle with him, lesse confident in the force of his Armie, then in the vision which he had seene, that vnder the signe of the Crosse he should overcome, which hee after bore for his denice. He likewise overcame Marcus Licinius, who also gouerned a part of the Empire. Hee greatly fauoured the Christians: and while hee liued, the persecution of the Christians ceased, and the Prelates of the Church were had in great veneration, and made rich. Hee did put a stoppe of his owne to death, whose name was Crispus, by the insiguation of his wife Faulla, whom hee afterwards also slew, being grievously reprobated by his mother Helena for the death of his sonne. He would haue rooted out the heresie of Arius: but death intercepted him, which took him out of this life when hee was very old: he died a Christian, as he had Christianlike liued, leaving the Church in great honour and rich, whereto hee had of his bounty giuen many great and rich gifts.



Am of opinion, and do verely beleue, that it cannot be otherwise, but that the Reader shall see himselfe in a great confusion, and will not without some trouble comprehend the subiect of this Historie; by reason of the multitude of Emperours and CÆSARS, which concurre at one instant: so as if it be a hard matter to remember their names only, how much more then will it be to vnderstand the actions of euery of them particularly? It is true, that the Romane Empire was then so great, as no one man alone was able to gouerne the same; neither was it possible that many should rule it: for in raigne and command (as I haue elsewhere sayd) equality and company cannot be indured. And from hence arose so much discord, murder, and other strange accidents, which then could not thoroughly be

vnderstood, neither can now be so clearly described, as they may be distinctly conceiued as they pass. Wherefore, it shall be needfull that the curious Reader remember well what is past, to the end he may the better comprehend that which followeth.

The Tyrant MAXENTIVS being as Emperour in *Rome*, CONSTANTINE in *France*, LICINIVS in *Slauonia* and *Gracia*, who also called himselfe Emperour, and MAXIMINVS CÆSAR in the East; The life and behaviour of MAXENTIVS in *Rome* was such, as hee was therefore extremely hated of all men: for he was a cruell homicide and a murder of Noble-men, libidinous, an adulterer, dishonest, couetous, and aboute all a persecuter and destroy-er of the Church of God. Finally, in all his actions he was a Tyrant, a great Sorcerer, and a friend to Southsayers, Enchanters, Charmers, and such like. For which the veruous and most noble CONSTANTINE (being in *France*) was very sorie: and being called by the Senators

The greatness
of the Romane
Empire.

What sort the
Romane Empire
was diuided.

Maxentius a
great churche-
man.

of Rome and other Noblemen, he refused to leuie an Armie against MAXENTIVS, notwithstanding that he was brother to his wife FAVSTA, as I haue sayd. But the better to preserve his owne Empire, he made MARCVS LICINIVS, who commanded *Illyria* and the other prouinces aforesaid, his friend, giuing to him his sister *CONSTANCE* to wife, in the citie of *Milan*, where they too met for that purpose, and made great feasting. Whicher was invited (but would not come) the old Emperour *DIOCLESIAN*, who yet liued in his voluntarie pouertie. Wherewith *CONSTANTINE* and *LICINIVS* being discontent, wrote vnto him shapen and threatening letters, alleging that he fauoured MAXENTIVS; wherefore (as some write) he took poison wherewith he killed himselfe; and others say that he died mad.

The death of
the Emperour
Dioctian.

After the feasts were ended in *Milan*, the good *CONSTANTINE* coming with his Army into *Italy* against MAXENTIVS, who (although he were a wicked man) was both valiant and hardy; and raising also the greatest and best forces that he was able, went to meet him, trusting in the enchantments and charmes which he had made, and in the masters which he had with him, which for that purpose killed innocent children, making with their blood a thousand charmes and other vanities: wherewith he gaue the vnlearned and vbelieving people so amazed, that the greatest number of his friends gaue credit thereunto; and his enemies stood in feare to giue him battaile. Wherefore, and also for that in truth he had a great Armie and very expert, principally the Pretorian souldiers which first made choise of him; the warre grew to be very doubtfull, and there were some encounters and battailes betwene them, wherein for the most part *CONSTANTINE* had the victorie. But MAXENTIVS reinforcing his Armie, and vsing his diuclish arts, came finally to *Rome*, where he procured all possible fauour: and making greater preparation to offend his enemy; by the counsell of a Magician woman, or rather a witch, he refused to sallie forth and to giue *CONSTANTINE* battaile, who with his forces was come neerer to *Rome*. Who vnderstanding what MAXENTIVS meant to put in execution; considering the great losse that might ensue, and standing in feare and doubt of the issue of the battaile, as well for the great number of the enemies, as for MAXENTIVS' enchauntments wherewith he amazed the world; he was in great care and perplexitie: And as he gaue great credit to the Christians, and was their protector and defender (notwithstanding that yet he was not baptized) but had a firme and stedfast hope in *IESVS CHRIST*; *EVSEBIVS*, *CASSIODORVS*, and others write, that there appeared vnto him one of the greatest miracles that euer was seen in the world; which was, That he saw in the heauens a great crosse, of the colour of fire, like vnto that whereupon our Saviour suffered his passion; and therewith he heard this voice, *In hoc signo vinces*. By vertue of this signe thou shalt overcome. By means of which signe and miracle, God gaue him so great confidence, as he presently assured himselfe of victorie; and therefore caused the signe of the crosse to be made in his imperiall standard; and euer after vsed to beare it wrought in some iewel or otherwise in his right hand, and on his forehead: and finally, from thenceforth his deuise was continually the crosse, and he made it to be set in all his ensignes.

A miracle ap-
peared to Con-
stantine when
he prepared to
fight with
Maxentius.

CONSTANTINVS then putting his hope and trust in the voice which he heard from heauen, and MAXENTIVS his belife and confidence in his diuels and enchauntments, ioyned battaile neere to a bridge ouer the riuer *Tiber*, called *Pons Aelius*, which was somewhat more than a mile from *Rome*; whither MAXENTIVS very courageously came in the forward of all his Armie. The fight being begun, and he overcharged by *CONSTANTINVS* vauntgard, before which was carried the crosse, he fled; and entring vpon the bridge which he had commanded to be made vpon Barkes and Boates neere to the other, both he and his horse fell into the riuer, where he was drowned: which bridge he himselfe had caused to be made, to the end there-with to haue decieued his enemy. Wherefore to him may be well applied the saying of the Psalmist, *Lacum aperuit, & effudit eum, & incidit in foveam quam ipse fecit*.

A fight be-
tweene Con-
stantine and
Maxentius.

Maxentius dy-
ing was drown-
ed in the riuer
Tiber.

Constantine
accompanied in-
to Rome by the
senate and
whole Roman
people with
great ioy and
gladiati.

CONSTANTINE hauing obtained this victorie in the seventh yeere of his raigne (accounting from the death of his father) without any losse or slaughter of his people, the Senators and people of *Rome*, with their wiues and children came forth to receiue him, as the Prince who had freed them from seruitude; and they gaue him the title of Father of the countrie, and restorer of peace and libertie. In this manner was he attended into *Rome*, with incredible ioy and feasting, euerie one singing his praises; yeelding generally, fundrie congratulations, with mirth and gladnes. But he attributed nothing to his owne power or policie, but all to God onely. And in the right hand of all the Statues and Images, which in *Rome* by decree of the Senate were erected to his honour for his victorie against MAXENTIVS, he caused to be en-

grauen

grauen the signe of the crosse, with the words which hee heard from heauen, *In hoc signo vinces*. And then hee commanded by publike edict that no man should be condemned to the death of the crosse: which vntill his time was vsed and held for an ignominious death. Setting all matters in good order and peace in *Rome*, making holy and iust lawes and statutes, and to shew himselfe grateful for the benefits which hee had receiued, hee did much good to the Christians, bestowing many fauours and gifts vpon them, building them Churches and houses of prayer, endowing them with rents and necessarie means for the maintenance of the Priests and Ministers thereof, with ornaments and necessaries for diuine seruice. And he and his brother in law *LICINIVS*, the other Emperour, by common consent sent their general edicts and decrees through all the prouinces and cities subiect to the Empire, commanding that the Christians should be eased from all grieuances, made free, and receiued into honours and offices of dignitie and authoritie, in which decrees were contained the great praises of our Lord, reciting the victories which *CONSTANTINE* had obtained vnder his banner with the signe of the crosse. Which decrees being sent into the East, where MAXIMINVS CAESAR bare the sway, were obeyed by him, as the Emperours commandement, but much against his will: for hee was wicked and a most cruell enemy to the Catholike Church; and so although hee contained himselfe for a season, yet afterward hee returned to his diuclish disposition.

Decrees made
by Constanti-
ne in fauour of
the Christians.

CONSTANTINE living in this felicitie, being Lord of all the prouinces of *Africa* (I meane of that part which was subiect to the Empire) of *France*, *Spain*, *Germanie*, and also *Italy*, with the Ilands of *Britannie* and *Sicilie*, in all which countries he maintained peace and iustice (for the wisdom and police of this prince was exceeding great, and no lesse was his courage and valour) in such fort that as he was most valiant and venturous in Armes, so was hee very wise and politic in peace; and made new lawes, against the new flanders and inuentions of the wicked. He also took great care and paine to reduce all Arts and Sciences to their ancient perfection, greatly honouring such masters as were excellent, who then were greatly decayed and diminished, and hee gaue them more honor: hee also exercised himselfe in most honourable exercises, reading, writing, and inditing, and in hearing the Embassies and complaints which were brought to him from sundrie prouinces; and to all men was affable, milde, courteous and liberall; preserving in all things the bountie and sinceritie of his minde.

Being in *Rome*, as some reckon in the yeere of Lord 314. and as other say 316. some say more, some lesse (for which computation I take no great care, seeing it little importeth the truth of the historie) he was there instructed by Pope *SYLVESTER* in all matters concerning the Christian faith: which hee (as some writers affirme) receiued with great feruencie; and with his son *CRISPVS*, whom hee in the beginning of his raigne had made *CAESAR*, was baptized in *Rome*, hauing first made for that purpose a most sumptuous Font, which (as *PLATINA* affirmeth) is at this day there to be seene: yet some others affirme, that hee was baptized but a little before his death. But whensoever, it hath greatest apparence that it was solemnized in *Rome*. But wee will leaue this controuersie vntill another time. Hee liuing thus in quiet in *Rome*, MAXIMINVS CAESAR, who ruled in the East, seeing himselfe rich and mightie, held it for a disgrace to be inferior to *LICINIVS* or to *CONSTANTINE*; and therefore taking vpon him the name of *AVGVSTVS* and Emperour, and reuoking the priuiledges giuen to the Christians, he began to declare himselfe an enemy, especially to *LICINIVS*, who commanded nereest vnto him: and knowing that *LICINIVS* provided for him; trusting in the multitude of his men of warre, he marched towards *LICINIVS*: but before they fought any generall battaile, they made most cruell warre both by sea and land in many parts: and after many conflicts, at the last they came to fight, Armie against Armie, wherein MAXIMINVS was overthrowne: and the battaile was so cruell, as the greatest part of his men were slaine, and those which escaped yeelded themselves to *LICINIVS*. MAXIMINVS himselfe escaping by flight, changed his habit, to the end that he would not be discouered, vntill he might come to some place of safetie. And (as *EVSEBIVS* writeth) imagining himselfe to be deluded by his Magicians, and the false Priests of his diuclish gods, he put many of them to death, and began to intreate the Christians very well; and sent abroad his decrees, wherein he commanded that they should be suffered to liue at libertie, and to build Temples, and to doe what they thought good. Which this wicked man did, more for that he hoped that God would therefore giue him victorie, and so he might be reuenged of his enemies, then for any beleefe he had in him: for what hee did was not willingly, but with a dissembling heart, and through desire of reuenge: for this wicked man thought that Christ should assist him with his mercie, who vpon the crosse

Constantine
instructed in the
Christian faith
by Pope Syl-
vester.

Maximian
calling himselfe
Emperour, re-
uoked the pri-
uiledges giuen
to the Christians.

A battaile be-
tweene Maxi-
minus and Li-
cinius.

pray-

prayed to his father to forgive them which had nailed him thereon. Having once againe leuied the greatest and best forces he could; with an intent to retorne to fight with LICINIUS, he pleaded God to frustrate his purposes by his death, afflicting him first with the most cruel and grievous disease that euer was heard of; wherein through the intolerable paine which he felt in his guts and intrailles, he did bite his owne hands, and did cast himselfe desperately from his bed to the ground; and this torment continuing many daies, so as hee could neither eate, drinke, nor sleepe: at length his eyes started out of his head; and so he died mad and in despair. Through his death the Christians enioyed an absolute peace and quietnes through all the prouinces of the Empire: and CONSTANTINE and LICINIUS remained absolute Lordes and Emperours, and so continued in great peace and tranquillitie for a season: LICINIUS went presently into the East, where he slew VALENS, a Capitaine whom the Armie there had made Emperour after the death of MAXIMINUS: and that tyrant being slaine, and he in possession of the countie; he punished the Sorcerers, the Inchaunters, and the ministers of MAXIMINUS cruelties; and he also cauled his sonnes to be slaine whom hee had made CESARS. EVSEBIUS, who was an eye witness, reiteth, what great libertie the Christians obtained through the death of MAXIMINUS; and how they built Churches and beautified the same, and in how great account and reuerence CONSTANTINE held the Bishops and Prelates; And likewise the gifts, rewards, and reuenues which hee bestowed vpon them.

The Empire being gouerned in this manner; in those times one ALEXANDER a Capitaine in Africa rebelled and vsurped the name and title of Emperour; against whom CONSTANTINE sent from Rome an Armie: which coming to a battell, ALEXANDER was overcome and slaine. So as all remained vnder the command of CONSTANTINE and LICINIUS onely. And although their dignitie and Empire was equall, yet was the authoritie and valour of CONSTANTINE farre greater, and he much more esteemed and better beloued of all men then LICINIUS, and for the most part remained in Rome, doing iustice to all men indifferently; particularlie honoring and enriching the Church of God, hearing and reading the holie scriptures, and in this manner remained in rest for a space. But the Deuill, who neuer ceaseth to induce men to do euill, and to sow discord and enmitie amongst them, made LICINIUS to alter his mind, who in his hart fauoured not the Christians, and drew him to persecute them. The first thing hee did, was to cast out of his house and seruice, and so, out of all offices and places of charge, any one whatsoever that was a Christian; and afterwards hee committed such cruelties against them as had felde been seene: which hee did (as some write) thereby to pick occasion of discord and war with CONSTANTINE, whom hee enuied for his great authoritie and goodness. He also sought many meanes to make him away either by poison or treason; wherein failing of his will, hee resolved openlie to fall out with him: whereto CONSTANTINE suffered himselfe to be induced, more as a true Christian, for the defence of the Christian faith, then for his owne particular honor or interest: for LICINIUS, now ruined the temples and churches which hee himselfe had before commanded to be built; and without either feare or shame, commanded all those Christians to be slaine which would not commit idolatrie, and adore his idols: whereupon many being weak and inconstant renounced their faith, and others ioyfullie received the crowne of Martyrdome.

Each of these two Emperours mustering vp his souldiers and men of warre, they hauing reigned twelue yeeres in peace together, there began very cruell warres betweene them: and as CONSTANTINE cuer bare the crosse in his ensigne and standard, it pleased God that most commonlie his people preuailed. And both these Emperours coming into Hungarie with his forces, there drew neere one to the other, the good CONSTANTINE hauing a fit opportunity (for LICINIUS, was encamped neere to the side of a lake) in the night gaue him a carnizado: and notwithstanding that LICINIUS fought very well and made great resistance, yet in the end his forces were overthrowne, and his camp was entred; and hee escaping by flight, came to the citie of *Bizantium*, which ere long after was called *Constantinople*. Where to rescue himselfe and to recover greater authoritie, hee made one of his Captaines whose name was MARTIANVS, CESAR, who was maister of his offices, or high steward of his house; and raising the greatest power that he was able both of foote and horse, hee prepared himselfe for a second battaile: But in the meane season CONSTANTINE seised on the prouinces of *Dacia*, *Misia*, *Macedonia*, and others which were vnder LICINIUS his gouernment.

LICINIUS hauing gathered his Armie to a head, againe renewed the warre, which (as EVTROPIVS and AVRELIVS VICTOR write in his life) was very variable and cruell, vntill

The death of
Maximinus.

Valens slain
by Licinius.

Alexander re-
belled, and tak-
ing the name of
Emperour, was
overthrowne
and slain by
Constantines
forces.

Licinius per-
secuted the Chris-
tians.

Licinius made
ships to be
raue which
would not
admitt idol-
atrie.

Licinius was
throwne and
put to flight
by Constant-
ine.

vntill that by the intercession of CONSTANTIA sister to CONSTANTINE, and wife to LICINIUS, there was some truce and peace taken betweene them: but through the enuie and malice of LICINIUS it held not long; and they both againe returned to Armes, warring with greater malice and power both by sea and land then before. And both these Emperours coming againe to a battaile, in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia* the lesse, whither LICINIUS had withdrawne himselfe (hauing lost all that he held in *Europe*) it was extremely bloudie and cruell; but in the end CONSTANTINE had the victorie, and LICINIUS escaped by flight: And yet afterwards through the intreatie of his sister CONSTANTIA, wife to LICINIUS, CONSTANTINE granted him his life, he yielding himselfe into his power; but hee confined him to the citie of *Byzomeidia* in the same prouince: where afterwards fearing he should rebell againe as MAXIMIANVS had done, or as some thinke, for that LICINIUS began to practice with some to take Armes, he was put to death by CONSTANTINES command, and with him MARTIANVS whom hee had made CESAR, in the fiftieth yeere of his raigne, and the threescore of his age, and in the yeere of our Saviour Christ three hundred and seven and twentieth.

Licinius the
second time
overthrowne.

Licinius put to
death by Con-
stantines com-
mandment.

This Emperour LICINIUS was of a most wicked and cruell disposition, beeing dishonest, incontinent, couetous, and also most ignorant, as hee who had no Learning; and (which is worse) did abhorre and detest it, affirming that Learning was a publicke plague: whereas to the contrarie (to whom it is not euident) that without Learning, or learned Councell, there neuer was yet any King that either did or could rightly gouerne and minister Iustice: Neuerthelesse, hee was very valiant, and followed the warres all his whole life time.

The whole Empire remaining vnder the command of the good and Christian Emperour CONSTANTINE alone, the world enioyed a most happy time: for so great was his goodness and wisdom, that generally euery where hee ministred iustice mixed with clemency; so as there was vniuersall peace and quietnesse. And by all his subjects hee was beloued, and much honored, and by barbarous and strange Nations greatly feared: and aboute all the Christian faith was held in great reuerence, and embraced euery where. It is wonderful what EVSEBIUS doth write in the end of his Ecclesiasticall historie, and SOCRATES in his Tripartite Historie, of the fauors, graces, priuiledges, benefits, and gifts, which CONSTANTINE bestowed vpon Bishops and the Churches, and generally vpon all christian people, abolishing all the laws which his predecessors had made against their libertie: and hee commanded by publicke edict, that there should no more temples be built to the honour of the false gods and idols which the Romanes adored. But hee commanded through all the Prouinces of the Empire: that the Bishops commandments should be obeyed; and that to those which had not whereof to liue, there should be assigned goods and rents to maintain them during their liues. And hee not only tooke care for the Christians which liued in Countries subject to the Empire: but vnderstanding that to those Christians which liued in other Prouinces subject to the King of *Persia* was vsed force and oppression, hee sent his Ambassadors to that King, requiring him to command that fault to be amended: perswading him to honour and beleue in IESVS CHRIST: So as by his meanes CHRIST was adored, and the Gospell freely preached through the whole world; and vnder this good Emperour the Christians indured not any oppression, or suffered persecution: and so there were many holy and learned Doctors.

CONSTANTINE living in this great power and prosperity, was worthily sumamed the Great, and in all Historie hee is called CONSTANTINE the Great. Besides this, other honourable names and titles were giuen him by the Senate of Rome: as, the restorer of mankind, the enlarger of the Romane Empire, the founder and preferer of perpetual peace and safety, and so hee was generally honoured and beloued of all men, as much as possibly a man could be.

Some Authours write, among which EVTROPIVS is one, that CONSTANTINE through his great power and prosperity blemished his vertues, waxing proud and cruell; and they tax him also for being too desirous of glory and honor: wherof AVRELIVS VICTOR also maketh mention, and proueth the same by the death of his sonne CRISPVS, whom hee had made CESAR, and of his wife FAVSTA, who as we haue sayd, was MAXENTIVS sister; and of many other noble and eminent men. But it cannot certainly be said how it fell out, thereby to condemne or excuse this Emperour: for as a man, hee might fall into such sinnes; and

Titles of honour
giuen to Con-
stantine.

and yet afterwards acknowledging his error, might aske mercie at Gods hands for his offences.

Constantine
did put his wife
his sonne, and
his N. plew to
death.

True it is, some say, that he put his son **CRISPVS** to death, because that his wife **FAVSTA**, and mother in law to his said sonne, had complained to him that he would haue rauished her; whereas to the contrarie she had dishonestly fought it of him, procuring his loue and dishonest companie; whereto, he as a yollay and dutifull childe would not consent. The truth whereof being afterwards knowne, **CONSTANTINE** caused her to be slaine: which he did with great reason, although hee were deceived in the death of his sonne. Others say that she as a mother in law, pradzied the death of **CRISPVS**, because he should not be preferred before the other sonnes which she had by **CONSTANTINE**. But I am of opinion that these execrations were not but for some offences and iust causes which moued him thereto, although they were not published and made knowne to the world.

Warres against
the Sarmates.

PAVLVS OROSIVS reciting the deaths of his wife, of his sonne, and of his Nephew, saith that the causes were secret and vnknowne, which moued him. And truly a man can presume no other wife, considering how wise and how good a Christian this Prince was. And **SOZOMENVS** doth excuse him, asrelateth **CASSIODORVS** in his Tripartite Historie. **EVSSEBIVS** and **RUFINVS** in their writings, and the same **CASSIODORVS**, onely declare his virtues, and blame him in nothing. Saint **GRAEGORIE** calleth him Emperour, of holy memorie. Saint **AMBROSIVS** speaking of the death of **THEODORVS** saith, that **CONSTANTINE** was worthe of great praise, who with the Empire left the Christian faith for inheritance to his successors: So as what such men commend, I dare not reprehend or condemne. Holding it then for certain, that he was a good man, returning to his Historie, I say, that after that he reigned alone, their failed nor warres: for the Sarmates invaded the Empire, and he in person with a mighty Armie marched against them; and ouerthrowing them in a battaille, he forced them to obey, and to be quiet. The like he afterwards did by the Gothes, and other barbarous nations. Which when he had performed, and hauing made his three sonnes **CONSTANTINVS**, **CONSTANTIVS**, and **CONSTANS**, **CÆSARS**, and also his Nephew **DALMATIVS**: for some reasonable considerations, holding it more conuenient for matters of the East and to be nere at hand, which was his greatest care; he determined to transport his imperial throne and seat from *Rome into Bithynia in Asia*, or into some other part of that countrie; and hauing considered thereof, and thought vpon sundrie fit places; he resolved in the end to redifie the citie of **BYZANTIIVM**, which is in *Thracia*; and meaning to call it new *Rome*, he beautified it with edifices, priuiledges, and other riches, more then any other citie of the world. And as Saint **IBROM** saith in his additions to **EVSSEBIVS**, he enriched and adorned that citie with the spoiles of all the rest. For all the wortheie and notable monuments which were in *Rome*, as statues, pillars, colosses, and all other things which were singular and excellent, of gold stone or metall, he made to be taken from *Rome* and to be carried to that citie: Whereto notwithstanding that he gaue the name of new *Rome*, yet was it then, and now to this day is called *Constantinople*, after his name: and so it became one of the greatest and most noble cities of the world: and he went thither, and there setled his imperial throne and state, leauing his sonnes in *France, Spaine, and Italy*, which prouinces he had giuen them to gouerne.

The signal of
the Arrian heresie.

The Empire being in this prosperitie, the heresie of the Arrians, through the suggestion of the diuell arose in the City of *Alexandria in Egypt*, which denied the eternitie of the son of God with the Father, alleaging that he was not of the same substance with him. This heresie did then, and a long time after, trouble the quiet estate of the Church. The head and inuentor of this heresie, was one **ARRIVS** a Priest in the said citie of *Alexandria*, who was a man which outwardly made great shew of holinesse, and liued morally well. At the same time was Bishop of *Alexandria* one **ALEXANDER**, a man of great holinesse & learning: But as he was gentle and of a mild condition, so he endeouored in the beginning to haue cured **ARRIVS** of that heretical infirmity, with soft and gentle medicaments; praying and admonishing him to leaue his error and misbeliefe, with holy speeches and exhortations; but being proud and insolent, persisting in his heresie, he induced many others to follow his errors; and this pestilence increased and extended it selfe so far, that many were infected therewith: and all the possible diligence that **ALEXANDER** could vse, did nothing auaile to suppress the same; notwithstanding that **ARRIVS** was by him communicate out of the Church. Whereupon **ALEXANDER** aduertised the Emperour thereof: and the mischief grew to be so great, as it required a great remedy; and so by order of the same Emperour, a generall Councell was called in the City of *Nicea*, which is

The Nicene
council.

in the prouince of *Bithynia in Asia*, where ther assembled three hundred and eightene Bishops. And **CONSTANTINE** himselfe in person was present in the same councell: finally, **ARRIVS**, and his wicked sect, was therein condemned by all the Bishops, excepting seuentene which held with him, Wherof eleuen afterwards (as saith **RUFINVS**) made shew of recantation: and **ARRIVS** together with the other fixe were excommunicated and banished; to all which the Emperour consented and approved the same, submitting himselfe to the iudgement of the holy councell. And so the opinion of **ARRIVS** was held for a wicked heresie: but he persisted in his error, and had disciples and followers. And notwithstanding that the Emperour took great paines to redresse it, yet he could not by any means effect the same. This euill did a long time trouble the Church, and extended it selfe euen into *Spain* and other prouinces; in somuch as it seemed impossible to finde any redresse for so great a mischief: but afterwards in proceesse of time, it pleased our Lord of his infinite goodnesse and mercie, to cure the same.

Among many other things which **CONSTANTINE** did in this councell, one was very notable. As among so many Bishops, although many of them were holy and good men; so their wanted not enuie and contention among those which were not such: for some held erroneous opinions; and others which were in sute and at debate, accused one another to the Emperour: exhibiting their complaints and informations vnto him in writing, entreating him to punish the offenders; The Emperour received the accusations, & concealed the same, so as no man saw them: afterwards calling those Bishops which thus complained before him, he made a brieue speech, saying; Fathers, Bishops and Prelates, it hath pleased God to ordaine you for Prelates and Priests, and hath giuen you power to iudge of me, and I may iustly and orderly be iudged by you, but you cannot be iudged by me: wherefore I referre your suites and debates to the diuine iudgement, and to the iudgement of the Church and councell. And seeing that you are set before vs in the place of God, it is not fit that I iudge of you, but should leaue you to the iudgement of God, of whom it is written, *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum, in medio autem deus discernit*; God stood in the synagogue of the Gods, and God alone among them is iudge. Wherefore setting apart all this malice, discord and contention, apply your selues diligently to that which appertaineth to the Christian faith, and to the Church, and for Gods sake forget these rancors and priuate injuries. These speeches are written by **RUFINVS** and **CASSIODORVS**, and are also scene in the Decrees, wherewith the good Emperour exhorted those Bishops to concord and friendship, without interposing himselfe betweene them as their iudge; and so was that most holy & Christian councell dissolved. About the same time or little after it, the holy woman **HELENA**, mother to the same Emperour **CONSTANTINE**, went to *Ierusalem* (I meane to that which is new builded: for of the old *Ierusalem* there remaineth not one stone vpon another) to seeke the crosse whercon our Saviour **CHRIST** suffered his passion. And commanding a Temple to be throwne downe, which by the Gentiles was builded in that same place to the Goddesse **VENVS**, there were found three crosses, but not in such manner as that it might bee well perceived which was the crosse of **CHRIST**: for the superscription was taken away, or else the letters could not be read, and the one was like the other. And **HELENA** being in this confusion, and with her **MACARIVS**, which at that time was Bishop of *Ierusalem*, they caried the three crosses to the house of a great Ladie, which in that citie was then at the point of death, sick of a great and incurable disease; where (as it is written) the right crosse was miraculously discovered. **SOZOMENVS** in his Tripartite historie writeth wonders, concerning the same. The feast of the finding of the crosse is celebrated by the Church of *Rome* with great solemnitie, vpon the third day of May. And **HELENA**, hauing found what she so earnestly sought, caused in the same place where it was found, a most rich and sumptuous Temple to be builded: and taking the crosse asunder, the one halfe shee left there inclosed in a silver chest, and the other halfe shee caried with her to *Constantinople*, where it was kept by **CONSTANTINE** with great reuerence. Shee caried vnto him also the nails wherewith **CHRIST** was nailed to the crosse, the one of which hee alwaies wore in his helmet or caske; and of another hee made a bit for his horse, against such times as hee should enter into any fight or battaille; and the other hee threw into the sea to assuage the tempest. How true or false I will not argue. This historie and the finding of the crosse, besides **RUFINVS** and **CASSIODORVS** already alleaged, Saint **AMBROSIVS** writeth at large in the oration by him made to the honour of the Emperour **THEODOSIVS**.

The finding of
the crosse.

Helena caused
a Temple to be
build in the
same place
where the
crosse was
found.

CONSTANTINE having now happily reigned about thirtie yeeres, in the later time whereof hee wholly applied himselfe to roote Idolatrie out of the world; and to builde Churches, which he dedicated to CHRIST IESVS and his Saints; and to extirpate ARRIUS his heresie, which yet had some roote: but in the end he was forced to leaue an Arme to go against the Persians and their king, which invaded the Empire. And marching thitherwards, in the 66. yeere of his age, and the thirtieth of his raigne (although that herein is some small difference among authors) he was taken with a grievous sickness; and to the end he might recover health, he caused himselfe to be caried from *Constantinople*, with intent to goe to *Nicomedia*, which is a citie in *Bithynia*, to certaine Bathes of hot water: but before he could come thither, his disease so increased as he died, humbly recommending his soule to IESVS CHRIST, in whom he constantly beleueed. And so holily died this holy and great Emperor; leaving behind him three sons, CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIVS, and CONSTANS; whom he constituted and ordained for his heires and successors in the Empire, together with his nephew DALMATIVS; and two daughters, the one named HELENA, which was afterwards married to VLIVIANVS who was Emperor: and the other CONSTANTIA who married with GALVVS. Some suspected that CONSTANTINE was poisoned. He died in the yeere of our Lord 342.

Although that we shall somewhat exceed ordinarie in this discourse, yet I account it time well spent to treat of some doubts, which grow in the life of CONSTANTINE. The first is, for that some say this holy Emperour was not baptized, vntill a little before his death; and that he was then baptized by EVERBIVS, Bishop of *Nicomedia*; and that all the rest of his time he liued without baptisme: alleging a reason why he did so, for that he hoped to haue been baptized in the river *Jordan*, wherein our Saviour CHRIST was baptized by S. IOHN. But I account the opinion of those to be most certaine, which write that he was baptized in *Rome* by the hand of Pope SYLVESTER, after the death of MAXENTIVS. For it is hardly to be beleueed, that there could be such deuotion found (as CONSTANTINE shewed in his works) in a man which was not baptized; and therefore it carrieth no colour of truth. Writers doe also proue, that he was baptized with his sonne CRISPVS, and that he caused his sonne to be slain long before he died, as by vs hath been already declared: so as it appeareth that he could not be baptized with his sonne, being already dead. And whereas it is written in a little booke, that CONSTANTINE was infected with a leprosie, and that he was cured with the blood of certaine little children which he caused to be slain for that purpose; PLATINA holdeth this for a fable and a forgerie: and none of the ancient writers neither moderne that are of any credit, write any such matter. Some also write, that CONSTANTINE was baptized in his later daies, and that he seemed to be inclined to the Arrian heresie. But he was deceived which wrote so: for that was his his sonnes error, who was also called CONSTANTINE: and that which was written of his sonne (being deceived through the name) was imputed to the father, of whose true faith, life and death there ought no doubt to be made; neither in their histories treating of his life, do they make any doubt, as OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. GREGORIVS, RUFINVS, and CASSIODORVS testifie: Of which S. GREGORIE calleth him, of holy memorie, S. AMBROSE in an oration which he made at the death of THEODORVS, giueth him the title of holie, and highly extolleth him because he left the Christian faith, for an inheritance, with the Empire. And the Greek Church doth celebrate his feast as a Saint, vpon the twentieth day of Aprill. And so doe also defend his faith and holinesse both in life and in death, ANTONIVS SABELLICVS in his *Enceades*; PLATINA in the life of Pope MARCVS; POMPONIVS LEYVS in his abridgement of the Roman historie; and BAPTISTA IGNATIVS in his epitome of the Emperours; and S. ANTONIVS in his Historials: and generally all the moderne authors, besides the auncient already named. And whereas it is written that he recalled ARRIUS from exile, if he did so as some write, yet according to the same authors, he was induced thereto by a certaine Priest, and at the entreatie of his sister, but principally through a writing sent to him by ARRIUS, wherein he declared what opinion he held concerning the faith; seeming by his words to be conformable to the decree of the Councell, and the Emperour not comprehending his deceit in those words, released him from banishment. Neuertheless he referred the examination of the cause to a new councell of Bishops, which was then assembled about the building of the Temple at *Ierusalem*; without approving his opinion in any respect. And it happened that ARRIUS died in this demand, according as his finnes and heresie had deserved: for it pleased God that he died suddenly, and

The death of
Constantine the
Great.

The opinion of
the Author touching
the baptizing of
Constantine.

Constantine
was really taxed
to be a Lepre.

The error of
some becaus
Constantine
the Great and
Constantine
his sonne touch-
ing the faith.

The death of
Atricius and
how.

and his bowels came forth at his lower parts. Many of these Authors affirme, that this hapned in the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the sonne, and not of the father. They being both of one name causeth this confusion and doubt in the Historie. So as it may be set downe & auouched for certain, that the Emperour CONSTANTINE at what time sooner he was baptized, sure it was in *Rome* many yeeres before his death: And he died holding and beleueing the holy Catholike faith. And as an holy and true Christian he neuer consented vnto, nor beleueed any point of ARRIUS his heresie, as some charge him, being deceived by the name of his sonne, who was infected with the venome of that wicked heresie.

Now concerning the donation, which some say that CONSTANTINE made to Pope SYLVESTER and to his successors, of the Citie of *Rome* and of all *Italy*, when hee went to *Constantinople*; notwithstanding that all authors agree that he gaue great gifts, and builded many Temples; yet of this so notable donation, I find not that any author of that age doth testifie or auerit any such matter. PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, S. IEROME, or THEODORETVS which liued nere to that time, and wrote the rest, make no mention thereof. Wherefore it is to be doubted, whether there were any such donation.

It is true that there is a text in the decree, which reciteth this said donation of *Rome* and of *Italy* and other orientall Prouinces: But that text is held for Apocrypha; neither is it found in GRAYANS ancient originals. But finally, this is a question which I cannot determine, and therefore I will not thrust my sickle into another mans harrest, neither will I be iudge herein, seeing that I am but onely an Historiographer. Yet to one thing I will not forbear to make answer, in some sort to satisfie the malice of our times. I say, that they haue no reason to taxe the Emperour CONSTANTINE, as some haue done, pretending that hee hath been the cause of much euill, in that he enriched the Bishoppes, Prelates and Priests, for that before his time they followed the true rule and forme of a Christian life; all liuing in the perfection of the Gospell, imitating the pouerty of CHRIST and of his disciples: To the first, let it be that this were true; the good and holy meaning of CONSTANTINE was much to be commended, and therein he did well and acceptably before God. To the other, it is not certaine that before the time of CONSTANTINE the Clergie had no temporall goods: for it seemeth to the contrary in the Chapter *Videntes* 12. *questione* 1. wherein it is expressed that the ancient Fathers, considering that it was not so profitable to sell the goods and to distribute the money in *commune*, as the Christians did in the beginning; as it was to keepe those heritages and possessions, to the end that by meanes of the fruites thereof, the Ministers then being might be maintained, and their successors might doe the like after them: And comming to the ground of the matter, although that our Lord IESVS CHRIST and his holy Apostles and Disciples, commended pouertie, preferring it before riches, as chastitie before wedlock, for the full perfection of the holy life which he had chosen; it doth not therefore follow that he would that Bishops, Priests and Ministers should haue no temporall goods of their owne: for if he had meant so, it is to be presumed that he would haue ordained it, and so it should haue been obserued euen to this day. And if they shal say to me, that before the time of CONSTANTINE, they liued without rents or reuenues, and yet there were many holy Bishops, as CLEMENT, LINVS, CLEVS, IGNATIVS, POLICARPVS, MARCELLVS, and such others which liued in pouerty, contenting themselves with a little in holy exercises: I answer, that all these holy men were not altogether without goods, but that they and their Churches had some possessions. And I also affirme that it is certaine, in the beginning, about the first propagation of the Gospell, as the name of Christian was odious and hateful to the Emperours and Princes of those times, principally the Bishops and Priests: so it behoued them of necessity to be contented with that which they had, and to maintain themselves as they were able. And whereas it appeareth that commonly they then liued more deuout, more holy, and in greater humility, then after that the Emperour CONSTANTINE became Christian, and the Church obtained libertie, and that the authoritie thereof was confirmed with riches: Yet it is certaine, that after that time there were also very many holy men. And although that afterwards there was not generally so great sincerity and holinesse of life, as before: yet neither the Emperour, nor the riches he gaue were to be blamed, but the euill disposition and conditions of those which had the vse thereof, and did abuse the same. For it is not to be beleueed, that those ancient holie men in the beginning of the Primitive Church, would, by reason of riches, forbear to haue been holy and deuout; neither am I assured that those which afterwards were

proud and insolent, would have been holy and deuout, notwithstanding that they had been poore: It is true, and I acknowledge the same, that voluntarie pouertie is a state of great perfection, and that great riches oftentimes minister occasion of pride and wickednesse: but heretofore men themselves are the cause; for we are naturally inclined to euill: but to put the same in execution, the rich haue greater power then the poore. Therefore neither riches nor pouerty are the occasion: for neither are all rich men wicked, neither are all poore men good: which would be so, if riches only be the occasion thereof. For neither riches nor pouertie in their owne nature are good or euill: but rather, as saith S. PAVL: *All things are cleane to the cleane.* Neither ought riches to be condemned, because that some wicked man doth abuse his wealth: For, if that Argument were of force, so were likewise to bee condemned and despised the strength of the bodie, beautie of countenance, sharpnesse of wit, and quicknesse of vnderstanding; and a man should desire to be vgly, feeble, dull, ignorant and of little discretion: for those which be strong, faire, beautifull, quick-witted, and of great capacite and vnderstanding, may doe more harme and vse greater deceit, then the deformed, decrepit and ignorant. And if a man shall iudge according to the occasion only; pouerty bringeth with it little care, and great distrust, and therewith men become enuious, greedily couetous, malefactors, coueting and stealing other mens goods: yet I will not denie, but that in riches is the greater danger. But in both, the fault is in vs, and not in the goods, which of themselves are neither good nor euill, but are as is he who hath the vse of them. And so not to swaue any further from our History, I conclude and say; Let vs forbear to blame CONSTANTINE, and blame those which haue abused and mispent the goods which were given by CONSTANTINE. And let those which are so zealous of the generall reformation of the Church, reforme their owne Consciences, and amend their owne liues and abuses; and let them with teares pray vnto God to amend the rest. For if every man in particular would doe thus and amend one, all would presently be amended. But truly most men take care for the gouernement of Empires and States, euen at home in their houses: but of their owne houses and Consciences they take little care. And to the end that they thinke not, that all the mischief consisteth in the Church goods, let them know that after that the Churches were rich, and that the Prelates were of great power and authority, there were therein: a S. LEO, a Pope, a S. GREGORY, S. AMBROSIO, S. IEROME, S. AVOUSTINE, S. BERNARD, and an infinite number of other Bishops which possessed riches, and despising them were poore in spirit, which is acceptable before God.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIUS, AND CONSTANS,

Brethren, Sonnes of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the
Great, and sue and forthwith Emperour
of ROME.

(***)

THE ARGUMENT.

THE Emperour Constantine being dead, the government of the Empire remained in the hands of his sons Constantius, Constans, and Constantinus: But as commonly it happeneth in matters of State, so after that the Prouinces were diuided, they imagining them to be vnequally shared, fell together by the eares among themselves: and two of them being dead, the government of the Empire rested wholly in Constantinus, who had no lesse to doe to defend himselfe against domesticall tyrants, which sought to ouerthrow his estate, then to defend

send forraine Princes, thereby to preserve the Romane Empire. After many accidents of warre, he overcame Magnentius, and the last battaile betweene them was so bloodie, and the execution so great, that in a manner he weakened the forces of the whole Empire: but finally, Magnentius was driven to such extremity that he slue himselfe. He made his Cousin-Germane Gallus, Cæsar, giving him his sister Constantina to wife, who behaued himselfe so wickedly in his government, that Constantius was forced to cause him to be slaine: in whose place he made his brother Iulianus, Cæsar, who going into Germany against the high Dutch, had so good success in all his enterprises in the warres, that the souldiers of France constrained him perforce to take the Engle and name of Emperour. Which when Constantius vnderstood (who then was in war against the Persians) he ordered that war in the best manner he could, and came with a mightie Army against Iulianus: but falling grievously sick by the way, he died, and made Iulianus his successor, leaving the Empire to him, whom he was going to deprive.



HOW necessarie and good the raigne of the Emperour CONSTANTINE was, and how great his bountie and valour was, plainly appeareth, seeing that immediately with his death the vniuersall quiet and peace was disturbed, the fauor and respect of the Church was diminished, and the administration of justice was likewise peruerced and troubled. The good Emperour CONSTANTINE left behinde him when he died three sonnes, and two daughters. His sonnes names were CONSTANTINVS, CONSTANTIUS, and CONSTANS; his daughters were called HELINA, and CONSTANTIA. The sons presently after the death of their father were Emperours: for in his life time he had made them CÆSARS, together with his nephew DALMATIUS; and he also left them by his testament heires to the Empire. The daughters were afterwards married to Emperours; as in the proceesse of this Historie we will declare: which in truth is very abrupt, as well for the varietie and difference among authors, as for the great discord and warres which grew betweene these three brethren, and through the tyrants and vsurping Emperours which arose in their time. Let the Reader endeavour to reade attentiuely: For I will doe my best to write it as plainly and cleerely as I shall be able.

These three Brethren diuided the Roman Empire among them in this manner: To CONSTANTINE, who was the eldest Brother, was allotted Spain, Britanny, France, and that part of Germany which was subject to the Romans. To CONSTANS, the second Brother, there fell Italy, and all Africa, with the Iland Sicillia, and the rest between them, together with Sclanonia, Dalmatia, Macedonia, Achaia, Morea, and all Grecia. The third Brother, which was CONSTANTINVS, possessed the Prouince of Thracia where the City of Constantinople stands, with all the East Prouinces of Asia the lesse, Soria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. And in the dominion of this CONSTANTINVS, by his consent and accord, his cousin DALMATIUS gouerned as CÆSAR. SEXTVS AVRELIVS VICTOR saith, that he reigned also in Armenia, and in the borders thereof, and that ANNIBALLINVS was therein established CÆSAR.

And so in this manner began the Empire to be gouerned by three Emperours, and one CÆSAR which was DALMATIUS: whereof ensued great discord and warre, for that either of them would take place before other, and be Lord of the whole. And, on the other side, the Roman Empire was so great, that no one man could well gouern it alone; and so very few held the whole in quiet possession: and therefore it declined, as all kingdoms and dominions which are farre extended and enlarged, will doo: for, neither mans life, force, nor humane policy, are able to manage and gouern that which is of too great an extent.

In the beginning of their Raigne these Brethren liued in peace, for joy to see themselves so great Lords: and DALMATIUS, who in the East assisted CONSTANTINVS, began to make shew of himselfe to be a most excellent Prince, in his actions & vertues imitating CONSTANTINE the Great: wherefore by the good he was much beloued; but feared of the wicked, and enuied by CONSTANTINVS himself, who was the cause of his death. CONSTANTINVS permitting it, or being accessory thereto, hee was upon a day in a mutinie slaine by the souldiers which he had leuied against the King of Persia: and so the Empire remain'd absolutely betwixt the three Brethren.

Soon after this, CONSTANTINE (who was the elder Brother) beganne to finde himselfe grieved, alleging that he had the least part in the diuision of the Prouinces: for, hee possessed

X 4

Constantine
his children.

Constantine
his three sonnes
diuided the Empire
betweene
them.

Dalmatius
was
slaine
by the
souldiers
through
the
practice
of
Constantine.

but

but *France, Spain, part of Germany, England, and Scotland*, his other Brethren houlding so many Prouinces. And therefore hee sent Ambassadors vnto them, requiring a new diuision: and as their parts seemed to them to be but little, they would not yeeld to his request. Whereupon he mustered vp his men and leuied an Armie, resolving to take that perforce, which they would not allow him by their free will, and with a great power invaded the Frontiers of his brother *CONSTANS* his Empire, to whom befell *Italy and Africa*. At that time *CONSTANS* was in *Dacia* (which is *Transilvania and Walachia*) making warre vpon the Gothes and Sarmates, who had made incursions into the limits of the Romane Empire: and he understanding what his brother did, sent a Captaine with men of war into *Italy*, who with such power as he was able to raise, made Head against *CONSTANTINE*, nere to the City of *Aquileia*. But *CONSTANTINE*, little regarding his brothers forces, vnadvisedly resolved to fight: and being entrapped in an ambush laid by his enemies, fighting vnknowne, his horse being killed vnder him, and he falling to the earth was slaine, having enioyed his Empire but three yeeres, being of the age of 25. yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord, 343. Which as some imagine happned vnto him for his finnes: for they write of him, that he fauoured the heresie of *ARRIUS*. And *CASSIODORVS*, *RUFINVS*, and *THEODORETVS* in their Ecclesiasticall histories write, that vpon the death of *CONSTANTINE* the Great, father of these young men, those which were infected with the heresie of *ARRIUS*, tooke courage audaciously to maintaine the same, contrary to the decree of the holy Councell: to which their illusions they perswaded *CONSTANTINE* thereto, who ruled in the East parts, and many Arrian Bishops fought to suppress and dispossesse the Catholikes, against whom *CONSTANS* the other Emperour and brother made great resistance, who was of the Catholikes opinion. And particularly the holy Bishop *ATHANASIVS* was persecuted, who was the chiefe man in the Nicene Councell, and in that persecution were sent into exile, both he and others, which suffered great iniurie and infamie. There were also many counells and assemblies held by the Heretikes, and others by the Catholikes, wherein were many contentions. Finally, the Catholikes were greatly troubled and molested, by reason that many reuolted from the faith, and ioined with the heretikes: which I forbear to write, because it requireth much time to relate the same, and also, for that I rather write the liues of Emperors, then any Ecclesiasticall Historie, whereof I must of necessity make often mention hereafter.

CONSTANTINE the elder brother being slaine by his brother *CONSTANS* his souldiers, *CONSTANS* took possession of all the Countries his deceased brother was seased of: and so he became Lord of all the West, and of *Africa*, whereof already he was in possession. After this, presently ensued another dangerous war against a kinde of people cald Franques, a people of *Germany*, inhabiting neer the riuer of *Rhine* (as *CASSIUS* writes): which Franques rebelled, and seised on a great part of *Gallia*; from which the Frenchmen vaunt themselves to be descended; and of Galli were called *Franci*; and *Gallia, Francia*. And, to make their originall seem to be of greater antiquity, they allege that those Franques descended from those which escap't from *Troy*, and that they came to inhabit *Germany* with one of *HECTOR*'s sons, whose name was *FRANCVS*: but heereof we will speak more hereafter. These Franques came to blowes with *CONSTANS*; and, after cruell wars and much slaughter between them, they were vanquished, and made subject to the Empire. And although *CONSTANS* were much troubled with these wars, yet afterwards he liued some yeeres in peace and prosperity; but very weak and impotent of body, both in his feet and hands, by reason of the gout wherewith he was oftentimes much afflicted. His gouernment in the beginning was good and pleasing to all his subjects: but afterwards he became vitious and negligent in the execution of justice, and by means of his infirmity grew vnwieldy and ill disposed; and therefore ill-beloued by the Provincials and Subjects of the Empire: so as certain wicked men, making benefit of this occasion, praised his death. The chief authors of this treason were *CRESSIVS* & *MARCELLINVS*, his own captains, who agreed to make *MAGNENTIVS* Emperour, a man of base condition and mean parentage, although through his courage and valour in the wars he won great reputation: and they found the souldiers very willing and ready thereto; for, they hated *CONSTANS*; and, giuing the imperiall robe to *MAGNENTIVS*, they sent to kill *CONSTANS*, who misstrusted no such matter. In the manner of his death Authors varie: but in conclusion hee was slaine in a certain place called *Helena*, neer to the Pirenean mountains which diuide *France* from *Spain*, in the 13th yeer of his Reign, and the thirtieth of his age, in the yeer of our Lord 353, according to *S. IEROM*'s computation.

Whilſt

Whilſt matters passed in the West after this manner, in the East with the third brother and Emperour *CONSTANTIVS*, who ruled all that part of the Empire, things prospered not so well, especially in the warres: for he had great and dangerous warres with the King of *Persia*: and having fought with him nine severall times, he was at every time overthrowne, with the losse of many of his people. In the end, they fought one most cruell battaile: and the victorie being apparant of the Emperours side, his souldiers used the matter so ill, as those which were held for conquered, became conquerors: and so *CONSTANTIVS* lost this battaile also, as he had done many others, in such sort that the King of *Persia* recovered certain great Cities in *Mesopotamia*. Moreover in the same parts of the East, there happened many earth-quakes wherewith certain Cities were destroyed, and swallowed into the earth: which by true Christian authors was attributed to the iust iudgement of God, for that this Emperour did maintaine the heresie of *ARRIUS*, and persecuted the true Christians. But returning to our new Emperour *MAGNENTIVS*, it happened in this manner: that having murdered *CONSTANS*, as we haue declared, the Armie which was in *France* obeyed and receiued him gladly, and all *Spain* presently did the like, together with *Italy and Africa* in like manner: whither he determining to come, made his sonne whose name was *DECENCIUS, CÆSAR*; to leaue him in the gouernment of *France and Spain* with their confines. But in *Hungarie, Austria, Slavonia, Dalmatia*, and part of *Græcia*, the ordinary legions which were in those places, chose an old and valiant Captain for Emperour, whose name was *BRITANNIO* or *VETRANIO*; who was a man highly beloued of the souldiers, for his great wisdom and valour in the warres; and for the victories which he had obtained in the defence of those Prouinces against the barbarous Nations. Of *BRITANNIO* you shall heare more hereafter.

About the same time, when it was knowne in *Rome* that *CONSTANS* was dead, *NEPOTIANVS* presuming on his nearnesse of blood to the deceased Emperour (for, he was the Emperour *CONSTANTINE*'s sisters son) assembling together a company of Fencers, Sword-placers, and such others, proclaimed himself Emperour. But as his beginning had no found foundation; so had he an vnluckie end: for, within twenty nine daies after that hee had with great difficulty enjoyed the title of Emperour, he was slaine by *MAGNENTIVS* his Captains. And so *MAGNENTIVS* remained Emperour (although a Tyrant) of *Italy, Africa, France, and Spain*, in concurrence and disgrace of *CONSTANTIVS* in the East, who in truth by just title was sole Emperour.

CONSTANTIVS, being aduertised of the death of his Brother *CONSTANS*, and of the successe of *MAGNENTIVS*, was greatly perplexed, seeing himself oppressed with warre against the Persians; and, on the other side, bound to reuenge the death of his Brother, and to root out so mighty an enemy as *MAGNENTIVS*, who grew great in a very short time; and *BRITANNIO* also, who was not slightly to be regarded. But, after many consultations, it was concluded to settle all matters of the East in the best order hee might, and to passe into *Europe* against *MAGNENTIVS*. Whereupon he determined to make his cosen germane *GALLVS, CÆSAR*; who was brother to *IVLIANVS*, of whom we shall speak hereafter: Both which were sons to a brother of *CONSTANTINE* the Great, named *CONSTANTIUS*; whom his father *CONSTANTIVS* had by a second wife; and, the better to be assured of this new *CÆSAR*, he married him to one of his owne sisters, whose name was *CONSTANTIA*. And leauing this *GALLVS* in the East, having first concluded a kinde of truce or peace with the King of *Persia*, he came into *Europe* against *MAGNENTIVS*, with the greatest power he was able to leuie; and by the way purposed to haue fought with the old Captain *BRITANNIO*, whom we said to be called Emperour in *Austria, Hungarie, and Slavonia*. But *BRITANNIO* would not make any resistance: for, laying aside his imperiall robes, hee came into *Thracia* to meet him; and, humbling himself before *CONSTANTIVS*, said vnto him, that he renouncing the Empire, yielded himself into his hands; to the end he should dispose of him at his pleasure. *CONSTANTIVS* very joyfully accepted his humility; and, lifting him vp from ground, imbraced and honoured him much in speeches; and, calling him Father, let him at his owne table: and they two slept that night together. And, being informed of all matters by *BRITANNIO* concerning *MAGNENTIVS*, he kept on his journey; and sent *BRITANNIO* to a City in *Bithynia* in *Asia*, and gaue him rents & reuenues sufficient for the maintenance of his estate: whither he retired himself with many his friends and Familiars, and liued there six yeeres after in great rest and tranquillity.

CONSTANTIVS, passing forwards, drew neer to *Italy*; where *MAGNENTIVS* lay in wait

Constantius overthrewen in 9 severall battails by the Persians.

Constantius overthrewen in the tenth battail by the Persians, for that he knew not how to use the victory. Great earthquake in the East in the time of Constantius.

Decencius made Cæsar by Magnencius.

Nepotianus, taking the title of Emperour, was slaine by Magnencius his captaine.

Gallus made Cæsar by Constantius.

Britannio yielded himself to Constantius.

Constantius accepted Britannio for his friend and called him father.

Constantine was married against his brother Constantians.

Constantine slain in Italy.

From whence the French are from to have their originall. Constantius made the French subject to the Empire.

Magnentius chosen Emperour.

The death of the Emperour Constantians.

waite for him : and the warre began betweene them, not onely with great power and numbers of men; but also with great hatred and malice : for besides that they both fought for the Empire, they had sent letters and messages the one to the other, which had much incensed them both. And so the warres began to be very cruell, and there ensued some battailes wherein fortune shewed herself variable; MAGNENTIVS having sometimes the victorie, and sometimes CONSTANTIVS, as CASSIODORVS reporteth in his Tripartite History. But, after many conflicts, each of them setting vp his rest, they fought a great battell near the City of *Mursa* in *Spain*, which was one of the most cruell and bloody that hath been seen; and the Roman Empire lost therein the best men of all the ordinary Legions: for, it continued the greatest part of all the day, and part of the night. There were slain of both sides foure and fifty thousand men, all valiant old souldiers; wherein CONSTANTIVS obtained the victory, and MAGNENTIVS escaped by flight.

It is very strange what some Authors write concerning this battell; that MAGNENTIVS Armie did consist but of thirty and odde thousand men, and CONSTANTIVS had in his Army threecore and ten thousand; and of those which were overcom, there died four and twenty thousand; and of them which overcame, thirty thousand. Whereby it appeareth, with what resolution, force or obstinacy, MAGNENTIVS and his men did fight, who slue as many of their enemies as they themselves were in number: and there remained but six thousand of them living.

MAGNENTIVS being overthrowne fled into *Italie* (as EUTROPIVS and AVRELIUS VICTOR doo write): where reünforcing himself the best he could, he resolved to have returned again to try his fortune, and once again to fight with CONSTANTIVS; having first in vain sought to come to some composition of peace, seeming to bee contented if CONSTANTIVS would suffer him to possesse but *Thracia* onely. Finally, coming to another encounter, he was again overthrowne; and, fleeing from the battell, shut himself vp in the City of *Lions* in *France*: where, being aduertised that his souldiers practised to deliuer him alieue into the hands of CONSTANTIVS, he slue himself with his owne poiniard, leaning against a wall (as saith AVRELIUS VICTOR) and so ended his Empire which he had tyrannically vsurped, together with his life; being of the age of fifty yeeres.

When his sonne DECENCIVS (whom he had made CÆSAR, and Gouverner of *France*) vnderstood of his death, being out of hope to make head against CONSTANTIVS, and to defend his gouernment, hee hung himself. CONSTANTIVS having happily ended so dangerous a warre, all the Prouinces which had held for MAGNENTIVS (without any resistance) submitted themselves to his will: and hee being very joyfull came triumphing to the City of *Milan*; where for a certain space he made his abode.

Whil'st these matters befell CONSTANTIVS in the West, his cosen GALLVS (whom he left for CÆSAR, and Gouverner generall of the Prouinces in the East) administered no point of justice, neither defended that estate with such valour as hee ought to have done. For, it is written, that Sapor King of *Persia* overthrowne him in battell, and in the rest hee vsed extreme cruelty: And Writers particularly affirm, that in the City of *Antioch* hee did put to death the greatest part of all the Nobility there. And of the Iewes of *Iudea*, and of *Palestina*, for that they had attempted to rebell, he most cruellly made many thousands of either sex, and of all ages, to be slain. He commanded the Cities of *Tiberias*, *Diapolis*, *Cæsarea*, and others, to bee set on fire; which, Saint IEROME doth report in his additions to EUSEBIUS. When CONSTANTIVS vnderstood of these and other matters (which, AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS recites at large, being an ey-witnes: which Author wrote the life of CONSTANTIVS, IVLIANVS and COVIANVS, Emperors of those times, very truly and distinctly; but with the most ragged stile that euer I read in any Latin Author: yet it was great pity that so many of his Works were lost) hee, being desirous to prevent the disorders whereof I haue made mention, and standing already in some fear of GALLVS, sent some secretly to kill him; which was easily effected, having first sought some other remedies. And so for that time CONSTANTIVS remained sole Emperor without any CÆSAR or companion in all the Roman Empire: and from *Milan* hee provided and sent Captains and Gouverners to all parts. And, because he was of light beleef, and took pleasure in factions (an ill thing in any man, but in Princes most dangerous) and to commit cruelties, and to inflict punishments, there were daily offered new occasions: by reason whereof, he vsed great cruelty, and put many to death; which, MARCELLINVS describes at large.

A.

Among other accidents, a valiantould Captain, whose namé was SILVANVS, who at that time was Generall against the Germans, was accused to haue practised some matters against his Imperiall Majesty. Which accusation (all Writers affirm) was through the enuy which they bare him for his victories and good successe: and this credulous Emperor, as it seems, did also enuy him, and intended to cause him to be slain. Whereof SILVANVS being aduertised (as he was very much honoured for his age and bounty, and for the great honour which he had wonne in sundry warres and battels, but principally in the warres of CONSTANTINE the Great, against LYCINIUS) and finding no means to assure his life, forced more through fear than his own voluntary choice, hee resolved to rebell, and to take vpon him the title of Emperor. Which hee did, shewing first to his souldiers his disgrace, and how he was odious to CONSTANTIVS; and how that for the seruice which hee and they had done, hee had commanded him to be slain. Which being vnderstood, they all with one voice hailed him Emperor, swearing and promising to protect and defend him. These newes did greatly trouble CONSTANTIVS, who was yet in *Milane*: and at the very instant that he was aduertised hereof, without discovering it to any man, making shew as though he knew nothing, hee compounded with a certain subtille and valiant Capitaine, named VRSCINVS: who besides his familiars and necessarie seruants tooke with him tenne Companions extraordinary men and very valiant; with which hee vnderooke to kill SILVANVS, vnder this pretext and policie:

CONSTANTIVS wrote certaine Letters vnto SILVANVS, wherein making no shewe to haue vnderstood ought of his rebellion, hee fained hee would depart from *Milane* and haue him with him, with many honourable words willing him to repaire to him and to deliuer vp the charge which he held, to the Captain whom hee had sent. VRSCINVS made great haste on his way, to the end, that through the shortnesse of the time, it might be the better beleued, that all his proceedings had been vknowne to CONSTANTIVS. As hee with his companions came neer to the Army, among which one was MARCELLINVS the writer of this History, SILVANVS thinking no other but that this man was sent to be his successeur, and then being no time to debate the matter, made no account thereof. VRSCINVS seeming careless and simple, so cunningly handled the matter, conferring with certain captains his friends, and others which were discontented with SILVANVS, that by means of some gifts which he gave, and great promises which he made, they resolved to kill poor SILVANVS. Whereupon, assembling together a good number of souldiers, they went one morning to his Palace; where killing his guard, they entered perforce; and SILVANVS, fleeing into a Church of the Christians, was therein found and slain. And in this manner ended his Empire with his life, having vsurped the same onely 30 daies.

This plot being ended to the good liking of CONSTANTIVS, there followed other troubles and combustions: For the barbarous Nations of high *Germanie* came down to make warre in the Empire: and as all things were yet very much out of order, by reason of the death of SILVANVS, they did much harme by taking certain Cities, and by robbing and spoiling the Countrey. Which when CONSTANTIVS vnderstood, considering with himself that if he went thither in person, the whole Empire was without any defence; and imagining also that a Generall was not to be trusted with that warre, hee resolved to choosethis cosen germane IVLIANVS, and to make him CÆSAR, who was brother to GALLVS, of whom wee haue spoken heretofore, and had been CÆSAR in the East, and slain by his commandment; both which were the sons of CONSTANTIVS, brother to CONSTANTINE the Great, before spoken of.

This IVLIANVS was a yong man of whom there was great hope: for hee was of a good constitution of body, of an excellent wit, inclined and giuen to studie, and therewith very well learned. IVLIANVS was made CÆSAR and adopted by CONSTANTIVS, with great solemnity in the City of *Milane*, where CONSTANTIVS then made his abode: yet some say, that it was at *Athens*, in *Gracia*: and the better to confirme the friendship and alliance: he married him to his sister HELENA. Other matters also passing, which for breuiety I omit, IVLIANVS went towards the Army which was in *Germanie*: where all things succeeded to well with him, that hee not onely recovered the losses receiued, but also made great spoil and slaughter of his enemies.

CONSTANTIVS, leauing the West in charge with IVLIANVS, resolved to passe into the East, where there was no lesse danger and need of his presence: for, the Persians, being anti-

A cruell battell
betweene Mag-
nentius and
Constantius.

Magnentius,
being over-
throwne the se-
cond time, slue
himself.

Decencius, be-
ing over-
throwne the first
time, hung himself.

Constantius
made his cosen
Gallus to be
Cæsar.

Silvanus chofe
Emperor by his
souldiers.

A stratagem vsed
by Vrscinus, whereby
hee slew Silvanus.

Silvanus slain
in a Church of
the Christians.

Tullianus made
Cæsar by Con-
stantius.

cient and daily enemies to the Romans, as the off-spring and successors of the Parthians, neuer ceased from invading and making warre vpon the frontiers of the Romans; robbing and spoiling the Territories of the Empire. And in his way he purposed to go to *Rome*, where hee was received with great ioy and magnificence. But he could not stay there about thirty daies: for, besides other newes from the East, he vnderstood that the Sarmates, a fierce and barbarous nation (which were the Russians, Muscovites, Polonians, and some others) had entred and runne through *Misia* (now called *Bulgaria* and *Serua*) and with other nations were comm into *Hungary*. Wherefore hee presently departed, and committed the charge of the Sarmatian warres to MARCELLVS PBERVS, an excellent Captain of great experience, and himselfe passed through *Slaunia* towards the East. And notwithstanding that he had a great Armie, yet he was not free from fear: for, as this Emperor euer preuailed in all his ciuill warres, and against Tyrants; so against the Persians he was euer vnfortunate: wherefore he practised to come to some composition of peace with SATOR (the second of that name) King of *Persia*; who then reigned, and refused not to giue care to an Ambassador which motioned the same. Whereof SATOR, growing beyond all measure proud, wrote a most haucie Letter to CONSTANTIVS; which, with the answer thereto, MARCELLINVS setts down. Wherein he required, if the Emperor should haue any peace with him, that he should first resign into his hands the Prouinces of *Mesopotamia* and *Armenia*, which had been subiect to his Ancestors (so great was the power and presumption of the Kings of *Persia*, that they would not grant peace and truce to a Roman Emperour, except he would giue them two of the best Prouinces of the world).

To this Letter, CONSTANTIVS sent him another for answer; which was a notable Letter and very discreet, which for breuitie I do not insert. Wherein he held the grauity and maiesty of a Roman Emperour; and, reprehending SATOR for his pride and ambition, he not onely denied what the other required, but did also put him clean out of all hope to haue any peace with him: and so afterwards there began a very cruell war.

At such time as these matters passed in the East, IULIANVS, who remained in *France*, CESAR, and Generall against the Germans, after some other victories subdued his enemies in a very great and bloody battell: and, hauing obtained this notable victory, by a generall consent of the whole Armie he was called Emperour and AVGVSTVS; and they made him equall with CONSTANTIVS.

These newes within fewe daies were brought to CONSTANTIVS in the East; wherewith he was so much disquieted, that he was once resolu'd to haue abandoned the warres there, and to haue marched with all his Legions against IULIANVS. But, afterwards altering his determination, he resolu'd to send Ambassadors vnto him; and, thinking with good words to win him, he sent to perswade him to content himself with the title and dignity of CESAR, and to renounce the name of Emperour and AVGVSTVS. With this ambassage he sent a chief man, whose name was LEONAS; who, for that he came from CONSTANTIVS, was honourably receiued in the Army, and audience was giuen him. He hauing deliuered his Ambassage, and the Emperours Letters being read, the Armie not onely refused to yeeld thereto, but they all with one voice confirmed what they had done, calling IULIANVS Emperour and AVGVSTVS: onely they obeyed CONSTANTIVS in putting FLORENTINVS out of the office of Pretorian Prefect, which was giuen to NABRIDIVS. Touching the rest, IULIANVS answered CONSTANTIVS in humble manner, with the best words hee could, promising to be to him a loyall and an obedient companion; desiring him that hee would not depose him from his dignity, seeing that he had accepted thereof against his will, being thereto compelled by the Armie. And heerwith he returned to make war against the Germans with greater force and circumspection than before. And foreseeing it was very requisite to tame and subdue those nations, imagining that he should haue war (which he could not auoid) with CONSTANTIVS, he aduised his Captains and Troops to make haste, and to assail their enemies before they were by them assailed: whereupon there ensued between him and the Germans some notable battails and encounters; which I cannot relate without altering my ordinarie course of breuitie.

After that CONSTANTIVS vnderstood that his Ambassadors could not obtain what hee required, he resolu'd to make war against IULIANVS, presuming on his great power, and the good fortune which he had euer had against other Tyrants. Wherefore hee sought meanes to confirm the peace and friendship, which then was in question between him and ARSACES King of *Armenia*, and other Kings of the East; to the end they should not ioine in league and

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confederacy with the King of *Persia*, his chiefe enemy: against whom hee left such forces as he thought sufficient to defend the countrey, and to continue the war. After this he came into *Europe*; and, traueilling from *Antioch* in *Syria* to the City of *Tharsus*, by the way hee felt himself somewhat ill of a light Feuer: but yet notwithstanding he held on his journey, thinking that his excreie would haue holpen him by diuerting the humour; and therefore he caused himself to be carried in a Litter, making small iournies. But, coming to the foot of Mount *Taurus*, he felt himself much oppressed with his disease; the Feuer increasing vpon him in such sort, that hee seemed to be all on fire. And so, knowing his infirmity to be mortall, and that his death approached, he made his Will; wherein he nominated IULIANVS (his enemy, and a tyrant) for his heir and successor: so the man, whom in his lifetime he would not admit for a companion, at his death hee chose for his heir; hauing in this action (as a good Emperour) great regard to the common good and quiet of the Empire.

This Emperour reigned foure and twenty yeers; seuen with his brethren, and seüenteen alone, although in contention with the tyrants aforesaid; and in his fathers time he was CESAR thirteen yeers: wherefore some say, that he reigned in all eight and thirty yeers. He was when hee died (as saith EVTROPIVS) five and forty yeers old: yet all Authors agree not hereupon. This Emperour was reckoned among the indifferent Emperours: for, notwithstanding that he was endowed with some singular gifts, yet was he not altogether free from vices. For, as he was courteous, milde, and of a pleading conuersation, liberrall and affable to his seruants, and very temperate in eating and drinking, and would take great pains, and delighted and desired much to speake well (yet naturally he was neither very sharp-witted, nor eloquent) and was an excellent Archer, and delighted greatly therein: so was hee otherwise very credulous, and delighted to hear men speake euill of others. Which moued him to commit many cruelties: for, he was by nature mistrustfull, and euer feared treason, and therefore trusted fewe men: so was he likewise much giuen to women.

With these vices and vertues he well preferred and defended the Roman Empire; and died, according to SIDERVS computation, in the year of our Lord 364.



THE LIFE OF IULIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, CALLED APOSTATA, AND SIX AND FORTITH EMPEROVR OF ROMA.

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After the death of CONSTANTIVS, which hapned as is before declared, his cosen germane IULIANVS remained sole Emperour of the whole Roman Empire, who in the others life time enjoyed the title of AVGVSTVS. This IULIANVS was by birth such as we haue specified in the life of CONSTANTIVS; and in valour and sufficiency was one of the best Emperours that euer was; as presently we will make manifest. All which good graces he corrupted and defaced, by renouncing the Christian faith wherof he had before made profession, and by turning to the idolatry of the Gentils: wherefore he was commonly called

IULIANVS APOSTATA: whereof, some Authors say, one LIBANVS an Idolater &c. a

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Marcellus Pberus sent by Constantius against the Sarmates.

Lib. 7. The tenor of a Letter written by Sapor King of Persia to the Emperour Constantius: and an answer thereto. The effect of Constantius letter to Sapor.

Iulianus was by the Armie made Emperour and Augustus.

Constantius sent an Ambassador to Iulianus.

Iulianus answer to Constantius.

Constantius left Will and testament.

The death of Constantius.

famous Rhetorician was the occasion. Which, besides the reasons which may bee heere annexed, is a notable example for all Princes, and men of all estates and conditions whatsoever, that they not only with all diligence seeke out masters for their sonnes, which may be expert in those sciences wherein they purpose to instruct them; but that principally they be vertuous, honest, and sound men in religion: for learning without vertue is little worth. And it is most certaine, that what children learne in their youth, is so imprinted in their vnderstandings, as they neuer forget the same. And those exercises & qualities wherein they are bred vp in their tender age, become proper and naturall, and are neuer left by them in their whole lifetime; whereof the masters which haue charge of the children are the principal cause. And although we might produce many good and fair examples, yet this present shall now suffice, returning to I V L I A N V S, in whom his masters infidelitie took so deep impression, that it well appeareth, what prejudice hee thereby receiued: for, in the rest hee was so compleat and so rare, that in goodnes, bounty and courtlesie, they compare him with T I T V S; in clemency, with A N T O N I N V S; in his fortunate stratagems at wars against the Germans, they make him equal to T R A I A N; in temperance and modestie, to M A R C V S A V A R E L I V S; and in knowledge and learning, to the ancient Philosophers. He was endued with a singular memory, and was very studious, and therefore learned in many Arts and Sciences; and was eloquent and well spoken, no lesse by the gift of nature then by Art. He was most temperate in his dyet and sleep: and most chaste and free from all fleshly passion and dishonestie. Hee was so valiant and hardie in Armes (although but of a small constitution of body, and delicately limmed) that hee was therefore noted and reprobud to be more hardy and aduenturous, than for a Generall or Emperour was fit or convenient. Of glory and renouue hee was greedily couetous; which is a vice wherein great spirits do oftentimes offend. With his friends he was very pleasant and bountifull, and loued to do iustice indifferently to all men; which he strictly obserued in the time that he was C A E S A R, and in the final time that he enjoyed the Empire. He was likewise adorned with many other vertues; which, E V T R O P I V S as an ey-witness, A V R E L I V S V I C T O R, and A M M I A N V S M A R C E L L I N V S, doorecord. But, with all this, hee was an Infidell, which was great pity; and his vnderstanding was blinded by the perswasion of his master L I Z A N I V S, who was a Gentile and an Idolater.

Those things which passed in the time that he was C A E S A R and Emperour, are very largely and particularly described by A M M I A N V S M A R C E L L I N V S, as by him which saw and vnderstood the same: for, they hapned in his time, and he also followed and serued him in the wars of Persia. But I will relate onely that which happened when hee was Emperour, and that briefly; for, he reigned onely two yeeres: wherefore, I hold it not fit in a Raig of so small continuance to spend much time.

Being aduertised of the death of C O N S T A N T I V S (which newes were brought to him in France, whence he was about to go to meet him; and the other, as we haue said, was comming towards him with the same resolution) in great haste hee marched to the City of Constantinople, which euer since the death of the Emperour C O N S T A N T I N E was the Head of the Empire; where, by all means possible he sought to win the loue & good will of the people of all nations; which the better to bring to passe, hee vsed this policie: First, hee caused the Temples of the Gentiles to be set open, and suffred them therein to commit their superstitious idolatry, and to adore their idols. And although hee abhorred, and was an enemy to the Christians, yet at that time he persecuted them not with deaths and tortures; and in contentions between the Christians and the Arrians he was neuter, shewing himself inclined to neither partie: wherefore he was not very hatefull to any; and the barbarous nations standing in fear of his great fame (for, by reason of the German wars he was growne very famous) abstained from making warre, or from troubling the Empire; and so sent their Ambassadors to him to treat of peace and friendship, which he granted.

In this manner hee began to gouern the Empire with as great prosperity and contentment of all men, as euer any man had done. But, when his heart hee was an Idolater; so hee resolved to finde some means to supplant the true Christian religion; induced thereto by the diuell and his owne wickednes: And, the better to effect the same, hee practised a means neuer before vsed by any other; which was, To shew himself pitifull and not cruell, perceiving that by means of torments inflicted vpon the Martyrs, the holy Christian faith was greatly increased: and therefore he determined to take a contrarie course (as R V P I N V S, S. I E R O M, and C A S T O R O V S, report) which was, to induce them by gifts, fauours, flatteries, and by bestowing on them offices

offices and dignities, to the end they should renounce the Christian faith, and do sacrifice to his false gods. And as the same authors affirme, there were some, and they not a few, which being couetous and ambitious, through desire to grow rich and to be honoured, denied the christian faith.

And this was one of the greatest persecutions that euer the Church endured, as well in respect of those which abandoned the same, as for that I V L I A N V S perceived that by this means he could not throughlie accomplish his desire; although as is said, he put none to death, neither vsed any violence to any. He therefore made lawes and generall decrees, that no Christian should be master of any arts or sciences, neither should ther study in any Schooles but such as would adore his Idols, to the end that through the desire of learning, they should become Idolaters, or else at the least should remaine idiots, and without learning, and so be insufficient and vnable to preach the christian faith. He likewise ordeined that no Christian should haue any charge, or hold any office of iustice, neither should be a Captaine in the warres, neither enioy any other dignitie. Finally, he vsed all the inuentions and meanes he could deuise to make warre against I E S V S C H R I S T, without shedding any christian blood: which I hold to be the inuention and subtiltie of the Diuell, to take the crowne from the holie Martyrs, which they obtained through the persecution of the sword.

Vsing this pitifull crueltie against the Christians (as a man of courage and valiant in Armes) he resolved to make warre against the Persians, who onely had not shewed any humilitie, or acknowledged his superiortie. Wherefore he went into Asia with a great Army: with which and the ordinarie legions hauing passed through Asia the lesse and other prouinces, he entred Mesopotamia, which (as is said) was the Lady, for whom the Romanes and Persians did ordinarily contend: and after some light encounters and skirmishes, he seized vpon the citie of Cerasus which fauoured the Romanes and was enobled by the Emperour D I O C L E S I A N with wals and bulwarkes; and from thence he passed to Zaita, where he was aduertised that the King of Persia was neere at hand with his whole power: whereupon he marshalled his troupes, with a great desire to come with him to a battaile. But his enemie at that time durst not fight with him, but sent him many Ambassages, intreating pardon, and promising him a great part of his countries. To whom this valiant Emperour would giue no audience: but seeing that he refused the battaile, the more he prouoke him, he entred his country by sundrie waies, taking many cities in Syria, some by force, and others yeelded themselves without any resistance; committing great spoiles in all that country, vntill at last the Persians for very shame were forced to fight, which battaile was very cruell. Before which, this blind I V L I A N V S (as O R O S I V S and S. I E R O M recite) of very malice and hatred which he bare to the Christians, whom he called Galileans (as saith T H E O D O R E T V S in his historie) made a vow to his gods, that if he obtained the victory, he would do sacrifice to them in the blood of those Christians which would not worship idols. And it pleased God in his secret iudgement to giue him victorie at that time, thereby to reward him in this life for the morall vertues wherewith he was endued, to the end that perpetuallie he should be punished in the other world, for his damnable infidelitie.

Hefeing himselfe victorious, and finding no resistance, marched to the famous citie of Thessphonte, and finding no forces that durst stop his passage, he determined to returne to winter in Mesopotamia: but vpon the way his people indured great penurie and want with thirst and hunger, as well for that his Armie was exceeding great, as also for that his enemies did often assault and molest them. And notwithstanding that the Persians would neuer come to any equal fight, but gaue camizadoes, with light skirmishes, sodainly charging, and then running away; after the manner of the Arabians in these daies; yet therewith his Armie was exceedingly much toiled and tired. And in this manner it pleased God (who with his death would stop the execution of so many innocents which he purposed to haue sacrificed) that a Persian fugitiue, who was the guide to his Army, trecheroullie led him and his Armie into a place where many of his enemies lay in ambush; where being charged, he was constrained to fight, and in the fight fell mell being vnkowne was striken with a saunce through the arme into the bodie: with which wound losing his senses, he fell vpon his horses necke, and so his people took him, and caried him into a tent, wherein with some medicines which they applied vnto him, he came againe to himselfe, and recouering strength, he called for his horse and Armes: for he would againe returne to the battaile. But afterwards feeling his force to falle him, they wote, that with extreme pride he vsed these words against our Saviour C H R I S T, k sufficeth that thou C H R I S T of Galilea hast ouercome, for so he was accustomed to call

A new deuise found out by Iulianus to pervert the Church.

Decrees made by Iulianus against the Christians.

Iulian his intention against the Persians.

Iulianus his vow to the gods.

Iulianus dead, by wounded.

The proud speeches vttered by Iulianus a little before his death.

call him. After this, seeing that all those which were about him began to weep, hee reprehended them, saying; You do ill to weep for that Prince which dies in the fauour of the gods: and so he discoursed of the immortality of the soule as long as hee was able to speake, untill that his bloud being wholly spent, he died; which in truth was great pity, that there should be such accursed blindness in a man in whom there was so great valour, and so many good and vertuous parts. Hee died in the seventh yeer after he was made CÆSAR, and in the third yeer of his Empire, being 31 yeeres old, in the yeer of our Lord (according to Saint IEROME) 366.



THE LIFE OF IOVIANVS, ONLY OF THIS NAME, AND SEVEN AND FORTITH EMPEROR OF ROME.

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MUCH was the death of IULIANVS lamented by the whole Armie: for, hee was much beloued by all his men of war. But the Church and all Christians rendred thanks to our Lord God, who in his mercy had deliuered them from the yoke of so great a seruitude. There was so great a consultation in the Camp by reason of the death of this Emperor, that they were in danger to haue bin ouerthrowne by the Persians: besides that, they were much distressed through want of victuals. And the enemy, vnderstanding of the death of the Emperor, neuer left to molest them on euery side with such continuall sudden assaults and alarms, that they were not able to endure them. Wherefore, the chief Commanders of the Army assembled themselves together to chuse an Emperor which might gouern them. After much contention and diuersity of opinions, they agreed to chuse one (as saith EUTROPIVS) whose name was MARCELLINVS. But finally they concluded to name a very famous man called IOVIANVS, who was the sonne of a Noble-man called VARRONIANVS, an Hungarian, or an Inhabitant of Hungary: who, leauing the warres which hee had long followed, and to auoid the tumults and troubles which he saw in the Empire, retired, and gaue himself to his rest and quiet in certain possessions which he held in Hungary. But his sonne IOVIANVS came to the Emperor CONSTANTINVS Court, and followed the warres: who, for that he was valiant, and a goodly Personage, was greatly esteemed by IULIANVS; and, whilst he was CÆSAR and afterwards Emperour, this man was the chief Commander of the ordinarie Troops which went with the Emperor.

This IOVIANVS was of an excellent witte and found judgement, giuen to studie, and therewith well learned. He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, and a faithfull Christian; in so much that when IULIANVS commanded, that no Christian should be a Captain, neither should haue any charge or office in the warres; IOVIANVS pleasantly said, that hee made greater account of the faith whereof he made profession, than of any dignity or honour that he enjoyed; and so gaue vp his charge. Being afterwards chosen Emperour, RVFFINVS

Praise of Iouianus.

Iouianus his profession.

and THEODORETUS write, that seeing IULIANVS had drawne the men of warre of his Armie to commit idolatry, and to doo sacrifice to his gods; he in a publicke Oration which he made to them, said, that he (although he might) would not (being a Christian) be an Emperour of Infidels. And so hee refused, and absolutely refused the Empire. But all men were so well pleased with his election, that, after they had approved the same, they cried out aloud, saying; We are all Christians. And for his sake those which were not so, resolved to become Christians, vpon condition that he would accept the Empire.

Iouianus chose Emperour.

In this manner, with incredible joy and gladnes, they sware obedience vnto him, and gaue him the Imperiall Ensignes. Whereupon hee presently ordered and re-inforced the Armie; which could not be done without great difficulty: for, Sapor vnderstanding of the death of IULIANVS (who, for his noble acts and great courage, was generally feared of all men) made small account of this new Emperour; but, gathering together the greatest forces hee was able, gaue so fierce a charge in the Emperours Armie, that the Romans were likely to haue bin wholly defeated: and the Persians apparently had the better. IOVIANVS marching with great trouble and danger, for that the waies were craggie and mountainous; The first day he followed his journey: and, making an Alt in a vallye, his Armie was presently compassed about on euery side by the Persians, who assailed and skirmished with them after their manner.

The next day he came to the City of Carras, where IOVIANVS and his souldiers remembering that in ancient time MARCVS CRASSVS was in that coast overthrowne and slain by the Parthians; holding it for an ominous preface, they accounted themselves lost, if the enemy euer gaue them battell. The principall cause of which feare was by reason of their weaknes through the hunger which they had endured, and at that instant did endure, through want of victuals: for, as two so great Armies marched so neer together, no provision could be made that could suffice to sustain them. But in all these extremities IOVIANVS neuer fainted or was discouraged, neither omitted to vse all diligence in guiding, defending and animating his souldiers, till they came to the riuer Tigris, their dangers still increasing: where King Sapor sent him Ambassadors, giuing him to vnderstand, that, considering the weaknes of his Army and his owne force, he was most assured of victory; yet, if hee would render him the Prouinces hee required (which were many) he would be content to hold perpetual peace with the Empire.

IOVIANVS, seeing the present necessity wherein hee was, took counsell heerupon with the chieft men in his Army: and, after 3 or 4 daies consultation, a peace was concluded for thirty yeers; IOVIANVS leauing to King Sapor all the Prouinces beyond the riuer Tigris, and some Cities in Mesopotamia; with further condition, that the Emperour should not aid or assist ARSACES King of Armenia; which peace or truce (as EUTROPIVS writes, whose historie ends with the life of this Emperour; and many other Writers) was held for very shamefull and dishonorable to the greatnes of the Roman Empire, for voluntarily giuing to the enemy part of the Prouinces thereto belonging, and for decreasing the bounds and limits thereof. But, for that Princes actions are euer diuersly judged of, PAVLVS OROSIUS and other Writers excuse him; alleaging, he made such a peace as was requisite, considering the time; and albeit it were not honorable, yet at least it was profitable and needfull: for, he was in manifest danger to haue lost his whole Armie, and the greatest part of the Prouinces that he rendered. Heerof euery man may judge after his phantasie; but thus it was: IOVIANVS, hauing concluded this peace, went into Syria; where he commanded by publicke proclamation, that all those Bishops which were exiled for resisting and contradicting the heresie of ARIUS, or any other vnlawfull occasion, should be recalld and restored; and principally the great ATHANASIUS. He likewise reuoked and made void all the prohibitions and decrees made by IULIANVS against the Christians; and ordained that they should be admitted to any dignity, office, charge, magistracy or study, as they were wont to be in the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE the Great. He likewise caused to be paid to the Churches those rents of corn and other things that CONSTANTINE had giuen them, and which by the commandement of IULIANVS were sequestred; which is written by THEODORETUS and RVFFINVS. IOVIANVS, hauing laid godly a foundation to his Empire concerning the Christian faith, giuing in all things good signes of a good and iust Prince, and providing for all matters in the East as to him seemed most needfull, began his journey towards Constaninople, shewing himself euery where as he passed in all his actions a iust and a gracious Prince; so as all men conceiuid great good hope of him. But this, and all his noble resolutions, and other Christianlike purposes, were interrupted by death: for, the iniquity of the people deserued not so good a Prince; which hapned thus: He coming

A peace made betweene the Persians and the Romans for 30 yeers.

The Emperour
Iouianus smothered in his bed
with smoke.

to a place which was called *Dudaſſana*, in the confines of *Bithynia*, and *Galatia*, in *Asia* the left, the weather being very cold (for it was in the winter) they did ſet in the chamber where the Emperour ſhould lie that night, a great panne with kindled coales, which coales were wet: and as the officers of his chamber were gon to take their reſt, the chamber dore being lockt, and he aſleepe, the vapour of the fire waxing groſſe and thicke, and filling euery thing with ſmoke, and finding no place to euaporate, ſtopped the Emperours breath, in ſuch ſort as he was ſmothered ſleeping, and in the morning was found dead; all men imagining this to be the cauſe of his death. Yet ſome were of opinion that he died by eating of Muſhrumpes, which are held venomous. And others coniectured that he ate ſo much meate at ſupper, as his naturall heate could not digeſt the ſame, and ſo through the cruditie thereof he was ſuffocated. But howſoeuer it was, all men were very ſorrowfull for his death, he having held the ſcepter of the Empire only eight moneths; being, according to ſome writers, of the age of fortie yeeres: and after ſome other, thirtie and odd.

Whoſo deſireth to know more of this Emperour, as well in warre as in peace, let him read the authors aboue named, and particularly *AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS*, who was with him in all his aduentures; and the *Tripartite Hiſtorie of CAſſiodorus* in his ſeuenth booke, and *RUFFINVS* in the tenth booke of his eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorie: and *EVTROPIVS*, although he be briefe was an eie-witneſſe. And here endeth his Hiſtorie. Many things may be gathered of the life of this Emperour, by reading the firſt booke of the epiſtles of Saint *ANBROS*, and the fourth booke of *THEODORVS*.

THE LIFE OF VALENTINIANVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS BROTHER VALENS, THE Eight and Fortiſh Romane Emperour.

THE ARGUMENT.

Valentinianus being the ſonne of a rope-maker, for his vertues deſerued to be made an Emperour; when at his fathers mouement from making of ropes to the higheſt martiall dignitie. He hauing taken vpon him the imperiall dignitie, choſe his brother Valens for his companion, and ſhortly after made his ſonne Gratianus, Cæſar. In their time the world was troubled, with ſo many prodigious earth-quake, removing of the ſea, ſtranger raiues, and ſo much warre as ſer hath ſeldome been read of the like. Neither theſe, theſe wife Emperours promiſed excellently for all theſe troubles and dangers; and not onely ouercome barbarous Kings and ſtranger which were their enemies; but alſo ſubdued domeſtick tyrants, among which was one whoſe name was *Procopius*, a kinſman to *Iulianus* the *Apoſtata*, who taking the enſignes of Emperours; was ſo reſolute as to come to fight with Valens. Valentinianus was a great friend to the Chriſtians, yet Valens was to the contrary; and being earlieſt giue anſwere to certaine Ambaſſadors; he was taken with an Apoplexie which bereaued him of the uſe of his tongue; ſo cleaning at his other ſenſes (ſound whereof within ſhort ſpace he died). Whereupon Valens remanuing in the Empire, with his Nephew Gratian, as the manner of *Phocas* is, he began to make ſmall account of his Nephew; and ſauouring the ſect of the *Arians*, gave him liſe to incontinencies, nigromancies, to perſecute the Chriſtians, and to marrye many of them. For which his wickednes God puniſhed him; for he coming againſt the *Goths* (to whom he had done good) in a victorie of ſeruiſe, was by them overthrowne; and ſlying wounded into a farmer; kniſe in the couerſe, the blow was ſtreight by them; and he turning therein, made ſuch an end as his euill liſe deſerued, receiving ſuch puniſhment as Gods hand, at ſuch abſolute thetheries are worthy of.

It pleaſed God of his goodnes, to giue to the Chriſtian and vertuous Emperour *IOVIANVS*, a ſuccellor (although he left neither ſonne nor kinſman) which was like vnto him in faith, goodnes, and vertuous conditions; and this was *VALENTINIANVS*; who although that hee were burſ of a meane Parentage, and came of a poore father, yet he was a faithful Chriſtian, and endued with excellent vertues. His fathers name was *GRATIANVS*; borne and bred in *Hungarie*, in a Citie of the *Cimbales*, a man of meane Parentage, as ſayth

The deſcent of
Valentinianus.

ſayth *AVRELIVS VICTOR*; and as he and *PAVLVS DIACONVS* affirme, was very poore, and by his trade a rope-maker: But he was of ſo great ſtrength, as vpon a day five ſouldiers ſtriving with all their might to take one of thoſe ropes which he ſold, out of his hands, they were not able to doe it. Wherefore ſeeming to be ſtrong and a very able man for the warres, he was counſelled to follow the ſame, which he did: and hauing no leſſe courage of minde then force of body, he profited ſo much in Armes, through the notable exploits which he performed therein, as offices were beſtowed vpon him; and ſo aſcending by degrees, he became *Pretorian Prefect*.

By theſe means his ſon *VALENTINIANVS*, of whom we purpoſe to treat, came to be bred vp in the wars, and therein wan great honour. Being Captaine of the companies called *Scutarii*, which were targettiers, ſo called, for that no others did beare targets, but they; *IVLIANVS* the *Apoſtata* commanded him to doe ſacrifice to his gods, or otherwiſe to giue vp the office which he held (as he did by others, and as we ſaid by *IOVIANVS*): but hee as a good Catholike and not as a fained Chriſtian, voluntarily ſurrendered his office and Captainſhippe, to continue in the Faith of *CHRIST*. And the good and Chriſtian *IOVIANVS* coming to the Empire, drew vnto him all ſay, as he was; by means whereof *VALENTINIANVS* was in his ſeruiſe when he died, in the ſame place and office which he forſooke in the time of *IVLIANVS*. As ſoone as *IOVIANVS* was dead, the firſt and chiefeſt care that *VALENTINIANVS* took, was, to prepare his body to be ſent to *Conſtantinople* to be buried; and the ſecond and next was, to conſult who ſhould be the next Emperour. The chiefe commanders marched with the Armie to the Citie of *Nica*, which is the head and Metropolitane of the Province of *Bithynia*: where determining to nominate an Emperour, there were ſome which made account to haue been ſo; and among many, one was named, which was a Tribune called *EQVITIVS*; who (as *MARCELLINVS* reporteth) was afterwards for his curiſh and harſh conditions depoſed. But finally after long conſultations, *VALENTINIANVS* was choſen, by reaſon of his goodneſſe and valour, being at that time abſent, hauing remained certain daies journey behinde the whole Armie; and being ſent for, and come, they all ſware obedience vnto him, with great ioy and contentment. For truly he was (as all men wike) a goodly perſonage, very valiant, and magnanimous; very wiſe and temperate, a lover of juſtice, eloquent, and of a good grace, honorable and vertuous, and a man who knew how to make himſelfe beloved and reſpected of all men. Hauing accepted the Empire, and beginning to provide for ſuch things as might be needefull for the good gouernement thereof, it ſeemed good to the captaines and ſouldiers of the Armie to giue him a companion and an equall in the Empire, to be an aſſiſtant to him in the gouernment; which the Emperours of their own accord did often vſe to doe. *VALENTINIANVS* being aduerted hereof, commanded the Armie to be called together, and with a bold and ſuddaine reſolution, among other matters ſpake vnto them in this manner:

Gentlemen and Souldiers, it was in your hands and at your pleaſure, when I was not Emperour, to giue me the gouernment and command of the Empire; but now that I haue the gouernment and am in poſſeſſion thereof, it is no part of your charge, neither ought you to entermeddle therein: for that is my charge only, and the care thereof appertaineth to me to command and gouerne the common-wealth. And as for a companion, when neede ſhall require, I will take care for one. Theſe ſpeeches are written by *THEODORVS* and other Authors makemention thereof: which made ſuch an impreſſion in the ſouldiers hearts, as from thenceforth they all tooke care to obey his commandements, not daring to ſpeake a word concerning any ſuch matter. But when he came to the Citie of *Conſtantinople*, which euer ſince the time of the Emperour *CONSTANTINE*, was the head of the Empire, imagining it to be a matter very requiſite, he made his brother *VALENS* his companion and equall with himſelfe in the Empire; which truly he ought not to haue done, for that he was infected with the *Arrian* hereſie, as hereafter we will declare. And hauing made this election, they diuided the Empire betweene them, ſo as *VALENTINIANVS* tooke charge of the Provinces in the Weſt, and *VALENS* of thoſe in the Eaſt. And matters ſtanding vpon theſe tearmes, they both fell ſick of a burning fever, ſo grievouſly, as all men thought they would haue died; but afterwards recovering, there happened vnto theſe brethren ſo many iwarres and ſuch troubles, as they both had enough to doe. For the Saxons and Scots which are northerlie Nations, came in great troups to make a conqueſt of the Iſle of *Britannie*, and the Germans came againe downe into *France*: and the countries of *Hungarie* and *Anſtria* were inuaded by the *Sarmates* and the *Catti*:

Valentinianus
sent vp his brother
Iouianus rather than he
would doe for
refuge to Iouianus.

Valentinianus
choſen Emperour.

A ſpeech vſed
by Valentinianus
to the Army.

Valentinianus
made his brother
Valens his
companion in the
Empire.

The Empire in-
ſeſſed by ſerain
Nations.

ti: Into *Thracia* came certaine companies of Gothes to robbe and steale. The King of *Persia* brake the truce, invaded *Armenia*, and afterwards *Mesopotamia*: Whereupon by reason of these combustions and others which were feared, and some already begun, VALENS took his way towards the East, and VALENTINIANVS towards *Milan*: And into *Hungarie* they sent SEVERIANVS, a valiant Captain; and so they prouided and placed in diuers parts excellent Captains and Governours. To recite all that past in particular, would be a long worke: but in summe it was thus; that in the first three yeeres of the raige of VALENTINIANVS, he had very cruel warres with the Saxons and Germanes: which in the end, after many batailles, he ouercame and subdued. In the third yeere of his raigne, he made his sonne GRATIANVS his companion, Emperour, and AVGVSTVS. And in *Rome* by reason of the death or deprivation of TVRCIVS APRONTIANVS (for the Historie declareth it not, or I am forgetfull) he placed a Noble man, named ORETHIVS. As a good Christian, he honoured and fauoured the Christians, their Temples and Churches: which his brother VALENS did not in the East, but lying for the most part in the citie of *Amich*, suffred the idolatries and superstitions of the Gentiles, and likewise the rites and ceremonies of the Jewes. But the Ariians and Hereticks he extremely fauoured, only he molested and was enemie to the true Christians: and aboute all, gaue himselfe to diuinations, forceries, and prohibited Astrologie; which CASSIODORVS, IOANNES MONACVS, otherwife called ZONARAS, and RVFFINVS treat of at large.

These two brethren governing the Empire, although after diuers manners, making head against the incursions of strange and barbarous nations, which infected the same; a Noble man called PROCOPIVS, borne in *Scythia*, and neere kinsman to IULIANVS Apostata (who beginning by meane degrees, came to be Capitaine generall of the Imperiall Armies in the East) rebelled in *Constantinople*; and with the fauour and assistance of certaine Captaines, and some other men of warre (taking the Imperiall ensignes) he proclaimed himselfe Emperour; which greatly troubled the two Emperours: for they knew that he daily grew greater, and that his forces continually increased, and that he had sent for succours to the Gothes, and other strange nations.

The Empire being thus troubled, there also followed in those daies so general and terrible an earth-quake, that an infinite number of houses, and sundrie cities fell downe. For in *Scythia* and in many other llands, whose countries perished, and the sea ouerwhelmed and drowned many townes and cities, overflowing the naturall bounds and limits; and aboute all, it was most terrible in the prouince of *Bithynia*, in *Asia*; so as the citie of *Nicea* was therewith whollie ruined. And in many other prouinces bordering vpon the sea, the sea altering his course, in some places discovered and left dry land, where before was nothing but sea; and in some other places made sea, where before were greene fields and pastures; as PAVLVS OROSIVS and other authors write, principallie MARCELLINVS, who was an eie witnes, and S. IEROME also. Whereof the Cosmographers of our times should take notice, and not so much blame and maruell at the auncient, if they find not described and set downe in their bookes the sea-coasts, the capes, points, hauens, and entrees into the sea, to be such as they described them then to be: for these and many other naturall changes haue been the cause thereof; besides the error which may be in the letter and painting of the bookes, or in the phrase, through their fault: which wrote and translated them. A little while after this earth-quake (S. IEROME writeth) that there rained from heauen, like as at other times it vseth to snow, an infinite quantitie of wooll, as perfect and as fine wooll as the sheepe beareth. But returning to our historie, This attempt of PROCOPIVS so much troubled VALENTINIANVS and VALENS, that VALENTINIANVS was in doubt whether he should go against him in person, or leaue it to VALENS; whom it seemed more to concerne, as well for the neernes to him, as for that those parts were vnder his iurisdiction. And being resolu'd to go in person, he was constrained to alter his resolution, for that certaine strange nations made new innasions in the Empire, as well in *Germany* as in *Britannie*, and the cities and prouinces in these parts by their Ambassadors required succour. Whereupon he determined rather to relieue those which were friends to the whole Empire, and to the common estate, then his owne in particular: and publishing his intent, he returned to make warre against the strangers, sending an excellent Capitaine with a very good Armie against PROCOPIVS, to make head against him, and not to suffer his power to increase: and he himselfe went to the warres of *Germany*, wherein he did many worthy deeds of Armes against the Saxons, the Burgonians, and other nations: whose force was so great, that although

Valentinianus made his sonne Emperour and Augustus.

Valens permitting idolatries, and the ceremonies of the Jewes, was an enemie to the Christians.

Procopius was called Emperour.

An immense fall earth-quake.

The citie of Nicea destroyed by an earth-quake.

wooll fell from heauen like snow.

although they were overcome by him, and reduced to his obedience, yet vntill this day the remembrance of them continueth, and they inhabit those parts. On the other side, VALENS, as a man which had the lesser charge, marched towards PROCOPIVS, and he came to meete him in *Asia* the lesse, or in *Phrygia*, neere to a Citie called *Natolia*, where they fought, and PROCOPIVS was ouerthrownd and fled. But before this bataile, VALENS had sent a Capitaine whose name was IVLIVS, with a very good Armie, against those Gothes which came to the aide of PROCOPIVS, he having spread a rumor that VALENTINIANVS was dead in *France*, and those Gothes were ouerthrowne by IVLIVS. PROCOPIVS, as is aforesaid, escaping from the bataile, vied all possible meanes to reinforce his Armie, that hee might returne againe to fight: but he not only failed of his purpose, but was by his owne Capitaines which fled with him, thereby to obtaine pardon and grace with VALENS, apprehended and deliuered into his hands.

Some write, that VALENS as soone as he had taken his head to be stricken off: and others say, that bowing downe two trees by force, one leg was bound to the one Tree, and another to the other, and the Trees being let loose, he was torne in pieces: and so ended he his life, parted and diuided in two parts, who had caused so great parts-taking and diuision in the Empire. PROCOPIVS when he died, was of the age of 41 yeeres, he was of a great courage and goodly constitution, but that he went somewhat slooping. It is reported of him that he was euer very sad, and was neuer seene to laugh, and that he alwaies did meditate on melancholy matters; and so had an vnfortunate end, as one which was disloyall, and a Traytor to his soveraigne Lord.

After that VALENS had obtained this victorie, he severely punished those that had fauored and assisted PROCOPIVS: and because that *Chalcedonia*, which is a Citie in *Asia* the lesse, ouer against *Constantinople*, had taken part with him, he caused all the towne walles to be throwndowne, and made euen with the ground, which before were very faire. When PROCOPIVS was dead, a Capitaine and neere kinsman of his, named MARCELLVS, being in the Citie of *Nicea* with certaine companies with him, and with 3000 Gothes which he had caused to come thither, tooke vpon him the name of Emperour: but he was soone set vpon, taken and slaine by another Capitaine, whose name was EVCICIVS, Gouernor of *Slauonia*. This so important an enterprife being by VALENS brought to a happy end, he then endeouored himselfe to perforce the remainder of those souldiers, and to provide for other accidents in the East: which, for that they were many and of lesse importance, I will omit. But in matters concerning our religion, as an Heretick and a wicked man, he committed so many outrages, exiled so many, and did so great harme, as it would require a long time to describe. His brother VALENTINIANVS following the wars aforesaid, obtained sundrie victories, some in his owne person, and some vnder the leading of his Capitaines. In great *Britannie*, by a Capitaine of whose name was VALENTINE, he ouercame and subdued the Picts and the Scots, from whom the Scots at this day are defended, and the Kingdome of *Scotland* in that lland tooke name.

THEODOSIVS, of whom wee will speake hereafter, obtainted some other notable victories in *Germany*, whom VALENTINIANVS sent also into *Africa*: for therein rebelled a mightie Capitaine whose name was TRIMVS, whom THEODOSIVS ouerthrew in bataile, and tooke prisoner, leauing the country in quiet. But notwithstanding that hee had so good and happie successe, yet the Roman Empire was so odious and hateful to all strange Nations, as they neuer desisted as long as they had any oportunitie to invade and molest the same. Whereupon the Sarmates, a barbarous people, of whom we haue often made mention heretofore, rebelled and entred *Hungary*: against whom VALENTINIANVS (being greatly offended) went himselfe in person; and hauing ouerthrowne them in bataile they sent their Ambassadors vnto him: and the Emperour being in an earnest discourse with them, it is reported that he was so moued, and cried out so loud, as with the force thereof the blood gushed out at his mouth in such abundance, that he died within fewe daies after. Others write, that he was taken with an Apoplexy, wherewith he lost his speech only, all his other senses remaining perfect. Finally, of the one, or other, hee died within a short space, nothing auailing any Physick that could be administered vnto him, hee being of the age of fiftie yeeres, in the twelfth yeere of his Raigne, and according to S. IEROME his computation in the yeere of our Lord 379.

This Emperour is accounted among the good and vertuous Emperours, and with great reason

Procopius was overthrown.

The death of Procopius.

Valens razed the walle of Chalcedonia.

The Picts and Scots.

The victories of Valentinian.

Valentinianus against the Sarmates.

son: for besides his valour and sufficiencie, he was a very iust Prince, and a great enemy and a punisher of vice, especially of bribery and couerousnes. When he died he left two sonnes, and three daughters, which he had by two women. His eldest sonnes name was GRATIAN, whom he had by his lawfull wife, named SEVERA; him before his death he made Emperour AVGVSTVS. His other sonnes name was VALENTINIANVS, who afterwards was Emperour also. And his three daughters, IVSTA, GRATA, and GALLA, he had by a Gentlewoman called IVSTINA: of which one, which was GALLA, was afterwards married to THEODOSIVS, who in proceesse of time came to be Emperour. It is written, that this IVSTINA, mother to these three sisters, was the fairest woman of complexion, of the most excellent constitution of bodie, the comeliest personage, and was endowed with more commendable parts, then any woman then to be found in the world; so as she was brought to the Emperours Palace to his wife the Emperesse for a miracle in beautie, where he had by her these three children, as PAVLVS DIACONVS reporteth, by the consent and permission of his wife the Emperesse.

VVe have related the chiefe of all that passed in the time of VALENTINIANVS, Emperour in the West, and of his brother VALENS in the East. VALENTINIANVS dying in such manner, as we sayd, he left his sonne GRATIANVS for Emperour of all that which he possessed, and made him Emperour in his lifetime. And VALENS seeing himselfe freed, and at liberty, from the respect and dutie which he ought to his brother VALENTINIAN, making small account of his sonne GRATIAN, began to fauour and support the Arians, and to persecute and oppress the true Christians. Amongst other things, St. IEROME writeth, that he commanded all the Monks and Hermits in Egypt, and other parts, that (leaving their Monasticall life) they should become Souldiers, and follow the warres: but before that he could bring them to it, hee put many thousands of them to death, and did many other cruell deeds, for which God gaue him such an end as he deserved. To the contrary, his Nephew GRATIAN was a good Christian, and was likewise a good Poet, and an Oratour, a very virtuous, temperate, honest and courteous Prince, and indued with many noble qualities, but he was condemned to be very remiss in matters of government. But concerning the Christian Religion, hee fauoured: and supported the Christian Churches in Phoenicia, and other Prouinces in the East, as his father had done before him. By means of whose death the high Dutch took heart and courage to come downe, and make warre within the bounds of the Empire, with great multitudes of men: and he with a farre lesser number went to fight with them, neere to a Citie called *Argentine* or *Coloine*; where recommending himselfe to IESVS CHRIST, he fought a most cruell battell, and obtained the victory: and as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth slew of them about 40000. men. S. IEROME sayth 30000. When the young Emperour GRATIAN had obtained this victorie, he resolved to make his brother VALENTINIAN his companion in the Empire, who was his brother by the father, and sonne to the faire IVSTINA, which he performed with great solemnity.

The Empire being in this estate, VALENS liuing in *Antioch in Syria*, and GRATIAN and this his young brother VALENTINIAN in *France*, VALENS as he was giuen to diuinations, enchantments, nigromancies and such other like vanities, made certaine figures to bee cald, and the diuell willing to shew him that after him there should raigne one, whose name began with this Greeke letter, *θ*, which in Latine is *th*, he therefore caused to be slaine that most excellent Captaine THEODOSIVS, and others whose names began in that manner.

These things being past, as God in his secret iudgement had ordeined that the Romane Empire should generally decline (as not long after it did) it pleased him in his diuine wisdom to permit that there should first happen some great and particular calamities, which should be as signes and forewarnings presaging the great and general miseries which afterwards ensued, and continue euen vntill this day. For a beginning, and foretelling of the commune and general calamitie, which in proceesse of time afterwards followed, it pleased God to permit (for VALENS his infidelitie) that in those daies in the Northerly parts of *Scythia*, betwene a people called Hunnes, bordering vpon the *Rifene* mountaines, and the Gothes which with them diuided their frontiers, and were their neere neighbours (both most valiant and fierce nations, as in this historie hereafter shall appeare) great warres arose: and after many batailles and slaughters betwene them (which make nothing to our purpose) all beginning about the parting of fields and diuiding their bounds and limits, and other ancient quarrels, as vially happen betwene nations which are so neere neighbours; in these controuersies,

the

the Gothes were finally ouerthrowne in a great bataille by the Hunnes, and drinen out of their owne cuntry by force: and being a huge multitude of people (compelled through necessitie, as ouercome, and desiring to liue in peace) they sent to intreate the Emperour VALENS by their Ambassadors, that it might please him to receiue them for his seruants and vassalls, and to giue them some lands, which they might till and inhabit. The Emperour simply granted their request, assigning vnto them a great cuntry beyond the riuier *Danubius*, and certaine fields in the Prouince of *Misia*, which at this time is called *Bulgaria* and *Serua* (as PAVLVS OROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS and others doe report) and there for a certaintime they remained in peace and rest: and it was thought they would so haue continued, had not two of the Emperours Captaines (which diuided the fields amongst them, and remained there as their guard and ouersers) begun to vse them cruelly, like tyrants, doing them daily great wrongs and injuries, as though they had been rather slaues then subjects. Whereupon they conuerted their obedience and humility into rebellion and deperation; resolving to beare Armes, and to take perforce that which those men denied them. And so raunging themselves in good order (leaving that which was appointed for them) they marched forwards, destroying, robbing and spoiling all wherefoeuer they came.

Entering into *Thracia*, they tooke some strong holds and Cities, vntill they came neere to *Constantinople*, where VALENS then was: for as soone as these troubles began, he was aduertised thereof: and departing from the Citie of *Antioch*, he came by great iourneys to *Constantinople*, out of which he afterwards sallied with a great and very well ordered Armie, to make head against the Gothes, which from ancient time had been euer much feared, and were still famous. And although they vnderstood of the Emperours coming, yet they were therewith nothing dismayd, nor doubted to meete him, but rather sought to fight with him. Which VALENS refused not; so as there was a cruell bataille betwene the two Armies, wherein, at the first encounter, the Romane horsemen behaued themselves so ill, that disbanding, they left the squadrons of footemen naked without any defence; which the Gothes horsemen perceiuing, charged the Romane Infantry; and compassing them about on euery side with an infinite multitude of Archers, brake through them, and constrained them to flie: and so the Gothes had an entire victorie, and did great execution in the Imperiall Armie. VALENS, flying thence wounded with an Arrow, would haue hidden himselfe in a Farmers house neere to that place: but being found, the Gothes set the house on fire, wherein he was burnt. Some write that he died fighting, and that seeing the horsemen flie, he alighted, and putting off his Imperiall robes, placed himselfe in a Squadron of footemen, and there being vnknewne, was slaine. But I hold the first opinion for most certaine, for so doe the most and best Authors affirme. One of which is Saint IEROME, in whose time these things happened: so as he died a death conformable to the course of his life.

The Gothes hauing obtained this victorie, marched forwards, and besieged the Imperiall Citie of *Constantinople*, where ensued that which we will hereafter declare. The Emperour VALENS died in the sixtith year of his age, and the sixtenth of his raigne; of which, hee had reigned about eleuen in the companie of his brother, and the rest with his nephew GRATIANVS, which was in the yeere of our Lord IESVS CHRIST, three hundred, fourescore and two, after S. IEROMES computation, who in that year ended his Historie, which PAVLVS afterwards prosecuted. I haue not read that this Emperour left any children behinde him.



THE

Gratianus remained Emperour in the place of his father.

Valens fauoured the Arians.

Valens made the Monks and Hermits to leave their cels, and become souldiers.

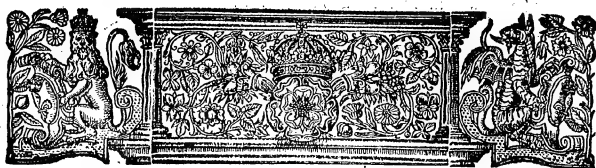
A great victorie obtained by Gratian against the Gothes.

Valens gave great credit to diuinations and sorceries.

Couriers assigned by Valens to fetch Goths to inhabit.

A bataille betweene Valens and the Gothes.

The death of the emperor Valens.



THE
LIFE OF GRATIANVS. ONLY
OF THAT NAME, AND OF HIS
BROTHER VALENTINIAN THE SECOND,
AND NINE AND FORTITH ROMANE
Emperour.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE whole burthen of the Empire resting upon Gratianus, he was advertised that the Goths daily increased their power, and were growne so audacious as to assault the Citie of Constantinople: wherefore he made provision to goe against them, and made one Theodosius a Spaniard Generall of his Army, who overthrew and subdued them, and reduced the Empire to the ancient dignitie. Wherefore Gratianus made him his companion in the Empire, assigning unto him the East part: and he remaining in France, purchased the euill will of his men of war, by shewing himselfe too much afflicted to the Alans; and so other strange Nations, whose factions in attire he often used to wear, in which time one Maximus, rebelling in Britanny, made himselfe a tyrant; and Gratianus, seeing himselfe forsaken by his Legions, returned into Italy in which journey Maximus by a stratagem, caused him to be slain. He had bene a very vertuous and good Emperour, if he had applied himselfe to the government of the Empire: for otherwise he was endued with many good parts, and lived little more then 28. yeeres.



Constantinople
besieged by the
Goths.

After the death of VALENS which was so ill and vnfortunate, as we haue declared, the government of the whole Empire, East and West, remained in his nephew GRATIANVS, his brother VALENTINIANS sonne, who before ruled the Western Empire, and in his brother, yong VALENTINIAN, whom he had made Emperour; although by reason of his yonger no great account was made of him. The Gothes following the victorie which they had obtained against the Emperour VALENS; without any stay, became masters of all the countrie round about, and (as I said) besieged the imperiall Citie of Constantinople, wherein was the Emperesse DOMINICA, wife of the vnfortunate VALENS; and they assaulted it with great furie and very resolutely, burning all the suburbs which were very great. And so they inuested the Citie, vntill that the widow Emperesse (as writeth CASSIODORVS) vsed such diligence in encouraging and animating the souldiers which were within it, with good words, gifts, and readie money, which shee distributed amongst them, as they fought so valiantly, that the Gothes recieued great losse &c. could not enter the Citie; and so it was defended by the diligence of this woman, and the valour of the besieged. The Gothes, diuiding themselves into severall troupes, became Lords of the Provinces of Thracia, Dacia, and their confines. Here historiographers make large descriptions of the originall and countrie of these Gothes, and by what meanes, and when they came forth of

their

their countrie; wherein they are so tedious and so contrarie in opinions, the one to the other; that I purpose to eschew that labour, for that it little importeth; neither can the truth be fully set downe. But it is true, they were a people which came out of *Scythia* in Europe, according to most writers; but whether they were borne there or came from some other countrie (as some say they did) it importeth not much: neither the difference in their names in calling them Ostrogothes or Visigothes; for herein is no greater difference, but that the Ostrogothes were more easterly, and the Visigothes more westerly: but generally both the one, and other were called Gothes, and so I purpose to call them, as often as I shall haue occasion to mention them, which will be very often: for in truth the greatest wound, and chiefe loss the Roman Empire received, and the beginning of the fall thereof, was through their occasion. Wherefore these people may justly be held and esteemed for the most valiant in Armes of all other Nations in the world; seeing that they (although with much toyle and by fighting many battles) were able to tame and subdue that people and Empire, which was the tamer and subduer of all other Nations.

The Gothes, and
whence they
came.

The occasion of
the fall of the
Empire was
through the
Goths.

GRATIAN vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle VALENS, and of all the accidents which ensued; and being also advertised of the power of the Gothes, and how they daily became Lords of more lands of the Empire; and how that following their example, other northerly Nations called Hunnes and Alans, no lesse valiant in Armes then the Gothes (as it was reported) made preparation to enter the Roman Empire, and to doe the like: he resolved with the greatest Army he was able to raise, to goe into Hungary to stop their passage. And forasmuch as in so great an extremitie, in his owne person he was not able to provide for all occasions; he determined to make choise of the most sufficient man that he might finde to be Generall of his Armie, to whom he might commit the charge and care of the war against the Gothes; which was both of great importance and very dangerous. There liued at that time in his countrie in Spain, one THEODOSIUS, the son of a noble Captaine whose name was also THEODOSIUS; whom, as we haue told you, VALENS caused to be slaine. This THEODOSIUS after the death of his father, holding himselfe to be in danger, retired himselfe into his countrie; being as well for the noblenesse of his ancestors, and his fathers name and worthiness, as for his owne valour, and his exploits in Armes, the most renowned and of greatest account of any man in his time. Whereupon the Emperour GRATIAN, in great haste sent for him, and wrote his letters vnto him, wherein he made him Captain generall of all the Empire; and within a little while after, Emperour AVGVSTVS, and his equall in the Empire, he being of the age of three and thirtie yeeres.

Theodosius
made generall
of the Imperiall
Army.

PAVLVS OROSIVS; and PAVLVS DIACONVS say, that this Emperour did wisely in choosing a Spanish Captaine, to free the Empire from seruitude; as in former times they had bene preferred from the like danger, hauing followed the same counsell: as the Emperour NERVA elected the good TRAIANVS who after him was Emperour, seeing himselfe old, and the Maiesty of the Empire in contempt. And the said Authors write, that he did it with great reason; for that the said TRAIANVS did extend the bounds of the Empire more then any other. This THEODOSIUS did wholly vanquish the Gothes, and recovered from them, all the Countrie which had bene lost. And during his life time hee made them serue as vassalls, and the Romane Empire stood free and recovered her reputation by him, though with much toyle and danger; so as the Romane Empire was neuer more honoured, nor better defended then when Spaniards were Emperors. And if men will giue me credit to bookes, let them looke into the present estate of the Empire, and they shall see that for these 200 yeeres it was not in that authoritie and greatnesse as it is now that CHARLES King of Spain is Emperour. But you must vnderstand that MELIAX was a Spaniard borne.

When THEODOSIUS had received the Emperors letters, and accepted of the charge offered vnto him; with the greatest speed he could, hee went into those countries wherein the Gothes were; who knowing of his coming gathered themselves together to fight with him. And THEODOSIUS being very desirous thereof, hauing first leued a sufficient Army; and taken such order, and made such provision as was most requisite, with great care and circumspection drew neere vnto them: And after that he had tried his souldiers in some skirmishes and encounters, he came to giue them battaile; which was one of the most cruell and bloody that euer was. But THEODOSIUS carried himselfe so discretely and valiantly, as well in fighting, as in encouraging and directing his men, that he obtained the victory, and made an

incredi-

incredible slaughter of the enemy; and afterwards of the remainder which escaped, vntill that he had driuen them all out of that Prouince; so as there remained not any enemy there. Leaving his Armie in good order, he went to doe his dutie to the Emperor **GRATIAN** in *Hungary*, where he then lay, in the Citie of *Sirmie*. Who for so noble a victorie (after that hee had well considered of his vertues and worthinesse) made him Emperor and **AUGUSTVS**, and his equall and companion. Yet some say, that he did this in the beginning, before the battaile. But howsoeuer, he shared the Empire with him; giuing to **THEODOSIUS**, *Constantinople* and *Thracia*, with all the Prouinces of the East, in like manner as **VALENS** held the same; reseruing to himselfe *Italie*, and all westwards, wherein also reigned his young brother **VALENTINIANVS**.

This being ended, **GRATIAN** presently returned into *Italie*, and from thence into *France*; and **THEODOSIUS** went to make an end of his wars against the most feared and redoubted nations of all the world, which were the aforesaid *Goths*, the *Alanes*, and the *Hunnes*; all people of *Scythia*. We read that **ALEXANDER** the Great, would not go to make any conquest of these people: for they were feared of all the world.

The *Alanes* tooke their name of a riuer in *Scythia* called *Alane*. **AMMIANVS MARCELLINVS** saith, that these were called in ancient time *Massagetes*. The *Hunnes* are also *Scythians* of *Scythia* in *Europe*, inhabiting beyond the bogges of *Media*, all which were most fierce Nations: and although that all the northerly nations were such, yet were these more then any of the rest; as in this Historie hereafter will appear: And these (they say) are those which at this day are called *Tartarians*. This people being againe entred into *Hungary*, **THEODOSIUS** went to fight with them, sometimes with one Nation and sometimes with another. All authors write, that he fought many cruell battailes with them, and in them all had the vpper hand: so as he slew an infinite number of them: and those which escaped the sword, hee made to flee out of the confines of the Empire. And to the end hee would not ouertire his men of warre, being humbly required of peace by **ATHANARICVS** King of the *Goths*, offering himselfe and his people to doe him seruice, hee granted it. And coming victorious to the Citie of *Constantinople*, which was his imperiall seate, hee brought **ATHANARICVS** with him; and was receiued with great solemnity, ioy and triumph. Where (they write) that **ATHANARICVS** did so much wonder to see the power of the Emperour, the solemnity and greatnes of his court, the sumptuousnes and magnificence of the buildings of the Citie, and the riches of the furniture of his house and seruice, as he said, that truly the Roman Emperour was god of the earth, and represented the God of heauen; against whom no man ought to be so hardy, as to lift vp his hand, or heart, except he would presently be condemned to death.

Within few daies after that this valiant King **ATHANARICVS** came to *Constantinople*, hee was taken with a grievous sicknes, wherof he died, after that he had been tormented therewith, the space of 3 moneths; whom **THEODOSIUS** sumptuously buried and bestowed great cost vpon his obsequies. Some Authors, as **IOHANNES** and others, say, that this peace with the *Goths*, was made by **GRATIANVS**; for **THEODOSIUS** fell so grievously sick, that al men thought he would haue died, and that in this season the peace was granted to **ATHANARICVS** more for feare then for any good will: and that **THEODOSIUS**, recouering health, would not breake what **GRATIANVS** had concluded. **AVRELIVS VICTOR**, **PAVLVS OROSIUS**; and others report it after the first manner; but this difference is of small importance. The *Goths* which serued **ATHANARICVS** in his house and army, hauing had triall of the goodnes and bounty of **THEODOSIUS**, desired to continue in his seruice; and afterwards serued him faithfully and valiantly, in such warres as happened. In this time, through the grace and mercy of God, **GRATIANVS** and **THEODOSIUS** being true Christians, the Catholike Church was fauored and protected by them. Yersome write, that **THEODOSIUS** was baptized after that he was Emperour: But before that time hee did reuerence and beleue the Christian faith. **SOMOMENVS**, after **CASSIODORVS**, affirmeth it so, which to me seemeth hardly to be beleueed. But howsoeuer it was, **THEODORIVS** writeth, that as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, hauing overcome and subdued all the barbarous nations; he applied himselfe to the reformation of the Church; and to the subseruion and rooting out of the Arian heresie, which was dispersed ouer all the East parts: And vpon this occasion hee vied meanes to assemble a great number of Bishops at *Constantinople*; and although that the euill was not thoroughly cured thereby, yet that which hee did, was very profitable. **CASSIODORVS** sets

Athanasius
King of the
Goths, fled to
Theodosius
for peace.
Athanasius
his coming to
Constantinople,
and his speech
concerning the
Roman Empire.

The death of A.
thanasius.

downt

downe **THEODOSIUS** decree, wherein he professed and protested that hee beleueed the same faith, which was preached by the holy Apostles; and which was published in the Nicene Council. He setteth down also, how that **THEODOSIUS** banished certaine Bishops from *Constantinople*, for that they were of the diuellish and abominable sect of the *Arrians*. In the West, there was no neede of any such care or diligence; for this Arian pestilence had not so much infected those parts: as we haue already declared in the liues of the three sonnes of **CONSTANTINE** the Great. **CONSTANS** which reigned in that part, tooke great care to preferre and defend the auncient Catholike faith; and after him **IOVIANVS** and **VALENTINIANVS**. So as, aswell in matters concerning Religion, as also the warres and ciuill government, **THEODOSIUS** shewed himselfe a worthe Prince, and was so much feared and honoured by all Nations, as the King of *Persia* (notwithstanding that hee had slaine the Emperour **IVLIANVS**, and obtained so many victories) in great humilitie, sent his Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, entreating a perpetuall league and peace with **THEODOSIUS**: And hee seeing with how great submission that King sued for peace, granted it.

THEODOSIUS, liuing in this prosperitie, the better to assure the succession of the Empire to his posterity, made one of his sonnes whose name was **ARCADIUS**, his equall and companion: notwithstanding that he was but a childe, and very young. In this meane while liued **GRATIAN** in *France*, from thence making prouision and sending direction to all parts, as into *Africa*, *Spain*, *Britanny* and *Germany*: and as he was a man very remisse and soft spirited (as the most part doe write of him) he waxed much more, after that hee had taken **THEODOSIUS** for his companion; depending much vpon his diligence and valour: so as he became ill beloued of his souldiers. And this dislike increased, for that hee (seeing that **THEODOSIUS** had entertained the *Goths* which serued **ATHANARICVS** into his pay and wages) drew to his seruice certaine companies of *Alanes*, and respected and honored them so much, as he sometimes appalled himselfe after their fashion, and made them his guard; wherewith the Roman and Italian souldiers were much discontented.

In *Rome* and all *Italie* the Empire was of no absolute authoritie: for therein was the young **VALENTINIAN**, brother to **GRATIANVS**; who for that he was very young and of little discretion, a Noble man called **PROBVS** had the charge of the gouernement, who had been Consul, and was then Prefect of the Citie. These matters gaue occasion to the Legions which were in *Britanny* to presume to rebell, and to chuse an excellent Capitaine, whose name was **MAXIMVS** for Emperour; and as **PAVLVS DIACONVS** writeth, against the will of **MAXIMVS**. But afterwards hauing accepted the name, he refused to proceede: and so with all expedition possible, he went into *France*; and forasmuch as **GRATIAN** was ill beloued of his Armie, the greatest part of his men of warre forsooke him, and calling **MAXIMVS** Emperour, went to his campe. Whereupon **GRATIANVS** finding himselfe vnable to fight with him, purposed to retire into *Italie*, where his brother was. **MAXIMVS** being aduertised thereof, vied such meanes as **GRATIANVS** fell into his hands. Which was after this manner: Hee caused a rumor to be spread abroad, that **GRATIANVS** wife was coming to see her husband with a good troupe of souldiers, and to goe with him into *Italy*, and hee sent some messengers before with counterfeit letters, which aduertised him thereof. After this, he sent a valiant and subtle Capitaine called **ANDRAGATHVS**, to the end he should put himselfe in a horsefetter, with some chosen souldiers, and goe to meete **GRATIAN**, faining to be the Emperre, and so rake him and kill him.

This cunning Champion performed what his Lord had committed to his charge, and at *Lions* in *France*, in passing the riuer *Rhodanus*, he came to ioyne with him; some going before and telling him that the Emperre was neere at hand. The goodnesse and sincerity of **GRATIANVS** were the occasion that he suspected nothing, neither discovered the deceipt, vntill he came so neere, that he saw it with his eyes, where being compassed about with **ANDRAGATHVS** his souldiers, he was there by his commandement slaine. In this manner ended the life and reigne of the Emperour **GRATIANVS**, being of the age of nine and twenty yeeres; fiftene yeeres after that his father made him Emperour and his companion; wherof eight yeeres were in his fathers time, more in name then effect; and of the other seuen yeeres, three were with his Vncle **VALENS** who was slaine by the *Goths*; and the rest with **THEODOSIUS** whom he chose for his companion, and with his brother **VALENTINIAN**; who for that he was a childe was not regarded. He died (after **PROBVS** his computation) in the yeere of our Lord three hundred, fourescore and seuen. This Prince was endued with many excellent

The King of
Persia, fled to
Theodosius
for peace.

Gratianus ill
beloued by his
men of warre.

Maximus chosen
Emperour by
the legions in
Britanny.

Gratianus
slain by Andra-
gathus, through
the procurement
of Maximus.

excellent vertues: for he was valiant, noble and discret; and aboue all, a Catholike and a very deuout Christian: but he had a fault, which was, that he was too soft spirited, remisse, and negligent, taking little care for the government: which (as is said) was the principall cause of his ruine. And truly this is a great and dangerous fault in Kings and Princes: for as their principall charge and office is to gouerne and rule, and they therefore are called *Rexes*; failing to performe their office and dutie, they make themselves hateful, odious, and vnworthy the power and dignity which they enioy.



THE LIFE OF THEODOSIUS, THE FIRST OF THIS NAME, AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME. (*)

THE ARGUMENT.



After that Gratianus was dead, the whole burthen and care both of peace and warre, appertaining to the Empire, rested vpon Theodosius. The first enterprise he undertooke, was in Italy, against the tyrant Maximus, who caused the Emperor Gratianus to be slaine. And besieging him in Aquileia, he made him die like a Traytor, together with a sonne of his. And having triumphed in Rome, he restored the Empire to Valentinian. Returning to Constantinople within short space after, he understood that Valentinian was slaine; and that only two (to wit) Arbogastes and Eugenius, usurped the Empire. Whereupon returning againe into Italy, he fought with these two tyrants, and overcame them both, more by miracle and by the speciall grace of God, then through his power or any humane wisdom. After this victory, the whole charge of the Empire, both East and West, rested vpon him alone; but he calling his sonne Honorius, invested him in the Empire of the West, and so Arcadius he left the Empire of the East. But because they were both children, and very little, he gaue them two tutors, men no lesse valiant in Armes then politike in peace. After this, happening to be excommunicate and absolved by S. Ambrose Bishop of Milan, for certain cruelties committed in Theffaliamia, falling grievously sick, he dyed at the age of fiftie yeeres.



SIX yeeres reigned THEODOSIUS in companie with GRATIANVS, when he was slaine by the commandement of MAXIMVS, who as a tyrant and vsurper proclaimed himselfe Emperour: And by reason of GRATIANVS death, all the care and trouble both for warre and peace rested vpon THEODOSIUS, who was very sufficient, and well able to support the same. For although that young VALENTINIAN was in Italy, yet hee had neither power nor courage to reuenge the death of his brother, GRATIANVS; but knowing that MAXIMVS came with a great Armie, and was already entred Italy, he abandoned it, and went to Constantinople to increase ayde of THEODOSIUS: Who taking compassion of the two brethren, the one slaine by treason, and the other wrongfully disposessed of his Empire, of his natural and accustomed valour, resolved to goe into Italy to reuenge the death of the one, and to restore the other to his estate, by pursuing and destroying this new & mighty tyrant. Whereupon leaving his son ARCADIVS in Constantinople, taking VALENTINIAN with him, he prepared for his departure, raising the greatest and best forces he was able, and began

to march through *Gallia Cisalpina*, which is now called *Lombardie*, where MAXIMVS alreadye was in the citie of *Aquileia*, hauing made ANDROGATHVS Generall of his Armie to make head against THEODOSIUS.

This ANDROGATHVS was a politick and a valiant man in the warres, and he which slue the Emperor GRATIANVS; who with great care and diligence had taken all the streights, rivers, bridges and passages, whereby THEODOSIUS might passe: and afterwards changing his minde, thinking that THEODOSIUS peraduenture would haue passed his Armie by sea, he drew his forces from the mountains, and from those places which hee had left them in guard, and embarked them aboard a great number of ships and barks, purposing to ouerthrow him, and to take him prisoner vpon the water. The valiant THEODOSIUS, being advertised heerof, marched by great Iournies; and, finding the passages open, entred with his troops into the Plains of *Lombardie*, and besieged the City of *Aquileia*, where the vsurping Emperour was, before ANDROGATHVS could ouertake him: and compassing the City round about, those which were within it, of meeer fear hauing guilty consciences, deliuered him into the hands of THEODOSIUS, without staying for any assault or fight; and he iustly caused him (as a Traytor and Rebel to his Prince) to be put to death. The like was afterwards done by a sonne of his whose name was VICTOR, whom his father had created Emperour, to auoid the perils and troubles that might ensue. When ANDROGATHVS who was his Generall, being vpon the sea with a very mighty naue, vnderstood of the taking and death of MAXIMVS, hee was so ouercomn with sorrow and despair, that hee cast himself ouer-board out of his Galley, and there was drowned; and his people, wanting a Leader, yeelded themselves to THEODOSIUS. And so, without either death or blood-shed, God gaue him a very great victory; and from France, Britannie, Germanie, and Spain, came Ambassadors vnto him, yeelding him their obedience, with great humility and deuotion.

Having performed this enterprise, he went with yong VALENTINIAN to Rome, the principall Head of the Empire; where they were receiued with a solemn triumph (as RUFENVS and CASSIODORVS report) whither he sent for his yong son ARCADIVS from *Caesarsburg*, where he left him to the end he might be knowne and honoured in Rome: where he continued certain daies, reforming the abuses and disorders there; and hee inflicted great punishments, and did great iustice vpon certain euill and wicked persons. And, as he was a deuout and good Christian, so he took great care to reform the abuses of the Church. And, finally, setting all things in good order, he returned to Constantinople to gouern the Empire of the East; and to VALENTINIAN he left all the West, leaving him an Armie and power sufficient to defend the same: which is no small argument of his goodness and loyalty, that being of power, able (if he had desired to haue made himself onely Monarch and Lord of the whole) yet he held it for greater honour To reconquer the Empire, and to restore it to him to whom in right it appertained, than to hold the same himself. THEODOSIUS being returned to Constantinople, VALENTINIAN went for France, that he might be neerer at hand if any occasion should be offered: where liuing in prosperity and void of care, a Captain of his, called ARBOGASTVS, practised his death; who was a man of a haucie courage, politick, venturous, and of great power by reason of the place and authority which he held neerer about the Emperour; whom PAVLVS OROSIVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS call *Comes* or Earle: for in those times wee finde that name and dignity, and before that also; and these were those which were Gouernours and Captains of Provinces, and sometimes were the Emperours companions, to whom were committed matters of greatest importance: In like manner as the ancient Consuls, when they went to make a conquest of any Country, had with them Legats, which is as much as Lieutenants. This ARBOGASTVS resolved with himself to kill VALENTINIAN, thereby to aduance an Emperour of his making, although it prospered ill; not daring to vsurp it himself, for that hee was of base parentage, a stranger born, and an Infidel, and for other causes which in the Historie are not mentioned. Finally, he practised with one EVGENIVS, who of a Grammarian and a Rhetorician (being for that cause well beloued and esteemed) came to bear Arms, and to follow the Court, and was now highly regarded and of great account, promising him to kill VALENTINIAN, and to make him Emperour, giuing him to vnderstand, that it was a matter possible, and easie to be done. EVGENIVS accepted what this wicked man offered; and ARBOGASTVS vsed such means, that he corrupted the Eunuchs that waited in VALENTINIANs chamber, and agreed with them to strangle him in the night, and giue it out in speech that they found him dead in the morning; and they did so. VALENTINIAN being in the city of *Vienna* in France,

Maximus and his son Victor put to death by Theodosius.

Androgastus drowned himself in the sea.

Theodosius triumphed in Roma.

Arbogastes practised to kill the Emperor Valentinian.

Valentinian
strangled by his
Eunuchs.

sleeping in his bed, was by these Eunuchs strangled; and they published abroad, that hee had hanged himself, eighteen yeeres after that his brother had nominated him Emperor. The manner of his death was kept so secret, that it was bruited abroad that he had hanged himself; so as PROSPERVS, in the addition which he made to EVSEBIVS book of Times, writing his death, saith, that he died in that manner.

Eugenius made
Emperor by Ambrogius.

Presently, when as his death was knowne, before the treason was discovered, ARBOGASTVS nominated and made EVSEBIVS Emperor. What these two men did, being of greatest authority, was generally approved by all men; and by means of their reputation, and thorough their cunning, large promises, and great gifts, they leuied a great number of men of war, as well Barbarians as Romans, and so became Lords of all the Prouinces: And although EVSEBIVS bare the name of Emperor, yet all was ordered and disposed accordingly as it pleased ARBOGASTVS.

Within short space THEODOSIUS was aduertised of this fact; for which hee was very forrie, and therewith much troubled, seeing how dangerous a warre lay before him: but, accounting it a great dishonour and a shame to suffer such an action to passe unpunished, with the greatest expedition and diligence that could bee hee mustred vp his men of warre, and with all possible speed departed from *Constantinople*, leaving his sonne ARCADIVS there; and HONORIUS also, whom he then made Emperor, appointing him to bee equall and companion with his brother. But, as a good and deuout Christian, the first prouision hee made, was, To fast and pray, that it might please God to giue him victorie against those Infidels and Tyrants, recommending himself to the prayers of a Monk which was accounted a very holy man, whose name was IOHN, dwelling in the City of *Thebes in Egypt*: who sent him word that hee should haue the victory, but should dy in *Italie*, and neuer return to *Constantinople*.

THEODOSIUS being comen to the confines of *Italie*, the Tyrants had so great forces, and had taken so good order for all matters concerning the warres, that all passages were stoped in the Alps, and at the foot thereof EVSEBIUS and ARBOGASTVS attended with their whole Armie; so as THEODOSIUS was much troubled and distressed, as well after hee had passed those passages and mountains, as when he was entred into *Lombardie*, where hee found himself inclosed about with enemies, which on euery side stoped the coming of any victuals to his camp; they hauing, besides this, a greater number of men than hee had, and no lesse experienced and valiant in the warres than his were. But the valiant Emperor, vsing the best means hee could in all things, as a faithfull Christian expected and hoped for his best relief from God, to whom with tears he made his continuall supplications. Truly, the danger and extremity wherein he was, and the multitude of his enemies was so great, that all Writers affirm he had been vtterly lost, if God in a battell that ensued had not shewed a manifest and apparant miracle. The night before the battell he spent altogether in praier, without either eating or sleeping; and the next day, seeing himself charged on euery side, he set his men in very good order to fight; and with great courage and resolution attended the coming of his enemies; where presently in the beginning a Captain of theirs called ARBICIVS came ouer to his side with his whole charge, which was a good signe of his good successe; and the battell beginning, where Romans fought against Romans, they fought at euery hand, most cruelly killing and wounding one another. The other battalions and squadrons, which were auxiliaries of sundry nations, being of THEODOSIUS's side, had the worse; so as at the first chargetenne thousand Goths which were in his pay were slain: which when he saw, he lifted vp his eyes to heauen; and, with a true faith and stedfast hope shedding many tears, prayed to the Lord that he might not be ouerthrowne in so iusta cause.

A miraculous
tempest.

At that Instant a Captain of his, called BARBARIUS, with a great troop of souldiers came to the rescue of certain Squadrons which in they were ouerthrowne; and hee came with such courage; that they which were in a manner vanquished recovered strength and heart; in such manner, that without retiring they fought most valiantly for the victory: but the enemies were so many, that it seemed impossible for them to defend themselves. At that Instant it pleased God to send them succor from heauen; which was, that suddenly there arose so violent a wind and tempest, as the like thereof had neuer been seen by any man then liuing; which, without annoyance to the Emperours people, did beat in their enemies faces with such force, that it bereaued them of their sight; so as they were not able to march forwards: and the wind was so strong and forcible, that all the arrowes, stones, darts and lances, which they shot and huled, were thereby born back again; and they which threw them were therewith wounded, in such

man.

manner, that it most plainly appeared to be miraculous, and the especiall gift of God. Which the most Christian Emperor perceiuing, rendering thanks to God for the same, encouraged and animated his people, so as within short space he obtained a compleate victorie. For his enemies souldiers took no other care, but how they might saue themselves by flight: but EVSEBIUS persisting obstinate in his treason, was taken fighting, and brought to THEODOSIUS, who commanded him to be slaine: yet some write that he killed him himselfe.

Agreat victory
obtained by
Theodosius.

Eugenius
slaine in the
presence of
Theodosius.

Arbogastes dic-
tates his owne
thoate with his
owne sword.

All writers affirme, that ARBOGASTVS, seeing himselfe ouerthrowne, fled from the battail, and finding no certaine place of refuge, with his owne sword cut his owne throate. So as THEODOSIUS obtained a most glorious victorie, followed the execution, and had the spoile of his enemies Campe. Of this battell and the strange accident that happened therein, we haue for testimonie, not onely Christian and godly authors, more then a few, as well such as liued at that time and neere vnto it, but also one CLAUDIANVS a Heathen Poet of that age, who reciteth the same in heroicall verse most excellently, in the third and fourth Consulship of HONORIUS the sonne of THEODOSIUS.

After THEODOSIUS had obtained this victorie, ther was no man either in the East or West that durst oppose himselfe against his power; so as all the Princes of the Empire sent him their Ambassadors to congratulate his victorie: and many barbarous nations did the like, and so hee became absolute and onely Lord of the whole Empire. And seeing himselfe free from warres, he came to *Milan*, whereof S. AMBROSIVS was Archbishop: where he remained all the rest of his life time, applying himselfe to ciuill gouernment; whereof in the warres he neuer left to haue all possible care. Being thus in *Milan*, acknowledging himselfe to be but mortall, and knowing how vnfound and diseased he was in bodie, he purposed to provide for matters to come: wherefore he sent to *Constantinople* for his sonne HONORIUS; to whom (by the assent and good will of all men) he assigned after his daies the Empire of *Italy* and of all the West; and to his other sonne ARCADIVS, the Empire of the East; and into *Africa* and the prouinces thereof, he sent a man of great wisdom and experience called GILDVVS to gouerne the same, and he himself took care and had the ouersight of the whole. With such prosperitie was the world gouerned (as PROSPERVS writeth) the space of three yeeres: for so long time liued THEODOSIUS in *Milan*, in companie with the great Doctor S. AMBROSIVS, with whom there happened a notable matter; which because it is an example of humilitie, I meane to declare in a more large manner then ordinarie, which is also written by THEODORETUS, PAYLVS DIACONVS, RVFFINVS, and CASSIODORVS.

Theodosius
made law for
Arcadius and
Honorius King
perpetua.

THEODOSIUS being in *Theffalonica*, a very rich, populous and a Noble Citie in the prouince of *Macedonia*, there hapned a great tumult among the people, against the Magistrates and gouernours thereof; and their furie and presumption grew to be so great, as they slew the Iudges and all those which took part with the Emperour in the gouernment. Which when THEODOSIUS vnderstood, notwithstanding that he was very vertuous, yet did he much desire to execute his wrath against him, and not without iust cause: but he did therein so farre exceede the bounds of reason, as he made his souldiers put to death seuen thousand persons of the common sort, making no difference between the guiltie and innocent. Which punishment was held for rigorous and very cruell; although the offence were very great, chiefly against a Prince so iust and so much admired in all his actions. Amongst those which reprooued him for this fact, the holy Doctor S. AMBROSIVS then Bishop of *Milan* was one; and the Emperour afterwards comming to that citie, and being receiued as to his estate appertained, the next day he meant to haue gone to the Church to haue done his deuotion, and to pray, as of custome he vsed, nothing thinking of what he had done at *Theffalonica*, whereof it was thought he had long before repented. But S. AMBROSIVS, to the end that his punishment should be as publicke as his offence, with great authoritie and boldnes set himselfe in the Church doore, and told the Emperour that hee should not enter there; making a learned oration vnto him, wherein with the authoritie of a Bishop, he opened vnto him his fault and offence, excommunicating him, and forbidding him to come into the Church. All which speeches the Emperour heard with great patience, and returned to his palace, obeying the excommunication and prohibition, and so remained eight moneths without comming any more to the Church: at the end whereof, a priuate seruant and Captaine of his (whose name was RVFFINVS) finding the Emperour melancholike, and discontented for that he was so long excommunicated, offered to goe to S. AMBROSIVS to get him absolution, perswading him to come to the Church, and he would go before to obtaine his leave. The Emperour, although he much doubted thereof, did so. But

RUFFINVS was not onely denied of his request, but was highly reprehended by the Bishop, as a minister and counsellor of the Emperours crueltie: which when he perceived, he sent to aduertise the Emperour thereof, and to aduise him not to come, for at that time he should by no means bee received. The Emperour met with the messenger vpon the way, and hearing what message hee brought, answered; Yet truly I will goe to see what penance my Pastor will lay vpon me for my offence. And so went forwards vntill he came to the Church doore, and went not in, but came where S. AMBROSIVS was: whom he requested to absolve him, and to permit him to come into the Church there to heare diuine seruice. When S. AMBROSIVS saw the Emperour, and heard what he said, imagining that he came of purpose to go into the Church, which he was resolu'd to withstand vntill he were absolved, or had done some open penance for the great crueltie which he had commanded to be done, he asked him wherefore he came so as a tyrant, contemning and violating the lawes? Whereunto the Emperour mildly answered: I come not to breake the lawes, neither thy commandement, neither will I passe ouer the threshold of this doore: but I come to request thee to loose the bands wherewith thou hast bound me, and that thou wilt pray to God to forgive me my finnes, and not shut the doores of his Church against me, which God openeth to all sinners which heartily repent. What repentance hast thou heere (quoth the Bishop) for so heinous an offence? and with what salue hast thou healed so mortall a wound? Thou (quoth the Emperour) art to instruct me, and to shew me what I ought to doe, and thou shalt see that I will accomplish what thou shalt prescribe. The Bishop seeing the Emperours mildnes, thinking it a sufficient penance for him to be excommunicated from the Church the space of eight moneths, with faire and charitable speeches said; Thy penance THEODOSIUS shall be this, that (seeing that to follow thy owne will, and to execute thy wrath, thou diddest commit so cruell a murder) thou shalt presently proclaim and establish a Lawe, that no man, whom thou shalt adiudge or condemn to dye, or any thy successors, shall be executed within thirtie dayes after that thou hast pronounced the sentence of death against him. At the end of which thirtie dayes, thou shalt be againe demanded, whether thou dost hold thy commandement for iust: for by that time being free from passion, thou wilt iudge of thy selfe whether thou hast iustly iudged or no. When THEODOSIUS heard this, he presently commanded that law to be written, and made it to be proclaimed: and he himselfe obserued it during his life, wherof much good ensued.

This law being made, the Emperour came into the Church, where making his prayers, and doing his deuotion, he receiued the Sacrament, and from thenceforth loued the Bishop very deere, and vsed his counsell in many matters: For as he was hasty and cholerick, this law was a bridle to restraine him from being too extreame in punishing offenders. THEODOSIUS reciteth one example therof: which was, that the Citizens of Antioch hauing committed a great offence, and made a great vprore in the Citie, THEODOSIUS commanded great punishment to be inflicted vpon the malefactors, which was not presently executed, by reason of this law: and afterwards he altered his opinion, which he attributed to the counsell of S. AMBROSIVS whom hee loued so much, that to enioy his companie and counsell, hee staid in Milan, and there made his abode the remainder of his life. From thence he sent to Constantinople for his sonne HONORIUS, who came to Milan. Soone after THEODOSIUS fell so extremely sicke, that after care taken for his soules health, he disposed of the Empire, ordaining his sonne HONORIUS to haue the government of Rome, and of all the prouinces of the West: and ARCADIVS to rule in Constantinople and the East. And for that these his two sonnes were very young, and not of fit yeeres to gouerne, he left with them as their tutors and gouernours, two very sufficient men both for warre and peace, the one called RUFFINVS, and the other STILICO; RUFFINVS to be with ARCADIVS in the East, and STILICO with HONORIUS in the West: and into Africa and the prouinces thereof he sent GILIVS, to gouerne the same as Lieutenant to the two Emperours, to whom he gaue that charge. After that he had set all things in order, his disease so much encreased, as he could not endure it any longer: wherefore recommending his soule to God, he departed out of this present life, as SIXTVS AURELIUS VICTOR saith, who here maketh an end of his historie, and the most part of other authors, in the fiftieth yeere of his age, and the eleuenth of his reigne; accounting from the death of GRATIANVS, reigning alone, and with GRATIANVS other six yeeres: so as in all hee reigned seuentene yeeres; and in the yeere of our Lord, three hundred, ninetie and seuen.

This Emperour, according to all authors that write of him, was of constitution of bodie, counte-

countenance, and gesture, very like to the Emperour TRAIAN, as by TRAIAN'S statues and pictures, which in that time were remaining, might easily be conceiued, and might be imagined by that which was written both of the one and the other: And they write, that he was not onely like vnto him, and did resemble him in bodie and gesture; but that he did imitate and excell him in vertue and good conditions, and had the same qualities, and was naturally so inclined, sauing that if TRAIAN were spotted with any vice, THEODOSIUS was free from it. It is written that TRAIAN was a little too much giuen to the drinking of wine: but we reade that THEODOSIUS was most temperate, in eating and drinking. TRAIAN was very desirous of triumphs, glorie and honour; THEODOSIUS despised them and held them for things of no moment: but hee euer sought to obtaine the victorie, and in all battailes and skirmishes was both valiant and politicke, euer giuing thanks and honour vnto God as a good Christian. In conclusion, THEODOSIUS was of admirable valour, force and courage, very politicke and expert in the warres, of an excellent witte and iudgement in ciuill gouernment, a louer of iustice and equitie, mercifull, pitifull, and of a most noble inclination, although somewhat hasty and cholericke against malefactors; but he was presently pacified and easily entreated. And to moderate this passion, besides S. AMBROSIVS his law concerning matters of death, he vsed of custome (knowing his owne hasty disposition) not to determine of any thing, vntill that he had repeated ouer the foure and twentie letters of the Greeke Alphabet: for in that space his wrath would be tempered. He was much honoured and beloued by all men, especially by such as were honest. He was exceeding liberal, continent, and shamefast, very circumspect and careful, indifferently well learned and scene in historie. He much desired to know the acts of the ancient, and greatly honoured learned and wise men. He was well spoken, and of a pleasant and merrie conuersation, framing himselfe with great discretion to the qualitie of those persons with whom hee discoursed, maintaining the maiestie of his estate and the authoritie of his person, and had also other excellent vertues too long to recite. THEODOSIUS, when hee died left two sonnes (of which we haue already spoken) and one daughter. His sonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIUS were Emperours; both which hee had by his first wife whose name was FLACILLA, an excellent and a most religious woman; his daughters name was PLACIDIA GALLA, which hee had by his second wife, who was the daughter of the Emperour VALENTINIANVS the first.

Theodosius
likened to
Traiane.

Theodosius
his conditions
and qualities.

Theodosius
his children.



THE LIFE OF ARCADIVS AND HONORIUS, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE ONE & FIFTITH

Romane EMPEROVS.

(**)

THE ARGUMENT.



HE Empire being under the government of Theodosius his two sonnes, and so under the Tutors ordained by him, that is, Rufinus and Stilico, which ought to haue taken care for the young men, and to haue gouerned them as fathers: they not only neglected the care of the young men committed to their charge (nothing caring they should be acknowledged for Emperours) seeking to make themselves absolute Princes: but they both came to an euill end. For Rufinus, who was Arcadius his Tutor in the East, his treason being discovered, had his head stricken off, and set ouer one of the gates of Constantinople. And Stilico, who was Honorius his Tutor in the West, notwithstanding that hee went against the Gothes, yet hee temporized, that hee might bring his treason to some effect, which being in the end discovered, he was slaine by Honorius his commandement.

Theodosius
made Stilico
and Rufinus
tutors and coun-
sellors to his two
sonnes Honorius
and Arcadius,
and Stilico
to be their
Lieutenant in
Africa.

ment: which was the beginning of the utter ruine of the Romane Empire, which was in a manner wholly destroyed by the Gothes. In which time, Arcadius, who had very peaceably enjoyed his Empire the space of certaine yeeres, dyed in Constantinople. But sundry barbarous Nations over-ran all Honorius his Empire, he lying in Ravenna, making small show to be an Emperour, being very negligent, when there was neede of great care and diligence. Nevertheless, taking charge of the warres to sundry of his Captaines, he freed his estate (except Spaine which was conquered by the Gothes, Vandals and other strange Nations). In which time he fell sick and dyed in Rome, without leaving any heirs of his body (for he had no children by any wife) when he had held the Empire in a manner eight and twentie yeeres.



Ruly I feare that such as shall reade this History, will reprove me for spending more time about the life of THEODOSIUS, then I use to do in writing the lives of other Emperours; but he that shall duly consider his vertues and excellencies, will iudge that I have been rather too brief, then otherwise. Wherefore holding the time and labour herein spent for well employed, let vs come to speake of his sonnes: in whose Historie I can use no greater breuitie, then in that of their father, considering the great and sundrie accidents which hapned in thirtie yeeres; for ARCADIVS reigned little lesse: and so likewise from henceforth we shall be constrained to write more at large, according to the alterations of estates and other matters, whereof we shall haue occasion to speake.

THEODOSIUS left the Empire in such subiection, so peaceable, and in such quiet to his sonnes ARCADIVS and HONORIUS, that if the wickednes of their tutors had not altered and troubled it, they might easily haue governed and supported the same. But they which were put in trust to see all well ordered, were the cause that the Empire was molested in such manner, as it plainly appeareth they were the occasion of the totall ruine of the Empire, or at the least, the beginning thereof. For as soone as THEODOSIUS was dead, GILDVS who was Governour of Africa, and of the Prouinces there, and RVFFINVS and STILICO in their governments, each of them practised to get the Empire for himselfe, and to dispossesse the sonnes of their foweraigne Lord; and each of them shewed his resolution, as soone as he had opportunity. ARCADIVS with his Governour RVFFINVS went to Constantinople, whither he commanded his fathers dead body to be brought to be buried with great solemnity. HONORIUS remained in Italie, with STILICO: and so they began to raigne without any contradiction or opposition, in the same order as their father had left them. As soone as GILDVS, governour of Africa, vnderstood that THEODOSIUS was dead, he tooke no longer care to conceal his intent, but presently shewed it openly in his actions; and beginning to make himselfe Lord of all that country, nor with the title of Comes or Earle, as vntill then he held it (which as PAVLVS DIACONVS writeth, was then given to Governours of Prouinces) but as absolute Lord thereof, without acknowledging any subiection or dutie to HONORIUS, or to ARCADIVS.

This GILDVS had a brother whose name was MASTELZERIVS, a very good and loyall Christian, who to the vitermost of his power resisted his brothers proceedings. But GILDVS was already so mightie and of such power, that MASTELZERIVS, whom some call MASTELZ was driven to flie into Italy, and so he remained sole and absolute Lord of all Africa. And GILDVS vnderstanding that his brother was gone to the Emperour (like a cruell tyrant) made two of his sonnes which were his Nephewes and left in Africa, to be slaine, nothing regarding how neere they were to him in blood. MASTELZERIVS came into Italie; and having relation to HONORIUS, or to say better, to STILICO, of what had hapned (whose wisdom and courage was very great, although grounded vpon disloyaltie) had an Army giuen him, and all things thereto needfull; and so was sent against his brother, as against a common enemy. And MASTELZERIVS aswell to performe his duty, as to be revenged of the death of his sonnes, with the greatest expedition he could make, departed towards Africa, although with small forces, trusting in the equitie of his cause, in the friendship he had in that Countrey, and aboue all, in the helpe and power of God, which he daily implored with teares, and most deuout prayers. And as PAVLVS OROSIVS reporteth, comming to an

Iland

Iland called Capraria, neere to Naples, he carried with him from thence certain deuout religious men which liued there; in whose prayers hee reposed greater trust than in the strength of his whole Armie: with which hee made so many fastings and prayers, that it seemed God heard him; for, hee prevailed without any battell or bloodshed, which hapned in this manner:

Coming vpon the Coast of Africa with the small Forces which he brought, with great courage hee went to Land, and entrenched his Armie, and fortified the same, and sent abroad to giue notice of his arrival, and of his power in all places; from whence hee thought his friends and souldiers would haue come to join with him: but his brother came against him with three-score and tenne thousand men, very well appointed. MASTELZERIVS, seeing himself in this distresse, was no way discouraged, neither made any doubt of the victory; assuring himself that to obtain the same it lay in the hand of God, and not in the multitude of men and horses. Having a resolution to passe by a certain Port, thereby to avoid his enemy and brother, but considering with himself how hardly it was to be performed (as PAVLVS OROSIVS writeth) hee made his prayers; and, praying, fell asleepe and dreamed; that within three daies hee should obtain the victory. Heerupon, MASTELZERIVS remained there vntill the third day; and then with inuincible courage sallied out of his trenches against his enemies; who thought of no such matter, but rather daily expected to haue had him in their hands; and, they coming forth against him, he went towards them before his troops, aduising and perswading them to yeeld obedience and not to bear Arms against him: for, he was sent thither by the Emperour, their foweraign Lord. And as an Ensign-bearer would haue charged him, and those that were with him, hee slew them; and, wounding him, smote his colours to the ground: with which onely blowe it pleased God that he subdued and pacified all the rest: for, there was not any one that made any resistance, but all the Ensign-bearers and ordinary souldiers came ouer to him, and yeelded their obedience; and the souldiers of that Countrey fled, and so did his brother: whereby he had the victory, as we may say, miraculously; for, so all men accounted the same.

This GILDVS, seeing himself abandoned by his souldiers, fled to the sea side; and, imbar-king himself aboard a ship, set sail, thinking to haue escaped: and, hauing failed some space, it pleased God that the winde came contrary, and hee for ought he could doo was driven to take Land; where he was taken, and by his brothers commandement had his head stricken off, in requitall of the cruelty which he had shewed to his sonnes, and for his treason against his Lords; MASTELZERIVS remaining without controulment victorious, and Master of his brothers Camp: But afterwards seeing himself mighty (as, of custome, in prosperity men growe insolent) hauing no such fear of God before his eyes as he ought to haue had, hee purposed and attempted to haue the Empire of Africa to himselfe, without any regard of the Emperour HONORIUS, who had sent him thither; which his disloyalty his Captains could not endure, and therefore they slue him. These two brethren being dead, Africa remained for a space in quiet subiection to the Emperours. These warres aforesaid are excellently well written in verse by CLAUDIANVS.

While these matters passed in Africa, ARCADIVS was not idle in Constantinople: for, his Gouerner RVFFINVS, vnwilling any longer to conceal his wicked purposes, fought by all means to bring ARCADIVS into some distresse, that he might vsurp the Empire; and to that end solicited the Goths and other Nations to war against the Empire: Which being discovered, ARCADIVS procuring it, though but a boy, he was slaine by some companies of Italian Souldiers; who, striking off his head, set it ouer one of the gates of Constantinople. This RVFFINVS, as some say, was born in Britannie. Others say, that he was a Frenchman; a man of great judgement, and an excellent Captain; but disloyall and ill disposed: His goods ARCADIVS gaue to an Eunuch of his called EVTROPIVS, who was very priuate with him. Against this RVFFINVS (declaring his doings) the aforesaid CLAUDIANVS wrote two books in heroricall verse; and by his death ARCADIVS remained at liberty, and Lord of his Empire in the East with greater quietnes than his brother HONORIUS: for, STILICO, who governed in the West, was farre more cunning and subtle than RVFFINVS, and was very valiant, and a most expert man of warre; and as he had as wicked or a worse intent, so hee knew better how to couer the same, as well by his wit, as the great power which he enjoyed. For, besides that he was HONORIUS his Gouerner or Tutor, he was twice his father-in-law: for, HONORIUS had his daughter to wife, hauing first been contracted to another daughter of his which died unmarried.

This

MASTELZERIVS
victorious against
his brother GIL-
dus.

Gildus taken
and beheaded
by his brother
commanderment.

MASTELZERIVS
slain by his fol-
lowers, and the
cause.

Ruffinus, Ar-
cadus Tutor,
solicited the
Goths to invade
the Empire.

The death of
Ruffinus.

Stilico, father
in-law to Ho-
norius.

97

Each of these
men, which
Theodosius
left for tutors
over his sonnes,
fought particu-
larly to make
himselfe an
Emperour.

The title of
Earle to whom
is war-giuen.

Gildus put
two of his bro-
thers to death.

MASTELZERIVS
went with an
Army against
his brother
Gildus.

Stilico's praefectus and treason against Honorius.

The Alans, and their Originals.

The Originals of the Vandals.

Alaricus King of the Gothes.

The wars of the Gothes.

Radagaisus, King of the Gothes.

The cruel wars which the Gothes made in the Ends of the Empire.

This **STILICO** was by birth a Vandal, and, having purposed to make a sonne of his called **EUCHERIUS** Emperor, by his great (although malicious) wit hee concealed the same, untill time of better opportunity: whereto he thought, that the best and most assured way was, To bring the Emperors into necessity, distress and danger, to the end that he onely might bee the mean to repair and recouer all losses. For, he had so proud a heart, and so great power, that he was perswaded, that as often as it pleased him he was able to redress all matters; and that the need which the Emperor should haue of him, would open the way to his purposes. And to that end, by deuices and secret practices, hee solicited many nations to make warres vpon the Empire; as, the Alanes, whose Original I think we haue described: which, according to **PROLOMY**, was of *Germany*; and, after **MARCELLINVS** and **PLINY**, was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, who at that time inhabited part of *Germany*; and the *Sueuians*, a most fierce people of the same *Germany*, and the Vandals born also therein; called Vandals, after the name of a Riuer so called in *Scythia*, from whence they first descended, as is aboue mentioned; which by **PLINY** and **PROLOMY** are called Vandalines: and those Burgundians, which were now call Burgonians, of which, **CORNELIUS TACITVS** saith, that they were of the same Vandals, and all one nation. They were called Burgundians; for that, in times past being driuen out of *Germany* by **DRVSVS** and **TIBERIUS NERO** in the time of **AVGVSTVS CAESAR**, they were constrained to dwell in the fields, and suburbs of cities called Burgi or Burghs, and therefore took their name of Burgunds or Burgundians; but they were very famous by many authors. He, having moued these nations, and procured them to make warre, sometimes by letters from certain persons which promised to aid and assist them, and sometimes by causing wrongs and violence to bee offered them, the more to incense them, vsed yet another policie; which was, that the Gothes, called Visigothes, which (as we haue said) for the space of 21 yeeres had seru'd in the Emperors pay, and had seru'd faithfully euer since that the Emperor **THEODOSIUS** had receiued them into his seruice, after the death of **ATHANARICIUS** their King; he found a meane to cossure them, and that they should be ill-intreated, and had in contempt. Which they took for such a disgrace, and in such scorn, that they presently determined to mutine; and, doing so, chose a Noble man of their owne nation for their King, whose name was **ALARICVS**, and began to invade the countries of *Hungarie* and *Austria*.

Matters standing in these terms, **STILICO** his drift was, that the Gothes, as men which knew, and had good experience in *Italy*, should go make a conquest thereof; and, as the other nations (as, Vandals, Alanes and Sueuians) should invade *France*, he should haue the charge to defend *Italy*: and **HONORIUS**, being thus distressed, should defend *France* in person; where he should be either slain or ouerthrowne, or at the least be so oppressed, that hee overcoming the Gothes, which hee held to bee easily done, would make himself Lord of *Rome* which was the head of the Empire, and afterwards would do the like by all the rest; which hapned not as he expected: but of his treason arose the destruction and totall decay of the whole Empire, and of himself also. Eight yeeres were expired since the death of **THEODOSIUS**, and that **HONORIUS** and **ARCADIUS** reigned, when **STILICO** and another Noble-man called **AVRELIANVS**, were chosen Consuls, and the Visigothes, which were put out of pay, began to make open wars in *Hungary* and *Austria*; and, this war in the beginning seeming to bee of small importance, their force and power in short space increased in such manner, that all the world stood in fear of them. For (as **PAVLVS OROSIVS** an Author of that time, **PAVLVS DIACONVS**, and others write) as soon as the Gothes were in a mutinie, a certain King, called **ADAGASIVS**, joynd with them, with two hundred thousand other Gothes; all, fierce men of war. But it is true, that they write not how or from whence came so great a number of men; neither what this King **ADAGASIVS** was. It seemeth that then it was a thing so publicly knowne, that no man was ignorant or stood in doubt thereof; and therefore needles to bee repeated, by reason whereof we are now ignorant thereof; but they most constantly affirm, the number of the men of war to be such as is already specified.

ALARICVS and **ADAGASIVS** coming together, without finding any resistance or force able to offend them, ouerran and spoiled all *Thracia*, *Hungarie*, *Austria*, *Slauonia*, *Dalmatia*, and the Frontiers thereof; in such sort, as it seemed that duels, and not men, had passed that way: for, they left nothing standing but the earth and the air; which, **SILVIUS ROMVS**, who liued in that time, writing to **PAVLVS** and **EVSTACHIUS**, plainly expresth in these words: The brute beasts haue also endured the wrath of the Lord in this warre; for, the cities being laid waste, and the people thereof put to the sword, the like is done by the very fields; so that they lie

lic bare, desolate, and deserte; whereof the Prouinces of *Thracia* and *Slauonia*; and the countrie wherein I was borne beare true record: whereby it seemeth that nothing remaineth but the earth, the aire, the bushes and the woods; for all the rest is spoiled and destroyed. After these inhumane spoils, **ALARICVS** & **ADAGASIVS** resolved to come into *Italy*, diuiding their Armies into sundry troupes: for it was impossible that so huge an Armie should be able to march together. When these newes were knowne in *Rome*, there fell so great a terror among the Citizens; and generally ouer all *Italy*, as they all held themselves for lost and dead men.

ADAGASIVS being arrived in *Italy*, and having passed the *Apennine* mountaines, came to the mountaines *Rifole in Tuscanie*. There came in the behalfe of the Empire, against **ADAGASIVS**, two Captaines which seru'd the Emperor **HONORIUS**: the one of which was called **VLDIRIVS**, and the other **SARRA**, with a great number of Gothes and Hunnes in the Emperors pay, which made head against **ADAGASIVS**, and stopped the passages in the mountaines against him; and cut off his victuals, whereof he stood in great want, considering the greatness of his Army. These Hunnes and Gothes which came to the aid of the Romans, **PAVLVS OROSIVS**, who, as we may say, was an eye witness, and also **PAVLVS DIACONVS** and others write of their coming: but they write not how, or from whence they came, although it be already declared from whence they were: but neuertheless they were a great defence of *Italy*, so that the Lord abated the pride of **ADAGASIVS**, through hunger, thirst, and the want of necessaries. But herein Authors disagree: for **PROSPERVS** saith, that **ADAGASIVS** was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, **STILICO** leading a great Armie against him. But **PAVLVS OROSIVS**, and **PAVLVS DIACONVS**, after they haue spoken of the two Captains **VLDIRIVS** & **SARRA**, say that **ADAGASIVS** and his Army were ouerthrowne through pure hunger and thirst, without any battaile, and that they were taken prisoners like sheep. But howsoever it hapned, for it might be that there was a battaile also; the truth is, that he and his Army were ouerthrowne in this Iourney, and all taken prisoners by **HONORIUS** his Souldiers: in such sort, that **S. AVGVSTINE** who liued in that time, whose reports are to be beleueed, in his booke de *Ciuitate Dei*, affirmeth, that in one only day **ADAGASIVS** lost about one hundred thousand men; and all Authors affirm, that a great number of them dyed of hunger: and that there was not a Souldier among the Romans but had a droue of Captiues, as if they had been sheepe; and that they were so cheap, that for a peece of gold, which is now worth but a ducat, a man might haue bought a whole company of them. There fell so great a mortality and sickness amongst them, that within short space they in a manner all died. And their King & Captain **ADAGASIVS** was likewise taken prisoner and put to death by **HONORIUS**: whose vertue and valour is much commended in this action; by **PAVLVS OROSIVS**; but (as by the Histories it appeareth) he seemed to be of very little worth, a very negligent and carelesse Prince, chiefly in matters concerning the wars, and at that time lay in *Ravenna* where he held his Court, which in those daies was a great and principall Citie. His brother **ARCADIUS** lay in *Constantinople*, from whence he sent ayd and succours to his brother. This feare being past, within a little while after **ALARICVS** entred *Italy*, who was a man of greater iudgement and courage then **ADAGASIVS**, and his souldiers better trained, and of greater experience; against whom **STILICO** courageously opposed himselfe, and the warre began between them in the marches of *Ravenna*, where **ALARICVS** was ouerthrowne in battel by **STILICO**: for in those daies, **STILICO** for valour and policy in the wars, had not his equal in the world. But his purposes being such as we haue said, he would neuer wholly vanquish **ALARICVS**; but sometimes would make shew to be carelesse, and leaue open the waies for him to passe: so as **ALARICVS** perceived that **STILICO** had no meaning to ouerthrow him; and this war continued between them (as some Authors write) the space of three yeeres.

About the same time, the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians entred the territories of the Empire, making way vpon the bankes sides of the Riuer of *Rhine*, whereof a new feare seized the hearts of the people. When **ALARICVS** vnderstood these newes, he sent to **HONORIUS** to haue peace, and some country in *France*, wherein he and his people might inhabit, promising to defend that province against those Nations, and therewith aduertising him that **STILICO** did cunningly prolong the wars against him. The Emperor beginning to be ialous of **STILICO**, and notwithstanding that he was also certified by others of his treason: yet for the present hee diffembled the matter, and agreed with **ALARICVS**, granting him his request; and taking security of him, sent him into *France*. Whereof it was imagined, that two great benefits would haue ensued, the one was, the peace and quiet of *Italy* through his absence; the other,

Radagaisus came into Italy.

Vldimis and Sarras Captaines for Honorius against Radagaisus.

The Hunnes aided the Romans.

Radagaisus & all his Host defeated.

A Passage and wonderfull accident.

The death of Radagaisus.

Ravenna.

Alaricus came into Italy.

Stilico the most excellent Captaine of his time.

The coming of the Alanes, Hunnes, Vandales and Burgonians.

Alaricus becometh Alaricus and Honorius the Emperor.

the defence of *France*, wherein the Vandales, Hunnes, Alanes and Burgonians were already entered; which all men affirmed to be about two hundred thousand men. But *STILICO* his treason spoiled all: for notwithstanding that he did that which *HONORIUS* commanded, in suffering *ALARICVS* and the Gothes to begin their journey in peace, and gave them such things as were needefull, accordingly as the Emperor had appointed; yet as a man which altogether repined against peace, and chiefly that to *ALARICVS* should be committed the defence of *France*, he resolved to breake and scatter all those troupes; and had such meanes to effect it, as I will tell you, whereof ensued his owne totall destruction, and the ruine of the whole Empire: which hapned in this manner.

ALARICVS, free from any suspicion (according to the agreement) went for *France*: but *STILICO* secretly practised with a Captaine in his Armie which was a Jew, whose name was *SAVL*, that he with his companie, faining some displeasure, or particular quarrell, vpon an Easter day (when the Gothes mistrusting nothing being Christians celebrated diuine service) should then set vpon them, and kill as many of them as he could: for by these meanes hee was assured that the wars would begin againe, and therewith would his power and authoritie also begin, which with the peace was at an end. The Jew put this secret practice in execution, and the Gothes being suddainly set vpon, receiued great losse: but he presently paid for it; for the Gothes, in great haste putting themselves in Armes, fought with him; and there was *SAVL* slaine with the greatest part of his souldiers. *ALARICVS* being herewith highly offended, returned against *STILICO* his Army: and *STILICO* faining to stand in great feare, made shew not to dare to fight, but sent to the Emperor for new succors; who being aduertised of what *STILICO* thought to bee most secret, and what had hapned concerning the Jew *SAVL*, and standing in great feare of *STILICO*, sent certaine persons to the Armie, who finding oportunitie should kill both him and his sonne: which was performed accordingly, and his treason was discouered, and the cause wherefore they were put to death. But herein, although the Emperor *HONORIUS* vsed a good policy, yet he was carelesse in providing for the rest: for he sent not any such General to command his Armie as the case required. So as King *ALARICVS* either beleueed that the iniurie which *SAVL* had done him, was by the Emperours consent, or else he knew and saw his time and oportunitie: and thereupon finding no resistance, marched directly with his whole Armie towards *Rome*, the head and Emprise of the world. And making most cruell warre by fire and sword, he drew neere vnto it, in the year one thousand, one hundred and threecore, after the foundation thereof: but the Romanes standing vpon their guard, he could not take it at the first assault; wherefore he besieged it, which siege continued two yeeres. Of the besieging of *Rome*, and how *ALARICVS* took it in the end, many authors write; but in what manner it was taken, and what exploits were done during the time of the siege, they write so bricfly as in a manner they say nothing thereof. But that it was taken; *PAVLVS OROSIVS* in his seventh booke, *PAVLVS DIACONVS* in the life of *HONORIUS*, *IOHANNES* in his Historie of the Gothes, *S. AVGVSTINE* in his booke *De Civitate Dei*, *S. HIEROME* in his epistle *ad Principium*, as a matter which hapned in his time, auerre the same: and so doth *S. ISIDORE* in his History of the Gothes. *PROCOPIVS*, a Greeke Authour, and others of later time, as I could gather out of their writings, say, that *ALARICVS* marching with his Army towards *Rome*, with a resolution to doe that which afterwards he did; as to a Christian, although fierce and cruell, there came a Monk which very boldly (*ALARICVS* giuing him audience) admonished and counselled him to desist from his enterprise, and to consider that he was a Christian, and that for the loue of God he should moderate his furie, and not seeme to reioyce in the slaughter of men, and the shedding of humane blood; and that that *Rome* had not done him any offence, he should not goe thither. To whom they say, that *ALARICVS* made this answer: I let thee vnderstand, man of God, that I goe not of my own will and desire against the great Citie of *Rome*: but I assure thee, that there daily

appeareth vnto me a man, who doth vrge and importune me thereto, saying, Get thee to *Rome* and destroy it euen to the ground. Whereat the religious man being greatly amazed, durst say no more. This I finde written in the Annales of *Constantinople* annexed to the history of *ETROPIVS*: whereby it plainly appeareth, that the affliction of *Rome* was the especial punishment of God. *PAVLVS OROSIVS* affirmeth the same, saying, That as God drew iust Let out of *Sodom*, when he inflicted so great punishment on that City; so drew he Pope *INNOCENT* out of *Rome* when *ALARICVS* came to besiege it; who went to *Rauenna* to see the Emperor *HONORIUS*. Yet *PLATINA* writes, this misfortune hapned in the time of Pope *ZOZIMVS*: but

but it may be that it began in the time of the one, and ended in the time of the other; *S. HIEROME* liued also in those daies out of *Rome*, being then gone to doe penance in *Bethlehem*.

But returning againe to the matter, *ALARICVS* held the citie of *Rome*, strictly besieged, where betweene the besieged, were many skirmishes, and many men were slaine in those two yeeres space; and the famine was so great in *Rome*, as they endured it with so great patience and constancie, that *Saint HIEROME* saith, that when the citie was taken; there were few men therein that could be slaine or taken prisoners, for that extreme hunger had consumed them; and had constrained them (in horrible manner) to eat the flesh the one of the other; so as the mother did not spare the child which she held at her breast, but through hunger, lodged the same againe in her wombe, from whence not long before it issued. These are the words of *Saint HIEROME*. But in what manner *Rome* was taken, authors agree not: for *PROCOPIVS* saith; that *ALARICVS* seeing he could not take it by force, resolved to vse some stratagem; and faining that he would raise the siege, made a kinde of truce, and secretly sent into *Rome* three hundred prisoners in which he reposed much trust, having first instructed them what they had to doe; setting them at libertie and promising them great rewards. The which one day at a certain hower, making shew as though they went to see the citie, mett together at a port according to their appointment, which port they took and held in despite of those which had the guard; and the Gothes running thither vpon a sodaine, entred there and surprised the citie. Others affirme, that by the commandment and policie of a woman, which was a great Ladie of that citie, a port was giuen to the Gothes, at which they entred. And that she did this of pittie, to see the great famine which raged within the citie, imagining that the enemies could not doe so great hurt in *Rome*, as the Romans did to themselves, as we haue said. Some authors there are, which say, that the citie of *Rome* was taken by force, for that those which were within it, were not able to man the walles, or to make any longer resistance. But howsoever it was, all authors affirm that *ALARICVS* before he entred the same, commanded on pain of death, that no man should be so hardie, as to touch any of those which had withdrawne themselves into the Churches and temples, chiefly of *Saint PETER* and *Saint PAUL* Apostles; which was afterwards duly obserued. But all theretof the citie was robbed and spoiled, and many thousands of people slaine, and many taken prisoners; among which was a sister of the Emperours, whose name was *PLACIDIA*, whom *ATHAVALPHVS* one of the principall men among the Gothes, and neere kinsman to King *ALARICVS* took, and had in his keeping; and afterwards married her. The next day after they had taken the citie, in disgrace and disdaine of the Empire, and to make themselves merrie, they chose one *ATRIVS* for Emperour of *Rome*; and the same day they carried him vp and downe the freeces in the habit of an Emperour; and the next day they made him serue like a slave. Three or fower daies the Gothes remained in *Rome*: which being past, setting fire in sundrie parts of the citie, their King *ALARICVS* and they departed.

All this while the Emperour *HONORIUS* was in *Rauenna*, so carelesse, that when the newes was sodainly brought to him that *Rome* was lost (nothing remembering the citie whereof he was Emperour) he thought that they had told him of a French-man, whom they called *ROMA*, which was one of those which were maintained by the Emperours to fight man to man, after the manner of Gladiators in *Rome*: whereat the Emperour greatly marvelled that hee should be so soone dead or taken; for it was but a little while since that he saw him fight with others: whereby it plainly appeareth how carelesse hee was. This was the first time that *Rome*, after that it grew to bee mightie, was taken by Barbarous Nations: for when the Gauls tooke it, it was of no such account; being in the beginning but of small strength and power.

After this time that *ALARICVS* tooke it, the Roman Empire daily declined, and the Citie of *Rome* was oftentimes taken and destroyed: whereof we will declare the most notable accidents, to the end that the Reader may know and iudge how weak, and of what small power the Empires and mighty Kingdomes of the World are; and how that *Rome* which was the Queene and Emperesse of the vniuersall World, in time became a slave to all the Nations thereof. *ALARICVS* departing from *Rome* would haue failed into *Sicilia*; but a tempest returned him into *Italie*, and hee dyed in the City of *Cosenza*; and the Gothes after that he was dead, chose *ATHAVALPHVS* for their King, who (as we sayd) married with *PLACIDIA*, the Emperour *THODOSIVS* his daughter. Which *ATHAVALPHVS* as soon as he was

Famine in Rome
in the time of
the siege.

The taking of
Rome.

Placidia sister
to the Emperour
Honorius taken
prisoner.

Rome set on fire
by the Gothes.

When the Roman
Empire began to decline.

The death of
Alaricus King
of the Gothes.

Athavalphus
made King of
the Gothes in
place of Alaricus.

Alaricus going
for France.

The Treason of
Stilico.

The death of
Stilico.

Alaricus returned
against
Rome, besieged
it took it.

A vision appeared
to Alaricus.

Athaulphus would have destroyed Rome, but forbore to oust the emperour of his wife Placidia.

King returned towards Rome, with a determination to have wholly destroyed the same, to have rooted out the name thereof, and to have left it desolate; which his cruell resolution he altered at his wives intercession, who with teares entreated the same. When A TH A V L P H V S departed with his Armie from Rome, it is not written whether he placed therein any gouernour, or left it at libertie to the Emperour. For his wife P L A C I D I A was a meane to bring H O N O R I V S and A TH A V L P H V S to some agreement, and concluded a truce between them. And A TH A V L P H V S consummating his nuptial rites with her, which vntill then were not solemnized, he went out of *Italie*: and marching with his Armie through *France*, to the citie of *Barcelona* in *Spain*, and taking the same and the territorie thereof, he staid there a certaine space. Whac end he made, you shall heare hereafter.

During the time of these troubles in *Italie*, A R C A D I V S liued in peace in *Constantinople*, and in the easterne parts free from troubles: for authors write not of any wars of importance which troubled him, or of any aduersitie that befell him; for it pleased God to lay his scourge vpon the prouinces of the West onely: and so hauing reigned thirteene yeeres, in the one and thirtieth of his age, he died in *Constantinople*. Others say, that he held the Empire a great while longer, alledging that he died after the taking of *Rome*: but P R O S P E R V S and others asseme, that he died before. Some say, that it was in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred and tenne: others say, foure hundred and thirteene. He seeing death neere at hand, and that he could not liue, and that his sonne T H E O D O S I V S whom he left behinde him for his heire, was but eight yeeres old, he tooke a dangerous course; but it proved very profitable, which was: That leaving his son C A S A R, and his succesor, he ordained by his last will H I S D I G R D V S King of *Perfia* and of *Parthia* for his tutor; who at that time was a friend and in league with the Empire; notwithstanding that the house of *Perfia* was euer a capitall enemy thereof. When the King of *Perfia* vnderstood what A R C A D I V S had ordained, he accepted of the gouernement and of the protection of the child, and speedily sent one A N T I O C H V S an excellent man, and a great soldier, to *Constantinople*: who with the good will and consent of H O N O R I V S, who was not a little glad of the friendship of *Perfia*, gouerned the Easterne Empire, with great fidelitie, and discretion; and so maintained the same in peace and iustice, vntill that young T H E O D O S I V S, sonne to the Emperour A R C A D I V S, came to age. A R C A D I V S being dead, whether before or after the sacke of *Rome*, the name of Emperour rested in H O N O R I V S, and in his Nepheue young T H E O D O S I V S.

A relation of what happened after the death of the Emperour A R C A D I V S.

ALL things being in such confusion, as the Gothes, Vandals, and other nations invaded and made a conquest of the territories of the Empire; and the Emperour H O N O R I V S lying in *Caenenna*, taking no good order for the same: In the Ile of *Britannie* also a great Lord borne in the same land, whose name was G R A T I A N V S rebelled, and took vpon him the title and enignes of Emperour, with the consent of some of the men of warre in the same land. But his presumption had an euill end: for within few daies after, the same men of warre slew him. And they setting all duties apart, determined to make an other souldier among themselves Emperour, whose name was C O N S T A N T I N E, who was a man of greater courage and of more witte, then G R A T I A N V S; who drawing all the Armie out of *England*, went into *France*, with a conceit to haue made himselfe Lord thereof; and to that end, made peace with the Vandales, Sueuians and Alanes, which alreadie were in *France* marching towards *Spain*: for the Burgonians made their abode in that part which is now called *Burgundie*.

This peace betweene C O N S T A N T I N E and these thre nations could not well be concluded: for C O N S T A N T I N E drew to him many souldiers of *France*; and growing mightie made a full account to become Lord of *Spain* also, before that those Barbarians should be able to come thither. Whereupon he sent certaine gouernours, with a competent number of souldiers thither, and many townes in *Spain* were resolu'd to obey his commandement, holding it better to serue him, then those nations which were marching thitherwards. But two Noble men, rich, and of great authoritie, whose names were (as saith P A V L V S D I A C O N V S) D I D I M V S and V E R R O D I A N V S borne in *Valentia*, wishtood them,

and

and found meanes to driue them out of *Spain*. And thereupon with the aide of their kindred, friends, and acquaintance they went to the Pyrenean Mountaines, with a resolution not onely to defend the passages against C O N S T A N T I N E S Armie, but also against all the other nations before mentioned, vntill all meanes to retaine *Spain* in the obedience and seruite of the Emperour H O N O R I V S; which they continued a long time, although with great trouble, effusion of blood, and danger.

C O N S T A N T I N E, holding himselfe herewith greatly affronted, assembled together a certaine number of the most actiue and best tried souldiers that hee had, and made his sonne C O N S T A N S their Commander, who by some authors is called C O N S T A N T I V S; whom for this purpose, he took out of a Monasterie wherein he was a Monke, and making him C A S A R, sent him against the two brethren. His people were of such power and so expert in the warres, as they overthrew, and slue the two Spanish brethren, and entred *Spain*, which was the ruine thereof: for the men of warre which came with C O N S T A N S, after they had spoiled the countrie, and had vsed all kinde of hostilitie, returned to the Pyrenean Mountaines; and driuing the Spaniards from thence which garded the passages, took vpon them the defense thereof, and were well able to haue performed the same. But C O N S T A N S going to *Arles* a citie in *France* to speake with his father, who then lay there, those which had the garde in the Mountaines came to an agreement with the Vandales and the other strange nations, and sold to them the passages, suffering those Alanes, Sueuians, and Vandales to passe into *Spain*: who made such havoc and committed such spoiles, as can hardly be expressed: especially neere vnto the Pyrenean hills where they found greatest resistance. From thence they marched into the maine land to the citie of *Valentia* (against which they bare an old grudge) which citie they ruined, and the countrie round about it, and then went to the citie of *Astorga*, which they entred by force; and passing further made great spoile in all *Galicia*. Afterwards crossing through *Castile*, they came to the citie of *Toledo*, which by reason of the situation and naturall strength thereof, and the valour of the inhabitants, they could not take; notwithstanding that they besieged it for a certain space, but were constrained to raise their siege, with shame and dishonor, from that citie which for wars and feates of Armes hath euer been famous in that countrie. By whose example many townes in *Spain* continued their allegiance to H O N O R I V S; notwithstanding that hee sent neither souldiers, capitaines, nor reliefe. This people did much harme in the territorie of *Tolosa* and passing forwards they marched along the riuer *Tagus*, still spoyleing the countrie vntill they came to the citie of *Lisbon*, in *Portugall*, which in those daies also was very famous: and giuing an assault thereto, it was so well defended by the inhabitants, that they could not take it, but came to a composition: where they receiving a great quantitie of treasure they raised their siege, and returned the same way they came, making warre on euerie side. And by reason of a great famine and scarcitie in the countrie (as O R O S I V S writeth) they laid downe their Armes for a space, and fell to tilling of the land, as inhabitants of the countrie, diuiding what they had gotten amongst those nations, and their capitaines or Kings, being Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes.

The Empire being in this estate, A TH A V L P H V S and the Gothes possessing *Narbona*, *Barcelona*, and the marches thereof, which in name were confederates with H O N O R I V S, the tyrant C O N S T A N T I N E and his sonnes enjoyed the rest of *France*. The young Emperour T H E O D O S I V S being a child, was bred vp in *Constantinople*, vnder the protection of the King of *Perfia*, and of *Antiochus*, whom he had sent. But of his house and person a very vertuous and honorable Noble man took charge, whose name was A N T H I M I V S, who was his Pretorian Prefect. This child was bred vp in all learning, and became a vertuous prince and a good Christian. His Uncle H O N O R I V S, who then lay in *Caenenna*, be thought himselfe how he might make the Western Empire, as free from the slauey of these tyrants and barbarous nations, as the East; and to that end he made a worthie man, whose name was C O N S T A N T I V S, Generall of his Armie against those tyrants and Barbarians. Which C O N S T A N T I V S vntill then was an Earle, borne in *Rome*, defended of the Noble and auncient Romanes; who like a perfect Roman, with a pickt and selected Armie, entred *France*, and fighting with the Emperour C O N S T A N T I N E the tyrant, overthrew him, and besieged him in the citie of *Arles*, and at length getting him into his hands, smote off his head. And it fell out so happily that within few daies after that the death of C O N S T A N T I N E was published, young C O N S T A N S the sonne of the said C O N S T A N T I N E, whom his father had made C A S A R, was slaine in the citie of *Vienna* in *France*, by the hands of a capitaine of

A 3

his

Constantine made for foure Confians Cap. Ist, and sent him into Spain.

Strange nation ouerfished Spain.

Little

Anthemius was gouernour of the young Emperour Theodisius.

Honorius made Constantius generall of his Armie.

Constantine put the tyrant Constantine to death.

Acadivus made the King of Persia tutor of his son.

Antiochus a Persian, gouernour of the young Emperour Theododius.

Gratianus rebelled and took the title of Emperour in England.

The souldiers slew Gratianus and in his place made Constantine Emperour.

The Vandales, Sueuians, and Alanes took their way towards Spain.

Didimus and Verodiamus oppose themselves against Constantine.

his whose name was GERONCIUS. And the same GERONCIUS, who also sought to haue made himselfe a tyrant, and to haue created one MAXIMVS a friend of his Emperour, was also slaine by those fouldiers which in England rebelled with CONSTANTINE; with a resolution to returne to the service of HONORIVS. GERONCIUS being dead, they dispoiled MAXIMVS of his Imperiall robes, and sent him in exile into *Spaine*. In this manner was France freed from these tyrants, by this worthy man CONSTANTINE; and the Armie reduced to the service of the right Emperour HONORIVS. After this, HONORIVS speedily sent Captaines and souldiers into *Britanny*, which held for CONSTANTINE, from the first beginning of his tyranny, who reduced the same to obedience and subjection. In *France*, a man of great parentage and authority in that Countrey (as PAVLVS ROSIVS, and PAVLVS DIACONVS affirme) sought to make himselfe Emperour; but he was presently slaine: and in the like manner another brother of his, called SEBASTIAN; both which rebelled (as it seemed) without any occasion or reason, but only that they desired to die with the name and title of Emperors.

Constantius
his victories.

The designs of
Aethulphus.

Attalus called
Emperour.

Heraclianus
overthrow and
rooke Attalus
prisoner.

Heraclianus
rebelled in
Africa.

An incredible
great Nauike by
sea.

Heraclianus
came into *Italy*.

Heraclianus
his flamell
light.

CONSTANTIVS Generall for the Emperour HONORIVS, being thus powerfull in *France*, ATHALPHVS King of the Gothes, who lay in *Barcelona*, and was Lord of all the countrey round about; and had there liued in peace and quiet the space of three yeeres; at the intreaty of PLACIDIA to whom he was married, which was HONORIVS' sister; began to stand in some feare of the power of the Emperour and of his Generall CONSTANTIVS, knowing that they had fortified the Alpes, to the end hee should no more returne into *Italy*: Whereupon he resolved to attempt to make himselfe Lord of all *Spaine*; and perswaded a Roman Captaine, whose name was ATTALVS, to take vpon him the name and title of Emperour; and to goe with a fleet which he would giue him, to seile vpon the Countrey of *Andalusia*, which was then called *Beitica*; and to do the like, if he should be able, in *Africa*; and hee would also make warre in his owne person. ATTALVS, very vnwisely, accepted his offer, and presently sent into *Africa* an Armie with Iudges and Gouernours, as though he had been the peaceable Emperour thereof; and began to make warre in *Spaine*. Against whom, HONORIVS sent a wife and a valiant Captaine called HERACLIVS: who, driving all ATTALVS his Iudges and Gouernours out of *Africa*, leauing the Countrey in peace, with a Naue came to seeke him himselfe; and, finding him, fought with him in a battaile by Sea, and ouercame him. And he, fleeing to the coast of *Spaine*, was taken by the Spaniards, and sent to CONSTANTIVS, who was Generall for HONORIVS, who was then in *France*; who presently sent him prisoner to HONORIVS, and HONORIVS made his hand to be stricken off, and sent him in exile into the Isle of *Lipari*, nere vnto *Sicilia*. To HERACLIVS for the victorie which he obtained against him, was giuen the Consulshippe and the Gouernement of *Africa*. But as in prosperity, pride and ambition increaseth, and men are then farre more insolent, then in time of aduersitie: So this HERACLIVS, seeing himselfe fauoured and in great authority, thought that he might also be an Emperour. And as he was in possession of *Africa*, PAVLVS ROSIVS writeth, that taking another Captaine for his sonne in law and companion in his rebellion, whose name was SABINVS, a most subtle fellow and very valiant, he assembled (to goe into *Italy* against HONORIVS and to make a conquest thereof) the greatest Naue of all manner of shippes that I euer read of. For ROSIVS affirmeth, that he gathered together (if there be no error in the figures) foure thousand and seuentie sailes of all sorts little and great; which without comparison was the greatest in number that euer was seen vpon the Sea: For we doe not read that XERXES or ALEXANDER euer armed so great a Naue.

With this great fleet, fraught with souldiers, armes and victuals, he came to the coast of *Italy*, and set his men on land, to march directly to *Rome*, being many in number, but not so well experienced and trained as were the Romans; who by HONORIVS his commandement attended their coming, led by a good Generall called MARINVS, with the title and dignity of an Earle: who had raunged his Romanes in very good order, with a resolution to die or to overcome, and not to suffer themselves to be besieged, as they were by ALARICVS. HERACLIVS, who thought to haue amazed the world with the name and number of his fleet, and that he should haue found no resistance, was so discouraged when he saw MARINVS his Armie, that he presently fled to the Sea; and embarking himselfe aboard one of his shippes, returned by flight into *Africa* with that only shippe; from whence he came with so many as is before said.

After

After that HERACLIVS was arrived, and his base cowardise discovered, the ordinary Garisons vpon a day mutined and slew him. And his sonne in law and companion SABINVS, altering his resolution, fled to *Constantinople* to entreate the yong Emperour THEODOSIVS, nephew to HONORIVS, to take compassion of him: from whence within a little while after he was brought to HONORIVS; and hauing his life graunted, was condemned to perpetual exile. So through the wisdom and good fortune of HONORIVS, all these tyrants were defeated which rebelled against him, the which we haue already related in as plain manner, as I could possibly; which truly was not without great toyle and difficultie: for matters which past both in the time of ARCADIVS & of HONORIVS were so many & so diuers; and oft so many accidents happened together, and Historiographers treat of them so confusedly; that in writing them, I am much troubled, as well in collecting and abbreviating them, as in relating them; in such sort as the readers may vnderstand and comprehend the same; and to recite them in order as they passed, one before another, which hath been my principall care from the beginning; and, by the grace of God, shall be, vntill I haue ended.

All the victories and aboue recited good fortunes of HONORIVS, after so many calamities and warres, which he had in his time, Authors attribute to the care which he had of the Christian faith and religion. For in those times through the diligence and endeuour of a Captaine of his called MARCELLINVS, with the assistance of his great Captaine CONSTANTIVS, he procured concord and vnitie in all the Churches of *Africa*, and of other Provinces wherein were many Schismes, and erroneous opinions concerning the Christian Faith. And truly S. AVGVSTINE was a good meane to bring this to passe, who at that time was Bishoppe of *Hippo* in *Africa*; which the Emperour CHARLES the first in his journey and conquest of *Tunis* took from the powerfull and cruell tyrant BARBAROSSA; but his sonne PHILIP the second within few yeeres after againe lost the same.

HONORIVS then seeing himselfe free from those tyrants, and the most part of the Provinces of his Empire in peace, and obedient, resolved to driue the strange and barbarous Nations out of those Countreies which they held in *Spaine* and *France* about *Narbonne*; thinking it best to begin with the Gothes, which were the most powerfull and warlike people of all the other Nations, and possessed such part of *Spaine*, as is aforesaid: for these being defeated, he held it an easie matter to make an end of the rest. King ATHALPHVS, as hee deereley loued his wife PLACIDIA, much desired peace with HONORIVS, and so by all meanes fought the same: Which when his souldiers perceived, whome of a farre contrary opinion, they so hated him that they slew him; but Authors set not downe in what manner. And they presently chose a great man among themselves for their King, whose name was SGERICVS; and for that they suspected him as they did ATHALPHVS, they handled him in the same manner, as they did their last King. Hauing slaine these two Kings, they chose one WALIA for their King, conceiuing that he would be a great enemy to the Romanes, with whom they desired to haue cruell warres; they hauing the Emperours sister PLACIDIA in their power who at that time was a Widow, whome they entreated very honourably and honestly.

This WALIA beginning to gouerne his kingdom he held it for necessary and found counsel to haue peace and friendshipp with HONORIVS: but taking warning by his predecessors (to satisfie his people) he rigged vp a great fleet, which he sent to make a conquest of *Africa*, which held for HONORIVS; and as it pleased God so to worke for HONORIVS, without his assistance, such a tempest tooke them vpon the Sea, that the whole fleet was in a manner lost and cast away. Which misfortune, together with the newes of the coming of CONSTANTIVS, Generall of the Emperours Armie with great power, did much temper the fiercenesse and furie of the Gothes; And WALIA tooke so good order with them, as of their owne accord and consent, a treaty of peace was made with HONORIVS, which was concluded vpon condition, that PLACIDIA should be rendred to the Emperour; and that WALIA and his forces should faithfully aide CONSTANTIVS, to driue the Vandales, Alanes, and Sueuians out of *Spaine*, who had already made themselves Lords of the greatest part thereof. This being concluded, hostages were giuen in the behalf of WALIA, and PLACIDIA was deliuered, whom HONORIVS afterwards gaue to wife to CONSTANTIVS, in reward of his seruices and victories obtained by him; and making him CÆSAR, he proclaimed him for his successor. And then began CONSTANTIVS his warres in *Spaine* against the Barbarians, King WALIA assilting & seruing there in with his Visigothes, as we wil presently declare.

A a 4

While

The death of
Heraclianus.

The Gothes slew
their King A-
ethulphus
Sgericus King
of the Gothes
slain by his
sonne Walia
King of the
Gothes.

Honorius
made peace
with Walia
King of the
Gothes.

Constantius
made Cæsar
and sent Gen-
rall into *Spain*
against the
Vandales.

Andalusia is
called after the
Vandals.

Constantinus
his victory a-
gainst the Alanes

Honorius went
to Constantinople.

Tartallus re-
billed in Rome.

Attalus rebeld,
and took upon
him the name of
Emperour.

Honorius and
Constantinus
return into Italy

Attalus banish'd

Honorius made
Constantinus his
coadjutor in the
Empire.

The death of
Constantinus.

Ecivus made Ge-
nerall in Spain
against the Van-
dals, and the rest

While these things (whereof we have spoken) were a going, the Barbarians were in possession of the greatest part of *Spain*; especially the Vandals, who had conquered a great part of *Belica*; from whom that Countrey took the name of *Vandalusia*: and afterwards, in process of time, leaving out the letter *V*, it came to be called *Andalusia*. And the Suevians and Alanes held *Merida*; and a great part of *Lusitania* (which is now *Extremadura*) and part of *Portugall*; and in *Galicia* and *Leon* they had enjoyed a great part from the beginning, and had divided these Countreies among them by lot. **CONSTANTIVS** the Imperiall Generall being com into *Spain*, and with him the Gothes, according to the agreement, the first warre they made was against the Alanes, neer to the City of *Merida*; where was fought between them a very cruell battell: wherein the Alanes were overthrowne, and **CONSTANTIVS** had the victory; and the King of the Alanes, called *ACHAC*, was slain in battell. This victory obtained by **CONSTANTIVS**, strook so great a terror into the hearts of the rest of the barbarous Nations, that they presently in great humility sued for peace, and sent to intreat **HONORIVS** to grant them truce, and some place in *Spain* wherein they might live.

While these accidents hapned in *Spain*, **HONORIVS** went to *Constantinople* to visit the Eastern parts, where his Nephew the yong **THEODOSIVS** commanded, who was now com to riper yeers: and, being at liberty free from his Tutors, there fell out some controuersie between him and the King of *Persia*. And it hapned, that as **CONSTANTIVS** was buied in the wars of *Spain*, and **HONORIVS** out of *Italy*; an eminent man, born and inhabiting in *Rome*, being of the ancient Nobility, named **TARTALLVS**, assisted by a great part of the Romane people, and by many Towns in *Italy*, rebelled, and took the name and title of Emperour, and began to leuie souldiers: but the loyall Subjects which held with **HONORIVS**, fighting with him, he was by them overthrowne and slain. But, disloyalty and treachery was then so much in vife, that another whose name was **ATTALVS** did the like; who, putting on the Imperiall Robes, and taking the Ensignes, was called Emperour, and beganne to leuie great Forces in *Italy*.

When the Imperiall Generall **CONSTANTIVS**, being in *Spain*, heard these newes, after the victory aforesaid, putting the Vandals, Suevians, and Alanes in good hope to obtain what they desired, and giuing it out that he went into *Italy* to conferre thereof with the Emperour, the better to keep them in peace in his absence; he left *Spain*, and came into *Italy*: the like did the Emperour **HONORIVS**, who had been aduertised thereof in *Constantinople*. When the coming of **HONORIVS** and **CONSTANTIVS** was knowne in *Rome*, the people grew into a great fury; and, apprehending the Tyrant **ATTALVS**, sent him to *Ravenna* to the Emperour **HONORIVS**, whither **CONSTANTIVS** was already com with his wife **PLACIDIA**; where **ATTALVS**, by **HONORIVS** his commandement had his hand stricken off, and was banisht to *Constantinople*: wherein, **HONORIVS** in the opinion of the world shewed too great patience and clemency.

HONORIVS being in *Ravenna*, whither his brother-in-law **CONSTANTIVS CESAR** was already com, and having consideration of his worthy seruices, and how profitable he had been to the Empire, made him with very great solemnity to be called **AVGVSTVS**, Emperour, and his equall and companion in the Empire of the West, and made a long set Oration in praise of his vertues: and there the two Emperours by mutual consent, to the end that **WALLA** King of the Gothes should continue in their seruice, consigned vnto him the City of *Tholose* in the Kingdome of *France*, with all the Countrey neer adjacent, called *Aquitania*, which they then named *Galcomia*, and is now called *Galcomia*.

After the Feasts, and Coronation of **CONSTANTIVS**, **HONORIVS** went to *Rome* to pacifie some tumults which were there: and the new Emperour **CONSTANTIVS**, resolving to go into *Spain* to make an end of the warre which hee had begun, commanded souldiers to be mustered. Surely, the valour and wisdom of this excellent Captain and Emperour was such, that, if God had permitted him life, hee had freed *Spain* from those barbarous Nations: but death staied his journey, so as hee neuer came thither. Whereof when **HONORIVS** was aduertised, he was extremely sorry, and in his place sent into *Spain* a famous and valiant Captain called **ECIVS**, who took charge of the Armie which **CONSTANTIVS** had leuied; and, marching thitherwards, by the way hee overthrowne the Burgonians which attempted to haue entered *France*. The like hee did by the Franks, who afterwards entred and inhabited there. And being com into *Spain*, his principall care was to finde out the Alanes: which after their overthrowe by **CONSTANTIVS**, did not chuse them any King, but joynd with the Suevians,

who

who were Lords of all the Countrie about *Lisbon*. But, as soon as they knew that **CONSTANTIVS** was dead, they returned to *Merida*; and the Vandals and Suevians were now grown so proud, that they would neither require nor accept of peace; but came to aid the Alanes, and began to make warre against such Cities as held for the Emperour. **ECIVS** being come into *Spain*, seeing that all made head against him, and hauing no sufficient Armie to encounter them, protracted the time for certain daies, and leuied more forces, which by **HONORIVS** (without reason) was imputed to him for cowardize, and he sent the Earl **CASTIVS** to bee Generall and his Successor, displacing **ECIVS** from his charge. But **CASTIVS**, perceiving how the world went, approved the judgement of **ECIVS**; and in the same manner prolonged the warres, vntill that **BONIFACIVS**, who was Gouerner of *Africa* (whom we reade, Saint **AVGVSTINE** for his vertue to haue much loved) came into *Spain* to his aid, bringing verie good troops with him: and they two together began the warre, and obtained many notable victories against the Barbarians; and so handled the matter, that it was held for certain that they would haue freed the Countrey. But this command is such a thing as can neuer be well shared: for, these two excellent Captains fell at such variance, that **BONIFACIVS** would not stay any longer, but returned to the gouernment of *Africa* (as **PROSPERVVS**, and **PAVLVS DIACONVS** haue written; yet **EVTHROPIVS** differs from them) and **CASTIVS** remaining alone, the Emperours partie began to growe weak in *Spain*.

While these matters passed in the West, **HONORIVS** his nephew, **THEODOSIVS**, Emperour in the East, being now of sufficient age, was freed from his Tutors; and, as he was a good Christian, his chiefest care was for the seruice of God, and for the defence of his holy Church. Whereupon he fell at variance with **BARRABANVS** King of *Persia*, who succeeded **ISDEGORDVS** who had been his tutor (as is before said) for that he was giuen to vnderstand that **BARRABANVS** persecuted the Christians which lived in his dominions, whereof **THEODOSIVS** had admonished him, requiring reformation: but seeing he could not obtaine it, he sent **ARDABVRVS** an excellent Captaine against him, who fought a battaile with **NASIVS** Generall of the Persians, and therein overthrowne him, and made great slaughter of his men, and afterwards entred the Countrey, and did great harme and spoyle therein. And by another way **THEODOSIVS** sent another Captaine called **GRATIANVS** against **AEMANDER** King of the Sarazins, who came in aide of the King of *Persia*: this King was likewise overthrowne in battaile by **GRATIANVS**, and a very great multitude of his people slaine, and he himselfe escaped by flight. And in another place another Captaine called **ARSOBIDA** overthrowne the Persians also: so as this warre was made to the great aduantage of the Romanes, and with losse and preiudice of the Persians, vntill that **BARRABANVS** ceasing to persecute the Christians, a peace was treated and concluded betweene him and **THEODOSIVS**. This happened in the time that I told you that the Emperours partie began to waxe feeble and weak in *Spain*: which weakenesse increased by reason of the death of **HONORIVS**; who, as **PAVLVS DIACONVS** writeth, died of an infirmity in *Rome*, hauing reigned sole Emperour of the West about fifteene yeeres after the death of his brother **ARCADIVS**, with whom he reigned about 12 yeeres; so as in all he reigned 28 yeeres, besides 2 with his father. **HONORIVS** left no heires of his bodie: for by two wiues which he had, which were the daughters of **SYLICI**, he had neuer any child. And a little before he died, he fell so farre at disension with his sister **PLACIDIA**, as he went to *Constantinople* to her Nephew the Emperour **THEODOSIVS**, with her two sonnes which he had by the Emperour **CONSTANTIVS**, of whom we haue already treated: her sonnes were named **HONORIVS**, and **VALENTINIANVS**: this **VALENTINIANVS** was afterwards Emperour: He died in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Sauour Christ 427.

HONORIVS (as before is mentioned) was a vertuous man and a very good Christian, very noble minded, and very pitifull. Hee did one notable thing, which was the part of a charitable and good Christian, which was, to abolish the Gladiators or Sword players, which (as it is written) did vie in *Rome* vpon pleasure most cruely to kill one another. He much loved his ease; and so we see, that in his owne person he neuer followed the warres; and in his gouernement was very negligent. But in the end by his Captaine hee so much prevailed, that excepting *Spain*, he brought all the rest of his Empire to quiet subiection in his life time, although after great rebellions, wars and troubles: A few yeets before his death died the great Doctor **S. HIEROME**, being of the age of fourescore and twelue yeers, in *Behelem* in *Iewry*, where Christ was born: who departing out of this life, went to enjoy the life euerslasting.

Castinus succeeded Ecivus in his charge.

Boniface came into Spain in aide of Castinus.

Wars betweene the Emperour Theodosius and Barrabanus King of Persia, Theodosius his victories.

The death of the Emperour Honorius.

Honorius put downe the Sword players called Gladiators.

The death of S. Hierome.



THE
LIFE OF THEODOSIUS,
THE SECOND OF THIS NAME, AND
TWO AND FIFTITH ROMAN EMPEROR,
and of his Cosen germane, VALENTINIAN
the Second.
(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



After the death of Honorius, Theodosius lawfully succeeded in the Empire who, perceiving that many went about to make themselves Tyrants of the Western Empire, resolved to make his cosen, Valentinian, Cæsar in those parts: who, within a small time after, making himself Lord of all Italie, was by the consent of Theodosius, and of the people, called Emperor. All the while these two Emperors lived, there were such cruell and bloody wars made by the Barbarians (as, Hungers, Gothes, Vandals, and such like nations) that the whole world seemed to have been turned upside down. But, above all other the wars of the Hunns was most dangerous, and of longest continuance: for they, having conquered Hungary, would have gone into France, Against whom, Valentinianus continually sent fresh supplies, under the leading of his General Ecius. But Theodosius his Empire in the East was in farre better rest and quiet. For, the Western Empire was continually infected with cruell warres: whether Theodosius never left to send new supplies of Captains and soldiers. By reason whereof, Attila King of the Gothes, thinking to invade the Empire of Constantinople unfurnished of men of warre to defend it, invaded the same: whereupon Theodosius recalled those Captains which hee had sent into Sicilia to the aid of Valentinianus, and encountered the Gothes, during the time of that warre, which on the Gothus side was managed very valdly, by reason of some suspitions and jealousies among themselves. Theodosius falling sick, died of the plague, when he had reigned 42. years: whose death was lamented by the whole Empire: for, hee was a vert good man, and much beloved in his life time.



Real in truth were the accidents and warres, as well prosperous as unfortunate, which have befallen in the Roman Empire in the space of four hundred yeeres (little more or lesse) whereof wee have written, as the Reader may easily judge. But notwithstanding that we have sometimes seen it in distresse, troubled, and in danger to have been lost in the whole, or in part; yet in the end, although those calamities continued for a space, wee have seen how it hath bin delivred from those dangers, repairing them by some means: so as we may say, that it hath bin cured of those infirmities where with it was oppressed, and recovered the losses which it sustained, untill the time where to wee are now come. But, through the sever judgement of God, from henceforth matters succeeded not so well; but the losses multiplied, and their forces diminished. And although that sometimes, through the valour of some excellent Emperours and their Captains, the Empire did strive to recouer her ancient Majesty, and was both honoured and feared; yet it could never attain to the former: and this also was very seldom. So as from henceforth, at sundry times, and by diverse accidents, the Emperors lost whole Provinces and Legions; and in them began Kingdoms, and

par-

particular States; and of those Countries which the Empire lost, arose great and mightie Monarchies: and as Principalities and Kingdoms multiplied, so great and more strange were the accidents which hapned, which I cannot relate, neither am I bound thereto: for, my purpose and intent was, Not to write a generall History, but only of the Emperors, and that briefly. Wherefore, as briefly as I shall be able, I will lay open the ground-work, and hold on my way; writing such things as shall be of greatest importance in the History of the Emperours, leaving that of other Kings and Kingdoms, which in process of time shall present themselves to others, which either already have, or hereafter shall take that charge vpon them. For this which I have already taken in hand, will be enough for my small ability; which I pray God I may be able to bring to any reasonable good end, to the honest satisfaction of those which shall read the same.

By the death of HONORIUS, the whole Roman Empire did belong to his nephew THEODOSIUS, then sole Emperor; who at that Instant was in Constantinople, and held the Eastern Empire, as by that which is already said may easily be understood; although that in the time of HONORIUS there bee no notable mention made of his doings, aswell for his few yeeres, as for that the Empire of the East was in better rest and quiet than the Western, which then was infected and turmoiled.

When it was publicly knowne that HONORIUS was dead, from which meant to continue their allegiance, held for THEODOSIUS, as reason and duty required: but the greatest Potentates beganne to make themselves Lords of the Empire, or of part thereof. In Africa was BONIFACIUS (as we said) Gouverner of that Province; who in the beginning held himself Neuter. In Spain the Vandals, Sweuians and Alanes, thinking that CASTINVS (who was Generall for the Empire) should not be able to withstand them, began vpon a sudden to be discordant with that which they held; and so took Arms, and would have more. The Gothes, who were Lords of Barcelona, Narbona, Tolosa, and all the Countries round about, by the leave and permission of HONORIUS, as his allies and friends, took the same resolution as the rest did. And the Burgundians in like manner which dwelt vpon the Rhines side, and the Franques which had been driven out of France, resolved to return thither again. The Hunnes also, a most fierce Nation, whose Originall was in Scythia, as that of the Gothes, desirous to leave their barren Countie, departed thence in great numbers, and came to the confines of Pannonia inferior, which now is called Hungary: so as into all those Nations, and into sundry others, the death of HONORIUS did put new thoughts and conceits, although they did not presently put them in execution: of all which, as it shall be most fit for my purpose, I will hereafter make particular mention.

The state standing in these tearms; as THEODOSIUS provided not suddenly for his coming into Italie, or to send some Noble Personage with his power and authority, there was an eminent man in Rome whose name was JOHN, who by means of his dignity and riches, was of great power: He, by the counsell and direction of CASTINVS (although in secret) who (as we have said) was an Earle and Generall in Spain, rebelled, and took the name of Emperor: and ECIUS, whom HONORIUS deposed from the government of Spain, was also of his counsell, and fauoured and assisted him in his proceedings.

This Tyrant JOHN having made himselfe Lord of Rome, and of the greatest part of Italy, a great part of France holding for him already, and all that part of Spaine which was vnder the command and gouernement of CASTINVS; the same ECIUS and CASTINVS, as they were both enemies to BONIFACE gouernour of Africa, seeing that hee tooke not part with JOHN, perswaded him to declare him for an enemy: yet they discouered not themselves as then, the better to bring the other to confusion. Wherefore CASTINVS fled from Spaine into Africa, with a great fleet and a great number of souldiers, spreading a rumour that hee fled thither for feare of the Vandales, from whom in no part of Spaine hee could liue in safetie. Vnder colour whereof, and writing very louing letters to BONIFACIUS, setting his men on land, he seized on many cities on the coast of Africa, and so liued for certaine daies in counterfeit peace and friendship with BONIFACIUS; yet BONIFACE was not free from jealousy. Heereof there are at this day epistles extant, written to him by S. AVGVSTINE, who then was Bishop of Hippo, and the answers thereto, discouering the suspicion. And CASTINVS afterwards manifesting his ill meaning, S. AVGVSTINE sought means to reconcile them: but his godly endeavour taking no effect, they fought a battaile, which although it were very cruell and bloodie, CASTINVS was overthrowne and fled to his ships, and with such of his

The Originall of the Kingdoms.

The alterations & changes that hapned through the death of Honorius.

The Hunnes tread Hungary.

Castinus came against Boniface in Africa.

Castinus overthrowne by Boniface.

his souldiers as hee could gather together; he returned with shame and dishonour into *Sapine*. Which when *IOHN* the vsurper Emperour vnderstood, hee sent for him with an intent to leaue him for his Lieutenant in *Italy*; and assembling together the old Captaines and souldiers which remained since the time of *HONORIUS*, with the greatest power that he was able to leuie; and a very great fleet, he made preparation to passe into *Africa*. Some authors write, that hee went thither in person, and that after many batailles he was slain by *BONIFACIUS*. So writeth *B. LONDVS* in his booke of the declining of the Romane Empire, and *GVIDO* of *RAVENNA*, and *ANTONIVS SABELLIQVS* in his *Aeneades*; and other modern authors: who in my opinion are deceived; or at the least, know not what ancient authors they follow therein. Whereof that which I finde written; is, that *THEODOSIUS* being aduertised of the great combutions in the Westerne Empire, and not daring to leaue the East, thought it his safest counsell to nominate his cousingermane *VALENTINIAN*, *CÆSAR*, who was the sonne of *PLACIDIA*, sister to the two Emperours *ARCADIUS* and *HONORIUS*, and wife to that worthie Captaine and Emperour *CONSTANTINVS*. After some accidents which happened, with such troups as hee thought good, hee sent him into *Italy* with his mother *PLACIDIA*, whose vertue and wisdom was sufficient to gouerne the whole, untill the young *CÆSAR* came to age fit for the government. Before this, the vsurper *IOHN* sent his Ambassadors to *THEODOSIUS*, requesting him to allow of his election, and to be pleased to accept him for his companion in the Empire. Where to *THEODOSIUS* answered was; To command his Ambassadors to be apprehended as Traitors and rebels. And he sent commandement to *ARDBVRIVS* of *ANDABVRIVS*, an excellent Captaine of his, that with the greatest power that he could, he should take his passage by Sea into *Italy*, before *PLACIDIA* and her sonne, and should seeke to defeat the tyrant *IOHN*. *ARDBVRIVS* presently put this charge in practice: but there befell him such a storme at the Sea, as his shippe was driven from the rest of the fleet, and arrived where he was taken and carried prisoner to *RAVENNA*. His sonne *ASPA* within few daies after being aduertised hereof (who also came in the same fleet) after that the tempest ceased, and that the Seas were calme, set his men on land; and vned such means, that passing through certaine lakes or boggs; which are, or were, neere to *RAVENNA* (where the vsurping Emperour *IOHN* then was, and held his father prisoner: Which was held for a matter impossible, and so it is written for a wonder he by force entred the Citie, which nothing suspected any such mishap; where he did not only let his father at libertie, but took the Emperour *IOHN* the vsurper prisoner, and smote off his head.

In this manner writeth Bishop *PHILBY* in his History of the death of the Tyrant *IOHN*, who wrote the same about seven hundred yeeres since; with whom *PROCOPIVS* agreeeth, an Author of about a thousand yeeres continuance; *CASSIODORVS* in his tripartite historie declareth it at large; and *PROSPERVS* and *JORNANDES* of little lesse antiquity; and also *PAVLVS DIACONVS*. And although they all briefly passe it over, yet they auerre that he died in *Italy*, and not in *Africa*. And *PLATINA*, *CYSPINIANVS*, and other diligent modern Authors, follow them therein: whereby it is to be presumed, that they were deceived which wrote that he was slain by *BONIFACIUS* in *Africa*; although it be not to be doubted, but that he went into *Africa*, and was there ouerthrowne. And, holding this for the most certain, let vs proceed to the rest, wherein in a manner all agree in the taking of *RAVENNA*; and that after they were entred, *ASPA* and his souldiers inflicted cruell punishments. Five yeeres did *IOHN* enjoy the name of Emperour before his death; and was commended for his vertue and good parts by some Authors; so as they condemn him not for any thing, but only for making himself a Tyrant in vsurping the Empire: whereof the greatest fault is laid vpon *CONSTANTINVS* and *ECIVS*, who perswaded him thereto.

This victory being obtained, within short space after came *PEACIDIA* with her sonne *VALENTINIANVS* then new made *CÆSAR*, into *Italy*; through whose coming, and the death of the aforesaid *IOHN*, in a short space there followed a great alteration: for, being come to *RAVENNA*, and vnderstanding that *CASSTINVS* came from *Spain* with such forces as hee was able, to put himself into *Rome* with *ECIVS* who held the same against *VALENTINIAN*, *PLACIDIA* sent *ARDBVRIVS* against him, or (after some others) *BYRGVNDVS*, and it may be both; who fighting a battell, *CASSTINVS* was ouerthrowne, and, escaping from the fury, his owne souldiers mutined, and deliuerd him to the Emperours General, who sent him to *RAVENNA*. The like hapned to *ECIVS* in *Rome*: for, the souldiers and citizens mutined, and apprehended him; and he was brought prisoner also to *RAVENNA*. This is that *ECIVS* whom some call

call *ECIVS*, so much commended by the Writers of those Times for one of the best Captains in the world: and in truth so had he already shewed himself in all his actions; but hee performed more afterwards. And of no lesse esteem was *BONIFACIUS*, who gouerned *Africa*. *ARDBVRIVS* was very famous for his victories; as wee haue said, against the *Persians*; and so was *CASSTINVS* in like manner. These Captains being brought prisoners, and the need of such men in the Empire considered, as well in *Spain* against the *Vandals* and the rest, as in *France* against the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, who already inuaded that Kingdome, and against the *Hunnes* which were in *Pannonia*; After many allegations *pro & contra*, *PLACIDIA* vndertook to procure her son *VALENTINIAN* to pardon them their liues: and so *CASSTINVS*, after some few daies imprisonment, was banisht. And *ECIVS*, having put in security for his fidelity, was made General of the Army in *France* against the *Goths*, who took such order, that the *Huns* came no further forwards: for, he had great friendship among those nations, and was born in those parts; and, during his disgrace with *HONORIUS*, liued among them.

VALENTINIANVS, being in full possession of all *Italy*, was with the good will of all men; and by the consent of his cosen *THEODOSIUS*; called Emperour and *AVGVSTVS*, and for such obeyed and receiued by the Senate and people of *Rome*: and the Earl and General *ECIVS*, without delaying any time, vndertook his charge of General of the wars in *France*. And at that time when he came into *France* (as *PROSPERVS* and *DIACONVS* write) *THEODORICVS*, by the death of *WALIA*, was King of the *Goths*, and had besieged a principal Citie then called *Archeilla*, after the taking of many other towns. But as soon as *ECIVS* came with his Army, he began the wars in such manner, that to the losse of the *Goths* the Citie was relieved; and they, raising their siege, retired themselves into their Countries: and hee euery where made such head against them, that they could not take any other places either in *France* or *Spain*. In the same time in the Ile of *Britannie*, which then was vnfurnished of such garrisons as it was wont to haue, were great wars and combutions: for, the *Scots*, a fierce nation (of whom we haue already made mention, and after whose name part of *Britannie* is called the Kingdome of *Scotland* to this day) with other people called *Picts* or *Pictanians*, whose Originall was of *Sarmatia* in *Europe*, robbed and ouer-ran all the Land, and made themselves Lords of a great part thereof. Wherefore such of the Inhabitants of that Iland as continued subiect to the Empire, sent to *ECIVS* for succour; certifying him, that if relief came not within a short space; the whole Iland would fall into the hands of the enemy.

When *ECIVS* vnderstood those newes, hee presently sent one Legion of his Armie vnder the leading of a Captain whose name was *GALLIO*, into *Britannie*: and he, joyning with the Inhabitants which sent for aid, fought oftentimes with the *Scots* and *Picts*; and obtaining the victory, compelled them to leaue that country in peace and quiet: and so they continued, till that *ECIVS* (standing in need of succours to make head against the *Burgundians* who already had poss'd the *Rhine*, and began with great fury to inuade *France*, being feared to haue an intent to passe into *Italy*) drew that Legion out of *Britannie*, and left it in the borders of *Paris* in *France*, to guard that Country; and left another Legion neere to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, vnder the command of a Captain called *SEBASTIAN*, to defend the same against the *Goths*: and hee with the rest of his Army went to the wars against the *Burgundians*; with which hee oftentimes came to blowes, and ouer-came them in some battels. But the *Britans*, being abandoned by that Legion which *ECIVS* sent for out of that Iland, were so distressed, that if *VALENTINIAN* had not sent commandement to *ECIVS* to send back that legion which he had drawn out of *Britannie*, they had been in great distresse: but, that legion coming to their aid, they were sufficiently able for that time to defend and support themselves in the Emperours seruice.

While these things passed in *Britannie*, *France* and *Italy*, *BONIFACE* grew daily more mighty in *Africa*; who although that he yet shewed not himself to be against *VALENTINIAN*, but rather seemed to be of his party euer after that he was troubled by the vsurper *IOHN*; yet he seemed to be a friend, in such sort, that hee would not leaue any part of that which hee held. Which, *VALENTINIAN* and *PLACIDIA* perceiving, resolving to found his intent, they sent to command him to leaue his government to a Successor whom they would appoint, and to come to them: which, *BONIFACE* openly refused, and leuied souldiers to defend himself against the Emperour. It is true that some Authors write, that he was deluded by *ECIVS*; who sent him word, that if hee came into *Italy* *VALENTINIAN* would put him to death; whereof he aduertised him as a friend: and he likewise told *PLACIDIA*, that *BONIFACE* would not come, but would rebel; so as they affirm, that more for fear than for any ill intent,

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Ecivus made Gen-
erall against
the Hunnes and
Goths.

The wars there
Ecivus made in
France against
the Gothes.

The coming of
the Scots into
Britannie.

Boniface rebel-
led in Africa.

Theodosius
made his cosen
Valentinian,
Cæsar.

Theodosius
sent Ambassadors
to John the Tyrant.

Andaburius
taken prisoner
by John the ty-
rant.

John the tyrant
put to death by
Aspice son of
Andaburius.
Procopius
name a book 5,
chap. 7, Procop.
book 4. of the
wars of the
Vandals.
Cassiodorus
book 22. cha. 18

The coming of
Placidia and
Valentinian
into Italy.

he made himself a Tyrant; of which opinion is PROCOPIUS. But howsoever the matter went, VALENTINIAN sent presently two Captains against him, the one called MAHORCIVS or MASORCIVS, the other called GALLIO or GALBIO; hee, who (as I said) went to aid the Brittaines with a Legion: who being arrived in *Africa* with great power, BONIFACE, who was an excellent man of war, with a very good Army attended their coming, and, knowing where they landed, went to meet them: and seeing his power equal, they came to a battell; wherein BONIFACE through his great valour and policie got the victorie, and the Emperors Captains were overthrowne and slain, together with a great number of their soldiers: and so BONIFACE became mightier, and a greater Lord than before.

The losse of this battell, and of men of warre, greatly encreased the strength of the enemies to the Empire: for, first the Gothes followed the warres in *Spain* with greater force than before, as well against the Emperors subjects, as against the Vandals and other Nations inhabiting other parts of that Country. And the Burgonians began to make a more resolute resistance against ECIVS, than before they had done. And, above all, the Franks or Francons (a people of *Germany*) coming from *Franconia* (after some Authors) so called after their name, as truly writes AGATHIUS (although of their Originall there be many fabulous opinions) seeing that ECIVS had enough to do against the Burgonians and the Gothes, and that the Emperor VALENTINIAN had lost his Armie in *Africa*, and that his cosen THEODOSIUS was busied about matters of the East, they resolved to invade *France*: out of which a little before they had been expelled by the Vandals, Alanes and Suevians, in the time of the Emperors HONORIVS and ARCADIVS; and also by ECIVS, as we have said, when HONORIVS sent him into *Spain*. But now, taking the benefit of the time, they came with a very great power, and entered the Province called *Senonensis*, and the countries about *Orleans* and *Paris*, and presently took those countries: MARCOMYNDVS having been before this time their Leader; and afterwards his son FARRAMOND was the first King of the Franks: whom CLODIVS succeeded, who at that time was their King. And in proceesse of time their power increased so much, that *Gallia* from them took the name of *France*; and the King thereof is called King of the Franks or Frenchmen.

Of these Frenchmen (who in truth were a warlike and valiant Nation) some French Historiographers recite certain fables; saying, that they descended from the Trojanes, from one HECTOR'S son called FRANCVS, and that from him they took their name. Others say, they had this name for certain franchises, priuiledges and immunities they enioied in the time of VALENTINIAN the first. All which is fabulous and untrue: for, neither had HECTOR any such son, neither descended they from the Trojanes, neither is there any memorie of those Franks but from the time of the Emperor AVRILIANVS, who overthrowne them about the year of our Lord 260, little more or lesse. Neither obtained they this name in the time of the Emperor VALENTINIAN: for, hee reigned long afterwards, and they (as I said) were so cald 200 years before. But they were then a new people; of which, CÆSAR, STRABO, PLINY, CORNELIUS TACITVS, POMONIUS MELA, nor PTOLOMEY, made any mention; neither were they then of any name, or knowne: which if it had bin otherwise, it had bin impossible but some of those Authors, if not all, would have left some memoriall of them. The Franks might begin to be knowne a little before AVRILIANVS time: the rest is windy.

And it is to be understood, that the Kings which in our time reigned in *France*, are not descended from this people: for, in the House of *France* there have been two or three alterations and changes. The first was about the year of our Lord 750: at which time King CHILDERICVS or CHILPERICVS was depozed by Pope ZACHARY, that Kingdome having continued 330 years in the line of the Franks. And PERPIN, father to CHARLES the Great, being a Germane born, was chosen King: and so the Franks then lost the royall Scepter. And in King PERPIN'S posterity it afterwards continued 238 years, vntill the year of our Lord 990: at what time LEUVIS the son of LOTHARIUS then reigning was poisoned; and, for that hee had no sons, they fought to haue made his brother CHARLES Duke of *Lorraine*, their King. But a great and mighty man, whose name was HUGO CAPVTIVS, and born in that Country, hindered the same, and was of such power, that he took CHARLES prisoner, and enjoyed the Kingdome: and in his posterity the Kingdome continueth till this day, the next in blood inheriting for want of heirs males. So as we are not to hould the Kings of *France* to be of the line of the Franks, seeing they come not, neither are they descended from them. Heerein doo all good and true Authors agree.

But

But to returne to our historie, I say that the Frenchmen entred with such force and furie, as they tooke all that that they invaded: which ECIVS considering, and the warres which the Gothes made in *Spain*, notwithstanding that he had oftentimes overthrowne the Burgonians, and was in hope shortly whollie to haue subdued them, yet he resolved to grant them peace: which they humbly sued for, to be the better able to giue succours to other places where neede required, but especially to come against the French, for they were a mightie and valiant people.

In this time whilest that ECIVS was thus troubled to defend the Roman Empire against so many nations, the new Emperour VALENTINIAN, being still in hope to recover *Africa*, with a greater resolution then at any time before, commanded souldiers to be leuied in *Italy* and *Sicilie*; and with the aide of men and ships which his cosen the Emperor THEODOSIUS sent him from *Constantinople*, he sent an excellent Capitaine called SISYPHVS, against BONIFACE in *Africa*; who by PAVLVSDIACONVS is called SIGISVLVS. And he brought such an Armie and vsed such meanes, that taking land in *Africa* neere vnto *Carthage*, hee grew so strong in that countrie, as BONIFACE durst not abide his coming in *Carthage*, but went into *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and the marches thereof, which now containeth the kingdome of *Bugia*, *Argier* and *Oran*, and the countries bordering vpon *Spain*. And yet not holding himselfe there in safetie, he sent to treat with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then was in the province of *Betica*, called after their name *Vandalusia*, to the end he should come from *Spain* to relieue him, and he would giue him townes and cities to possesse, if he would helpe him to recover what he had lost.

This embassie came to GENSERICVS when he stood more in neede of helpe, then able to fend any: for the Gothes who had many times invaded *Spain*, taking the benefit of the time when as all things were turned vpside downe, THEODORICVS being their King and leader, and not contenting themselves with what they held, and was given them in *Spain*, entred, making a conquest of the countrie, with an intent to make warre particularly against the Vandales; wherewith GENSERICVS was so oppressed, as he was out of all hope to be able to defend himselfe. Whereupon, more of necessitie, then for any good will, he accepted the offer made by BONIFACE: and abandoning the province of *Vandalusia*, he passed the streights of *Gibraltar*, as well with his men of warre, as of peace, women, children, goods, and cattell, and sailed on the best part he could, of all *Mauritania*; and hauing entred vnder the name and title of succour, he made himselfe absolute Lord, robbing and spoiling the cities and townes with great crueltie. And this people thus abandoning *Andalusia*, was the occasion that THEODORICVS and his Gothes tooke a great part thereof, and so the Gothes continued Kings of *Spain*, vntill the time of the Emperour CHARLES. And although that at sundrie times they had wars and battailes with the Alanes, and Suevians, yet in the end the power of the Gothes prevailed: From this THEODORICVS the first, is descended the roote and stocke of the Kings of *Spain* vntill this day. The Vandales being barbarous and misbeleueers (for they were of the sect of the Arians) held not promise nor league with BONIFACE in *Africa*, who had drawne them thither; but taking the cities vpon the coast which he had given them, they entred and tooke the rest in despite of him: wherefore he was constrained through necessity, to become enemie to those which he had drawne thither for his succour and reliefe, seeing they tooke all. But as hee was hated by the Emperor VALENTINIAN, and could hope for no succours from anie where else, as wise and as valiant as he was, he was not able to make sufficient resistance against all; but, being too weak, was driuen to flee from place to place. But the Province of *Carthage* and all the countries thereabout, were valiantly defended by the Generall SISYPHVS, whom the Emperor VALENTINIAN sent thier against BONIFACE. GENSERICVS King of the Vandales being so mighty in *Africa*, and finding SISYPHVS of power able to make head against him, and fearing (as a wise man) the murability of Fortune, sent to entreat a peace with VALENTINIAN, vpon condition that hee should suffer him to enjoy that which he had taken from BONIFACE, seeing that he was not possessed thereof himselfe.

The Emperor VALENTINIAN considering that ECIVS was much troubled in *France* against the French, new inhabitants there, and that there was little assurance of the truce with the Burgonians; with a desire to recover that which was lost in *Spain* (for, hee was aduertised that his Generall SEBASTIAN, who was there in his seruice against the Alanes and Suevians, had obtained certain victories against them, and that they were ioyned with the Gothes, so as he was vnable alone to defend himselfe against all) he resolved to grant the Vandals in *Africa* that peace they required: and, taking security and great promises of their King GENSERICVS,

B b z

the

Heere written
near to the
Burgonians

Valentinian
sent an armie
against Bo-
niface the ty-
rant in Africa.

The Vandales
abandon Spain;
and saile into
Africa.

The Vandales
made them-
selves Lords of
great part of
Africa.

Valentinian
craunth peace
to the Vandales
in Africa.

Mahorcus and
Galbio, cap-
tains against
Boniface.

A battell where-
in the tyrant
Boniface pre-
uailed.

The coming of
the Franks or
Frenchmen into
France.

The success of
the French.

Gallia called
France.

The antiquity of
the French.

The Kings of
France dif-
fered not from
the Franks.

The changes
which haue hap-
ned in the royall
house of France.

Valentinian
was ill advised.

Cenfericus,
king of the Vanda-
les, violated the
peace.

Cenfericus
slew Boniface,
the death of
S. Augustine.

The cruelties
used by Cenfericus
King of the Vanda-
les against the true Chris-
tians.

Totila, King of
the Huns.

The Britanes
called the Saxons
to their aid.

The Angles or
Saxons took the
Isle of Britannie.

Britannie called
England.

Britannie in
France why so
called.

the peace was concluded between them: and VALENTINIAN, relying more on that peace than he ought to have done, sent for SISYLPHVS, commanding him to come into Italy with his Army, not leaving any garrison to keep Carthage or Africa. For, his meaning was, with his whole power to haue re-inforced ECIVS his Armie, and to haue driuen out those Nations which were entered France, and to haue recovered, or at least to haue preferred, that which he possessed in Spain. SISYLPHVS being arrived in Italy, GENSERICVS King of the Vandals, as an ambitious impudent Infidell, went presently to Carthage, and entered the same by force of Arms; five hundred, fourscore and five yeeres (as PROSPERVS reports) after that SCIPIO subdued it to the Roman Empire. The like he afterwards did by all the rest, and in the end came to the City of Hippo, wherein S. AVGVSTINE was Bishop, and therein also (as saith POSIDIVS, a Disciple and Familiar of S. AVGVSTINE) was BONIFACE, who had retired himself thither; and, houlding it besieged the space of 14 moneths (God hauing first taken away S. AVGVSTINE, being when he died of the age of 76 yeeres) hee took it, and put BONIFACE to death. Heerin PROCOPIVS differs from other Authors; who writes, that he raised his siege without taking the City: and, concerning BONIFACE, PROSPERVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS relate it after another manner; saying, that hee had his pardon, and went into Italy, where he died of a natural death.

After the taking of Hippo, the power of GENSERICVS daily increased, in such manner, that he made a full conquest of all Africa: and so the Vandals remained for a long time absolute Lords thereof. Wherein this cruel King committed so many cruelties against the Bishops and Priests which held the true faith, and would not become Arians as he was, as the like had seldom been seen; most cruelly putting many of them to death, and banishing others. The like he vied towards all kinde of people, committing incredible infolencies and robberies, as many credible Authors affirm; whereof VICTOR wrote a particular Book, which he intituled the Vandalical Persecution, whereto I referre the curious Reader: which Book is newly imprinted and annexed to EYSEBIVS his Chronicle, and to the tripartite History. After this accident happened in Africa, VALENTINIAN had daily aduertisements, that the Huns, who already were become Lords of Austria and Hungary with the marches thereof, made preparation to come down into France; and to that end had raised a great number of men of war (TOTILA a most fierce proud man being their King) against which their designes he daily sent new forces to ECIVS, who followed the ordinary wars of France; by means whereof, ECIVS could not send any succours to those of the Ile of Britanny, who newly had sent to him for aid against the Scots and Picts: for which cause the Romans and Britannes which inhabited Britanny, despairing of any other help, called to their aid, and solicited with fair promises, the Angles then called Saxons, a people of Germany, inhabiting neer to the sea-side: who being allured thereto, partly for pay, and partly through the fertility and fruitfulness of that Country, came into Britanny vnder the leading of their Captain HENGISTVS (as saith BEDA); who, assisting the Inhabitants, in such manner subdued their enemies, that they rebelled no more. But they, afterwards growing strong and ambitious, did the like in Britanny as the Vandals did in Africa; and making war vpon the Country, and subduing the Britannes, made themselves Lords of all the Land, excepting that which is now the Kingdome of Scotland.

In this manner the Empire lost this Land, and the Angles remained Kings thereof; and afterwards it lost the name of Britannie, and by them was called Anglia, and now England, which is as much to say, as the land of the English; and so from henceforth we will call it. And their power so much increased, that in the time of AVGVSTVLVS, as we will hereafter declare, they banished and draue the Britannes wholly out of that countrie, so as some came over into France, and inhabited that countrie which is now called Britannie, where before that time dwelt the Turones and Veneti, which through their coming thither is called Britannie: But a great number of the Britannies fled to the mountaines towards the North-west now called Wales, where they maintained themselves against all Inuaders. Thus the dominion of that Land rested in the Kings of the Angles or English, and hath continued in them with great alterations, warres and troubles, which import not me to reare. Of all which, besides BEDA, and other ancient and moderne authors not a few, POLIDORE VIRGIL, an author of our time, hath written a historie, of the beginning and success of all matters in Britannie or England.

But to returne to our story of GENSERICVS King of the Vandales; I say, that being vnaffected with Africa, he rigged vp a Fleet and layd it into Sicilie, and took great part thereof, robbing and spoiling the Country: And truly he had taken all the rest of the Land, if that

VALENTINIAN

VALENTINIAN (notwithstanding that he was very tender and delicate, and in person did vied all possible diligence to provide what was needfull, so farre as he was able: who presently sent commendement to SEBASTIAN, his Generall in Spain, to transport himself with the greatest power that he was able, into Africa and to make seisure thereof, while as GENSERICVS was busied in Sicilia. GENSERICVS was aduertized of this preparation; and vnderstanding that without delay it should be put in execution, resolved to leaue Sicilia, and to returne to defend Africa which was of greater importance, and concerned him more: and so Sicilia escaped out of his hands. And SEBASTIAN forbore to goe into Africa. But hee seeing himselfe of greater power then before, and that his Lord was oppressed with wars and crosses (wherein those men are seldome faithfull, which in prosperitie shew themselves most seruicable) and purposing to make himselfe Lord of all that which the Emperour possessed in Spain, was the cause that the Empire lost the same, and he without obtaining his desire, lost both his life and honour. For moued by this ambition, as I said, he treated with THEODORICVS, and the Gothes, and with the Alanes also, that they should come to a peace with him, and that they should diuide the country amongst them, without yielding any acknowledgement to VALENTINIAN. Wherewith in outward shew they seemed to be very well pleased, and yielded to his propositions, which they obserued for certaine daies: but afterwards vpon a false conduct they slew him; and hee being dead who was wont to defend the countrie, they took all Spaine, excepting some small part of Galicia and Biscay, which by reason of the inaccessible steepnes of the mountaines and the valour of the inhabitants, defended themselves for a season.

During these euents in Spain and Africa, ECIVS neuer delisted from waiting against the French, Burgonians and other nations in France: and VALENTINIAN, leaving all things in the best order that he could in Italy, took his passage for Gracia, and went to Constantinople to see his cousin the Emperour THEODOSIUS; whose Empire as it pleased God was then better in peace and in more quietnesse then the West. At this meeting VALENTINIAN married with EYDOXA, THEODOSIUS his daughter, and then presently returned into Italy, to Emperour THEODOSIUS much greuing, sent him two Captaines called ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA, with good troups of soldiers, to the end that they should reconquer Africa; being much discontented with GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, for the breach of the peace, and for the great cruelties which he had committed in that Countrie.

These Captaines and soldiers failed into Sicilia, from thence to passe into Africa: but they so deracted the time and prolonged their departure in such manner; as they spoiled the whole Island of Sicilia, and it pleased not God that they should proceed on their iourney. For ATTILA mighty King of the Hunes, which of long time had purposed to make himselfe Lord of the Empire, hauing besides Hungary, had made a conquest of many Cities in Germanie, drawing to him for pay and by faire promises and subtil means, an infinite number of people, part of which were called Turlingi, Tungri, Ostrogothes, and Marcomanni, and other barbarous northerly Nations, which like swarms of Bees came to him in that time: which (as PAVLVS DIACONVS recounteth) determined to inuade the Empire of Constantinople, knowing that the best and greatest part of the men of warre thereof, were gone with the two Captaines afore sayd into Sicilia. At this his entrie he tooke many Cities in Thracia, and in Slaonia, and made so great spoyle in that Countrey, as the Emperour in great haste sent for ARIOBINDVS and ANSILA, who with a great Armie (as I sayd) were in Sicilia, to the end that they should come and defend the Countrey; together with other great forces which he had commanded to be leuied. And so he began the warre, and to oppose himselfe against the force and fury of ATTILA; wherto this was a great helpe, that at that instant there began to grow some suspition and iealousie between ATTILA and his brother BEDA, and enuy and emulation between the Kings which came with him; by reason whereof, the war was not so terrible as before, although they still did much harme. THEODOSIUS Emperour of the East being in this care, and at warres with the mightie ATTILA, and his Cousin VALENTINIAN in such trouble, as is before sayd, that the Vandales and their King held Africa, the Gothes and Alanes Spaine, his Generall ECIVS in France, held warre with so many nations, and therein passed so many aduentures, as they would be too long to reite.

THEODOSIUS, applying himselfe in Constantinople, with great care and diligence to send greater reliefe and forces against ATTILA, was stricken with the plague, whereof quickly

Genfericus
went to make
warre in Sicilia.

The treason and
death of Sebastian, Generall
for the Emperour
Valentinian in
Spain.

Valentinian
went to Constantinople,
and married with
Eudoxa the
Emperour Theodosius
his daughter.

Attiobindus
and Anilla
Captaine sent
by Theodosius.

Attila inuaded
the Greek Empire.

Theodosius
the second died
of the plague.

he died. Whose death was generally lamented : for he was a good, pitifull, very vertuous and Christian Prince; as it plainly appeareth by many letters, which at this day are extant, written to him by LEO Bishop of Rome, who liued in his time. It is written of him, that he was very deuout and religious, and spent much time in prayer; and that he fasted two daies in the weeke, and much honoured the Church and the Clergie.

Finally, he left nothing vndone which a Christian was bound to doe, neither what was conuenient for an Emperour. He was very studious and addicted to letters, and to Philosophie, and made great Libraries, principally of the holie Scriptures. He was so pitifull, that being one day reprehended for giuing so many malefactors their liues, he answered: I would to God that I could raise againe those which I haue put to death. In conclusion, he was accomplished with all vertues, and free from all vices, so as he was not subiect vnto any: onely he was noted to be somewhat mutable and haſtie. He was married to EVDOXIA, a very godly and discrete woman, the daughter of LEO NCIVS, whom he married for her vertue. onely: she was called, before that she was married to him, ATANAS, and with her mariage her name was changed. For this his goodnes and vertue, it pleased God that his raigne continued two and fortie yeeres: foureteeen or fiftene being a child, vnder the Protection of the King of Persia, in the time of his Vncle HONORIVS, as is already written; and seuen and twentie with his coffin VALENTINIAN, and for the most part he enioyed the Empire of the East in peace and quiet, and died being about fiftie yeeres old: for in a manner as soone as he was borne, he inherited the Empire. He departed this world, according to MATHEV PALMERYS computation in his additions to EUSEBIYS his Chronicle, and after PROSPERVS, in the yeere of our Lord, foure hundred, fiftie and three; and after some others, foure hundred and fiftie; and after the most common opinion, in the seuen and twentieth yeere of the raigne of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, who then raigne in Italy, and liued in the citie of Rome.

The religion
and vertue of
Theodosius

An example of
clementie.



THE LIFE OF VALENTINIAN. THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THE THREE AND FIFTITH ROMAN

Emperour; and of his Brother in Lawe,

MARTIANVS.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.



Valentinian remaining alone in the Empire of the West, tired with many warres, and seeing that Attila molested the eastern parts, to please his sister Pulcheria, and to the end that those parts should not remain without an Emperour, he gave the charge thereof to an old man called Martianus, who was a man of great iudgement, and very wise. In which time Attila, desiring to give over his enterprise against Constantinople, the siege being long and very difficult, he came towards the western parts, with a determination to passe into France and into Italie. Against whom Valentinian made Ecius his Generall, who was still his Generall in France; whom first concluding a peace with Gensericus King of the Vandales, wherinto the new Emperour old Martianus entered. This Ecius daunted Attila much, and made him know (to the great losse of his men) how valiant a man he was, so as he compelled him to flie. For which victory Valentinian began to haue Ecius in deuotion, that he had an intent to haue made himselfe Emperour, and to that end had some intelligence with Attila, seeing that he did not wholly ruin him when he might: wherefore he caused him to be slain, which was the cause of the ruine of Italie, and of the Western Empire. For Attila, vnderstanding that Ecius was dead, returned into Italie, which Valentinian invited in peace: and being

being inuaded, none of the Emperours set his hand to releue it, being unable to leue any sufficient Armie to withstand the enemy. Whereupon having taken Aquileia, and coming towards Rome, at the intreaty of Pope Leo, he spared that Citie, and so leaving Italie, he returned into Hungary: where marrying with the sister of the Emperour Valentinian, upon his wedding day he gorged himselfe so full with wine and meate, as in the night (nature being unable to support so great a charge, casting up abundance of blood) he died in his bed. Whose death yielded son. liberty to the Empire, notwithstanding that the West remained in a manner ruined, whereof grew the greatest of the Empire of the East, and of Constantinople. And one yeere after the death of Attila, Valentinian was also slaine by a fouldier, whose name was Tanillus, both to take revenge for the death of his Captaine Ecius, as urged by the hatred of one Maximus, whose wife Valentinian had forced, when he had raigne Emperour thirtie yeeres.



Ruly I know not whether the reading of that which

I haue already related and am presently to write, shall make the reader so much to wonder, as it doth me which write the same. For mine owne part, I dare iustifie, that no warres, alterations or changes of Kingdomes, of all that euer I haue read in auncient or moderne Histories, seeme worthe of so great admiration as those of these times, whereof we are now to treat. Neither doe I remember that I euer admired more at any thing then at these; considering the great and many calamities of so many provinces and cities, the battailes and effusion of blood, the alterations and fallies of estates, the diuersitie of people and nations which flocked together in them. And about all, I doe most wonder at the infinite numbers of people which came out of the northren parts, so as it seemed the earth did flowe with armed men. And likewise to consider, what rage, furie, pride or ambition (for I can giue it no other name) might moue so many fundrie nations, to abandon their owne countries, to ruine and conquer the world. Not being urged, or moued thereto by any offence or iniurie received. But it was theiust iudgement and permission of our Lord God, whose counsels are vnsearchable, and whose prouidence cannot be perceiued by the light of any humane eye. Let vs giue humble thanks vnto his diuine maiestie, that although, for our finnes, he suffereth warres and combustions in these our times, yet they are not so generally, neither so miserable and cruell, as those which they endured in that age, as the reader may plainly perceiue by that which is already, and hereafter shall be related, which passed in this manner.

The state of Italie and of the West, where VALENTINIAN raigne, standing in such manner, as is said, THEODOSIUS dying in Constantinople, leaving neuer a sonne to succcede him, and but one sister, whose name was PVLCHERIA, a wife and worthie woman, who as she bare a great sway in the government, and considering the warres she had with the Gothes, and in what state the whole Empire of both East and West stood, the endeouored to procure that some excellent man, both in peace and warre, might be chosen Emperour, whether he descended of imperiall blood or no. And it seemed that there was not any man, in whom more noble and excellent parts did concur, then in an old Captaine called MARTIANVS: who although he were but of meane parentage, yet with his age he was of great experience, and a very valiant and excellent Captaine.

PVLCHERIA, and those which were of her counsell having taken this resolution, concealed the death of THEODOSIUS for certain daies, vntill they had taken such order as was requisite concerning the election of MARTIANVS. And notwithstanding that he was old, PVLCHERIA took him for her husband, to giue the greater assurance and authoritie to his Empire, and so he was ioyfully received by all men for their foueraigne Lord and Emperour. And VALENTINIAN likewise, who then resided in Rome, was well pleased therewith; as well for his deserts, as also for that it was done by PVLCHERIA, of whose vertue and worthinesse there was a generall good opinion. ZONARAS an auncient Author, whom some call IOHANNES MONACVS, writeth (as IOHN CVPSPINIAN relatech) that PVLCHERIA married with MARTIANVS to giue the greater authority and reputation to his Empire: but first she took securitie of him, that they should both liue chaste; for she was a maide, and had resolved to keepe her virginitie inuiolable: and that MARTIANVS accepted thereof, and

A consideration
of the calamities
of these times.

Pulcheria sister
to Theodosius.

Martianus chosen
Emperour of
Constantinople.

A notable example of chivalry

Attila transacted his war from the East into the West.

Attila slew his brother Bleda by treason.

Attila his great power & army.

Attila's stile.

Attila's edily confusion.

Valentinian made peace with Gensericus, King of the Vandals, and of Africa.

Ecius made General against Attila.

Ecius fought the last end of Theodoricus King of the Gothes, and of Spain.

they both observed the same, which is a notable example. As soone as MARTIANVS was made Emperor of the East, the first thing he did, was to make prouision to reinforce the Armie which THEODOSIVS had left, and to send against ATTILA fresh souldiers and a new General. And writers affirme, that if ATTILA had continued the warre which he began against Constantinople, he had without doubt come to confusion, by reason of the mutinies and contentions which began among his men of warre: which that politike and mighty King comprehending, and also for that (as they say) a great Captaine of his counselled him to leaue that conquest, and to goe from thence to make warres in the rest of Germany, and afterwards in France, Spaine, and Italie, where VALENTINIAN ruled: knowing that the Empire was diuided and vsurped by diuers nations, and therefore was very easie to be conquered. He resolved therefore to goe into Hungary, where by treason he slew his brother BLEDA, who together with him was equall King, for that he suspected that BLEDA was the cause of the diffension and discord; to the end to make himself absolute Lord: so great was his pride, cruelty and ambition. After this, giving good pay to his old souldiers, and raising new, he grew to be so mighty, that the Kings and Captains of the Ostrogothes, the Heruli, and other Nations which in the beginning came to aid and assist him as a friend, did now serue and obey him as their Lord. And Authors affirme, that he raised an Armie of five hundred thousand men which were souldiers leuied by him, and aduenturers (so great was his fame and reputation at that time): with which Armie coming out of Hungary, Austria, and the confines thereof, which were in his subiection, together with many other countries which he had taken in the last troubles, wherein the Empire was brought so low, he presently began to make a conquest of Germany, and tooke the most part thereof, and the best cities, as Colcin, Strausburg, Spire, Constantine, Basil, and many other, making all possible haste to come into France and Italie, imagining that VALENTINIAN should not be able to protect and defend the same. Wherewith (such was his pride) he pretended not to rest contented, but to make himself sole Monarch of the whole world; through all which his name was greatly feared: and so he intireled himself King of the Huns, of the Medes, of the Gothes, and of the Danes, the terour to the world, and the scourge of God.

PRISCUS an Historiographer writeth (who, being Secretarie to the Emperor VALENTINIAN, was sent Ambassador to him into Scythia, before his coming into Hungary) that hee was but a little man of stature, and had a large broad breast, a great head, little eies, but very quick, a very little thin beard, and some gray hairs, a flat nose, and was of a very swarth complexion; and that in his going and looks he shewed the pride and greames of his minde. He greatly delighted in the warres, and was both politick and valiant, although he did not often vse to fight in person, but reserued himself for greater occasions. Hee was milde and easie to bee pleased by those which humbly required pardon, and submitted themselves vnto him; and held and maintained his faith and word, and defended those which yeelded themselves into his protection: but, with all this, he was most proud, and desirous to make himself Lord ouer all others. VALENTINIAN the Emperor of Rome, vnderstanding ATTILA his successe, with his resolution and desire, of whom he had long stood in fear, did the vttermost of his power to make head against so great force and fury. The first prouision hee made, was, To conclude a peace with GENSERICVS King of the Vandals, who was now King of all Africa, to haue his back in safety from so mighty an enemy. This peace was very acceptable to GENSERICVS, and as to a thing which hee greatly desired, hee gladly yeilded: for, at that time there was great diffension and rebellion among his Captains and men of warre. This peace was concluded betwixt them, vpon condition that the King should resigne certain prouinces and cities to VALENTINIAN; and MARTIANVS the new Emperor of the East was included in the same.

This being ended, ECIVS, who followed the ordinary warres in France, was made General against ATTILA, for that hee was the best and most expert Captaine in his time, whom ATTILA had not forborn to haue corrupted with many fair promises, putting him in minde of former friendship: but, for all he could do, he gaue no ear to him.

ECIVS, vnderstanding that ATTILA with his Army had already passed the riuier of Rhine, and knowing himself to haue no sufficient Armie to make head against him, notwithstanding that many new supplies were come to his aid, he therefore by all means and deuices sought the friendship of THEODORICVS, whom some call THEODORODVS King of the Gothes (who possessed the greatest part of Spaine, and a great part of France, who was a mighty Prince & very valiant, and at that time lay in Tholose) to induce him to aid and assist the Romans: who frankly promised, and faithfully performed the same; which the Emperor VALENTINIAN had

had also before attempted. And although that ATTILA by his Letters had sued to the contrary, promising him assurance of his estate; yet he (conceiuing that, ATTILA preuailling, he would as well seek to defeat him afterwards, as he did now the Romans) raised his whole power, and drew neere to ioin with ECIVS; and made the Alanes and Sueuians, who liued in Spain, to do the like. And, with the like perswasion, ECIVS concluded a peace with MEROBIVS King of the French, and with GVANDARICVS King of the Burgonians, who of custome were his ordinary enemies; and with the Saxons and other Nations: all which, more for fear, and through the hatred which they bare to ATTILA, than for any good will to the Romans, resolved to take part with ECIVS; whose wisdom and discretion was so great, that they all willingly iointed with him: yet for all this, ATTILA entred France with such power and fury, that without finding any resistance he tooke the greatest part thereof before that ECIVS was in order to fight with him. But while that he made this spoil and conquest in France, the Kings and people aforesaid iointed with ECIVS in the fields called Catalanes, on the borders of Tholose: so as he had one of the greatest and best Armies that euer was seene, as well for number, as goodnesse of men, and his partie was held to be of no lesse power than that of ATTILA. Wherefore the one armie drew neere to the other, and between them beganne a most cruell warre: wherein (as IORNANDES affirmeth) dyed fourescore and ten thousand men, before they came to a generall battaile, whereof we will speake presently, cyther partie desiring it, but chiefly ATTILA, who held his power inuincible, and so all nations attended the issue thereof: for it seemed that on the victorie depended the command and Empire of the whole world. And to say the truth, at this encounter were gathered together the best, and the greatest part of martiall men of all Europe, being almost a million of people: wherefore it shall not be amisse that we describe this battaile more distinctly then we doe others; seeing that it cannot be said, that there was euer seene any that was greater or more bloudie. First then, there fought there in proper person about ten mightie and warlike kings of the one side, and of the other. Of ATTILA his partie was ARDARICVS, king of a people called Gepidi, and ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODOMIR, brethren, and kings of the Gothes, or Ostrogothes, and the King of the Marcomanni, and others whose names I finde not written, and the people already named which were without number.

Of ECIVS his partie, was THEODORICVS (who was of greater power then any of the rest) king of the Gothes, Visigothes, and of Spaine, and his sonne THORSIMVND, MEROBIVS, King of the Franches, GVANDARICVS King of the Burgonians, SANGVIANVS King of the Alanes, and the Captaines and kings of diuers other nations, which tooke his part, besides the Romane Legions and Captaines of the Empire. But ATTILA made small account of all these: For he had formerly ouerthrowne the greatest part of them; so as nothing made him to feare or doubt of the victorie, but only the discretion and valour of ECIVS, who was their General. Wherefore, as he was an Infidell and superstitious, he commanded his sooth-sayers and wizards to be called together, to the end that vsing their enchantments and forceries, they should tell him what successe he should haue, and how hee should speede in the battaile: and they sacrificing their beasts, told him, that he should lose the victory, but that the greatest Captaine among his enemies should die therein. Whereto giuing credit (although that it grieved him to thinke that he should be ouerthrowne, imagining that ECIVS should die) he fought and procured it: For, he made account that if ECIVS were dead; although he lost the day, yet he would rayle new supplies, and preuaile against the rest, and so he disposed himself to fight. And as ECIVS and his partakers desired the same, the two Armies came so neere together, that there rested nothing but to come to blowes, and so they fought: which as PROCOPIVS, IORDANVS, ALABIUS, PAVLVS DIACONVS, and others write, was in this manner.

Both parties being desirous to fight, the one Armie being in the morning by breake of day in sight of the other, both Generals commanded to marshall and range their troupes, and to order their battaillons, for to charge their enemies; but as their numbers were infinite (notwithstanding all the diligence and expedition that could be vsed by cyther partie) it was past noone before they could set their men in order. ATTILA with all his carts and wagons which hee brought for his cariage, made a kinde of fort or sconce vpon the side of a hill, wherein he put the women and disarmed people of his Armie, and of his whole Armie made three battaillons, reseruing to himselfe with his Scythians and Hunnes, the maine or middle battaile. And ARDARICVS King of the Gepidi with his countrie-men, and many others in whom he reposed

The kings which iointed with ECIVS against Attila.

The warres between ECIVS & Attila.

How Attila set his Army in order.

greatest trust, led the battaile on the right hand : and to ANDARICVS, VALAMIR, and THEODORIC, brethren, kings of the Ostrogothes, with their owne people and their friends, he gaue the charge and leading of the battaillon on the left hand.

And in this order he marched against ECIVS : who had somewhat prolonged the time, by reason of a great mistrust which he had conceiued of SANGVIBANVS King of the Alanes, doubting that he would haue gone ouer to ATTILA : for he was aduertised that there had been some treaty between them ; wherein ATTILA granted to resigne to him a Citie, wherein he had lien, and which was taken from him. Wherefore ranging his Armie into three squadrons also, in the middle squadron, he set the said SANGVIBANVS, placing in the auaunt, and arierward of the troupe, the most valiant men of the Romane Legions, to the end that he should not chuse but fight. And to THEODORICVS with his sonne THORISMUND with his Gothes and Spaniards, he gaue the leading of the squadron on the right hand ; to the end that they should encounter the Gepidi, which were a mighty people. And he tooke to himselfe the leading of the left wing, taking with him MAROBVS, King of the French, with his people, and the Burgonians, whose King with the greatest part of his forces were slaine in an encounter which hapned the night before this battaile. With these troupes he placed himselfe against the Ostrogothes (the right wing of the enemy) changing it in this manner, for that he imagined, that if the Visigothes which were of his side, should haue been placed against the Gothes which were of the other side (for that they were countrie-men, and neighbours) they would not haue charged with such furie as he desired. In this order these two mightie Armies marched the one against the other, with incredible courage and assured confidence, the one to ouerthrow the other. And so there began between them, the most cruell and bloody battaile that euer was. For, although it may be sayd, that in other battailes there hath been so great a concourse of men, as they could not well be numbered ; yet they were not such men, as these which now fought ; or that it was so obstinate and cruelly fought, with the slaughter of so many men and effusion of so much blood as this was, I doe not remember that I euer read. For therein fought the Flower (for valour and courage) of almost all the Nations of the World : As, the Romanes, the Scythians, the Hunnes, the Gothes, the French, the Germanes, the Spaniards, the Gaules, the Burgonians, and of each of these a very great number : So as in my judgement, this may be recorded for the greatest and most fierce battaile that euer was. The first attempt was to get a little Hill betweene the two Armies, which either of the two Generals thought requisite to be taken, thereby to haue the aduantage of the other. ATTILA sent certaine troupes to take that Hill : but to that effect, thither already THORISMUND, sonne to THEODORICVS, was come with his people, which were Gothes and Spaniards ; so as these by this Hill, and all the rest presently gaue the charge : and the slaughter, the cries, and the sound of the blowes with swords and lances, was such, as it seemed the firmament had rent in sunder ; so as no man could doe any other but fight. And they all fought with such furie, as there was not any aduantage scene from none till night, for so long it endured. What particular exploits were therein performed, cannot certainly be knowne : for the Historiographers (which treat thereof) affirm, that among so great a multitude of people, it could not be seene nor iudged how things passed ; for euery one applied himselfe to strike, and to kill, and there was not any squadron or troupe that stood still, to looke on. But it is certaine, and they all affirme the same, that a little Brook, which ranne where this cruell battaile was fought, grew so high with the blood of those which were slaine, as it vsed to doe after some great raine had fallen. And the streames of blood were so great, as they carried the dead bodies down the valley. This ought not to be held for incredible, seeing the number of the dead was so great, as all authors agree it exceeded the number of one hundred & fourescore thousand men ; and they all lay dead in a small circuit of ground. For in this fight there was no retreat, nor running away, but all dyed fighting. In this manner, in the heat and fury of the fight, the night came vpon them, and parted them, but with great and apparant aduantage on ECIVS his side ; for ATTILA his troupes began to giue ground, notwithstanding that hee vsed all possible meanes to haue maintained the fight. And THEODORICVS, King of the Gothes and of Spaine, charging too farre in amongst his enemies, was slaine. Some say, that his horse fell with him, and so he was troden to death by his owne men ; and that his sonne THORISMUND falling into the like danger, was rescued by his people. ATTILA, perceiving the defect and weaknesse which was in his people, in the best order that he could retired to his fort or sconce, which he had made of his carts and wagons, and therein fortified himselfe that night, with those which repaired

How ECIVS
marshalled his
troupes.

A battaile
fought betweene
ECIVS and Attila,
the most
cruell that euer
was fought in
the world.

A strange sight.

Theodoricus
King of the
Gothes slaine.

repaired to him from the battaile (for some were fled other wayes) there expecting the next dayes fortune. ECIVS went vp and downe the fields, as the Lord thereof, gathering his people together and setting them in order, to the end, that their disorder should not encourage the enemy ; for by reason of the multitude of people, and the darknesse of the night, it could not certainly be sayd who had the victory, and so they passed that night without any certain knowledge whether THEODORICVS were alieue or dead. The next morning by the breake of day the victory was apparant : for ATTILA durst not come forth of his campe, and so ECIVS and his souldiers had the spoile of the field, and were Lords thereof. The Armies were soneere together, as notwithstanding that ATTILA held himselfe for ouerthrowne, yet hee neither durst neither could retire : wherefore, he resolved to fortifie his campe and to defend himselfe therein. And as THORISMUND found his father dead in the field, he with his Gothes and Spaniards was so extreemly enraged, as he purposed to haue assaulted ATTILA in his campe, to reuenge the death of his father, by his ruine. For all Writers affirme that hee might haue done it, if ECIVS would haue consented thereto, and haue giuen him such ayd as he might haue done. And they also write, that ATTILA was in such despaire, when he vnderstood that they meant to assault him, seeing the small forces hee had to defend him, that he resolved rather to kil himselfe then to com into his enemies hands. But the wise & valiant captain ECIVS, knowing both the ambition and power of THORISMUND, THEODORICVS his sonne, and how mighty the Gothes were, was in great doubt, that they hauing wholly defeated ATTILA and his Armie, would haue conuerted their Arms against the Romanes, who would haue been vnable to defend themselves against them : and therefore it was most profitable (the time considered) to giue ATTILA meanes to escape ; to the end that the Gothes and French should not be freed from the feare of him. And to that end, without disconceing his conceit, he counselled THORISMUND, that setting all other matters aside, he should go to take possession of his kingdome of Spaine, before that the Alanes, the Sueuians, or any other Nations should cause any alteration, or rebell against him : And that before this, hee should not attempt any other enterprize ; for it was vncertaine whether he should be able to bring his purpose to effect. THORISMUND deeming this to be the counsell of a father, and a friend (as indeede it was profitable for him) accepted his aduice, and without any delay presently departed towards his countries, aswell those which he held in France, as those in Spaine. And ECIVS, for the consideration aforesaid, forbore to assault ATTILA's Camp : and so he and the kings which were with him had meanes to escape, and abandoned what he held in France. But the counsell of this great Captain (although that to this effect it seemed profitable) afterwards fell out cleane contrary : for it was the cause of his owne death, and of great miseries (as hereafter shall be declared) to the Romane Empire.

ATTILA being in this manner gone out of France, by long iournies, as a man vanquished, went with his Army into Hungary, and the countries there adiacent, of which he was in peaceable possession ; where relieuing his people, he rested certaine daies. From whence (they say) the Hungarians are descended, deriuing their name from the Hunnes and another nation called Catti or Gatti, and so they were called Hungary, and Pannonia is now called Hungaria ; although that neither in Hungary, neither in other Prouinces are obserued the limits and bounds which in ancient times they held. For as there haue beene great changes and alterations in the names ; so haue there beene likewise as great in their limits and confines. But seeing this concerneth me not, without producing any example, this shall suffice for an aduertisement to the Reader.

ECIVS (hauing obtained so great a victorie, leauing all that which in France the Romanes enioyed, and ATTILA had possessed, and the French and Burgonians in amitie, and friends) he came to Rome, where the Emperor VALENTINIAN expected the issue of the battaile. This victory freed all Italie from feare, and purchased to ECIVS the greatest honour possible ; he entering Rome with great solemnity and incredible ioy of all sorts of people : within few daies after (as the most of the Authors which I follow doe write) VALENTINIAN began to suspect, that he had an intent to haue made himselfe Emperor, and that he had intelligence with ATTILA ; The suspicion growing (as he said) for that ECIVS after the battaile did not wholly ruine ATTILA. And as EVTROPIVS particularly relateth, VALENTINIAN was so highly incensed against ECIVS by MAXIMVS a Gentleman of Rome, as he caused him to be slaine. Which (they say) MAXIMVS did to the end to be reuenged of VALENTINIAN (as afterwards he was) for rauishing his wife ; which iniurie he dissembled, and

A great victory
obtained by
ECIVS against
Attila.

ECIVS led in
surrender by
VALENTINIAN.

The death of
ECIVS.

and made no shew to vnderstand, vntill that he had oportunitie to effect that which afterwards he put in execution, which was to kill the Emperour, which he neuer durst attempt so long as ECIVS liued. ECIVS being slaine at this time (although that PAVLYS DIACONVS seems to be of opinion that it was afterwards) with him ended the whole force and power of the Western Empire; whereof PROXIMVS a discrete and Noble Romane gentleman gaue VALENTINIAN to vnderstand. Who being demanded by the Emperour (as PROXIMVS writeth) whether he had not followed the best and most profitable counsell, by putting ECIVS to death, answered: whether the Emperour hath put ECIVS to death with or without reason, I dare not determine; but this I dare affirm, that by killing him, thou hast with thy own left hand cut off thy right. Sure, he was a true Prophet, as the Historie hereafter will make manifest.

While these things passed in the Western parts, the Emperour MARTIANVS reigned in great prosperity in *Gracia* and the East: for he was a very wise man, and a lover of peace; and so he maintained and preferred the same with the Persians and other Nations, without losing a nyot of his confines: but rather in all treaties, had euer the advantage, and got ground. He sent aide and men of warre to serue VALENTINIAN in the warres with ATTILA: so as MARTIANVS liued in prosperity and well beloued. But returning to our Western Historie (thus it went) As soone as ATTILA vnderstood that ECIVS was dead (the feare of whom made him to contain himselfe within *Hungary* and *Germany*) he resolved without any delay, setting all other matters apart, to come against *Italy*, which only being in peace, held for VALENTINIAN. And coming downe with a very mightie Armie, with some of those Kings before named, which after that he was driuen out of *France*, he had ioyned with him, he descended with great furie, taking by the way all the Cities and countries as he passed, putting all to fire and sword. And in this manner he entred poore *Italy*, through the Prouince of the Venetians now called *Friulia*, robbing and spoiling all places: where there came against him a Capitaine sent by VALENTINIAN with a great and mighty Armie, with which ATTILA fought a very cruell battaile: but the Imperiall Generall and Armie were overthrowne, with great losse and slaughter of men; and so ATTILA marching forwards, tooke many Cities: which put all *Italy* in such feare, that the inhabitants in no part thereof, held themselves in safety from the power and rage of ATTILA. And this his coming and the feare of him, was the cause of the first beginning of the mighty and famous Cite of *Venice*, which in those daies begonne to be built (according to the most part of the best Historiographers) by people which flying from the rage of ATTILA, reduced themselves to dwell in certaine little Ilands, with their wiues, children, and goods, where that Cite now standeth, imagining that there they might liue in safety: and there fortifying themselves in the best manner they could (for ATTILA his Armie did consist of land-men only) afterwards they resolved to continue there, notwithstanding that the feare was past, and began to set orders concerning their gouernement and iustice. And hauing good successe, they grew in processe of time to such greatnesse, that in a manner they became absolute Lords of the Sea, and gat many Ilands, kingdomes and Noble Cities, and are vntill these our daies the honour and credit of all *Italy*, and preserve their liberty inuiolate, calling their Cite *Venitia*, after the name of the Prouince from whence they came, which was the maine Land vpon the shore situate neerer to *Venice*: which, for that it appertaineth not to my Historie, I will passe over with silence, referring the Reader to BLONDVS, SABELLICVS, and other Authors which treat thereof at large.

ATTILA, hauing taken all the countie behinde him, besieged the Cite of *Aquileia*, which at that time was of great power, whereinto, besides the inhabitants, and such as were borne therein, entred many Romanes, and other of the Emperours souldiers which escaped from the battaile wherein their Generall was overthrowne: and they so valiantly defended the same, that ATTILA besieged it three yeeres, and could not take it, holding it for a great dishonour to raise his siege before he had it: in which time he did much harm in all the countrey round about, with his men of warre, and there were many conflicts between the besiegers and the besieged.

During the time of this long siege, GENSERICVS king of the Vandals made himselfe peaceable Lord of all *Africa*. And the French with MAROBVS their king grew mighty in *France*, and enlarged their Dominion, and the Burgonians in the countrey now called *Burgundy* did the like. And the Gothes, Alanes, and Sueuians in like manner in *Spain*, and in such part of *France* as is afore said. And the Emperour VALENTINIAN neuer came to relieue *Aquileia*, and as little did MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, eyther through cowardize

cowardize, peechcleinesse, ill gouernment, or want of power sufficient for such an enterprise, standing in feare of ATTILA and his power, who at the end of three yeeres that he had held the same besieged (relatoly assaulting it vpon a day with his whole Armie without any intermission, with drawing such as were weary and tyred, and setting others in their places) heooke it by force; and hauing sacked it, and put all to the sword which he found therein, he made it to be cast to the ground, not leaving any one house or building that might be inhabited, it hauing been one of the richest and most Noble Cities of that time: for *Aquileia*, and *Rauenna*, after *Rome*, were the best and most populous in that age.

ATTILA, hauing thus like a sauage barbarian ruined *Aquileia*, he marched forwards with great expedition; and within very few daies, tooke many excellent Cities and Townes; among which, were *Munichia*, *Brescia*, *Cremola*, *Bergamo*, and all their confines. The like he did by *Adria* and *Padua*; and other neighbour townes; and went to the Cite of *Rauenna*, which for that the Emperour held their court there, was the most famous Cite in all *Italy*, which yielded to him without any assault. From thence he marched into *Tuscan*, with a determination to haue made no stay vntill he came to *Rome*; and wholly to haue ruined the same; and so in speeche he gaue out. At that time LEO the first of that name was Pope, who at the request of the Emperour VALENTINIAN, accompanied with many Senators, went to ATTILA, and treating him for pities sake to spare *Rome*, and not to destroy that City; which Intreatie he made with such discretion and wisdom, and it pleased God to giue such efficacie to his words, as notwithstanding that ATTILA was the most cruell and inexorable Prince in the World; yet the Popes supplication did so much preuaile with him; that he not only gaue ouer his iourney to *Rome*, but resolved to depart out of *Italy*, and to returne to his ancient seat in *Hungary*, requiring first a great summe of money to be leuiued vpon the Cite for a signe and acknowledgement of Souerainty. And the state of *Rome* was now come to this point, as they durst not make denayll of any thing that ATTILA required at their hands; and (withall) they held it for a very great good hap, that ATTILA would forbear to put his cruell determination in execution.

Some Authors haue written (whether truly or falsly, I dare not maintaine) that all men wondering at this sodaine alteration of ATTILA his purposes, and some of his fauorites asking him the cause thereof; he answered, that he durst not denie the Popes demand: For, whilst he stood talking with him, he thought that he perceived two old men standing behinde him, with vnsheathed swords in their hands, threatening to kill him, if hee failed to perform what he required; and that he therefore durst do no other, which was held for a miracle.

After this agreement ATTILA returned into *Hungary*, where he was held for the greatest and most powerfull Prince of the World, and was so much feared, that MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople* sent to sue for peace, and therewith sent him presents and money to obtaine the same. And he to the contrary sent to the Emperour VALENTINIAN, requiring him to send him his sister HONORATA for his wife; threatening, that if he sent her not he would againe returne into *Italy*, and destroy *Rome*. Whereof VALENTINIAN agreed by the content of his sister; For shee, by means of an Eunuch, had written to him, and receiued letters from him, procuring him to require her to wife whatsoeuer hapned; which she did, for that her brother constrained her to liue a maide, lockt vp to her disgrace, and to the dishonor of the Emperour her brother: and he fearing ATTILAS displeasure, sent him his sister, according to his request, and he tooke her to wife, together with others which as a Barbarian he held. This his marriage was the cause of his death: For he, holding a royall feast, and banquet at his wedding, dranke and ate that day so much: that waxing drowzie, and being overcome with slepe, he laid him downe; musing or groeling vpon his face, and nature being oppressed with what he had eaten and drunke, such abundance of blood gushed out at his nose, and with such vehemency, that in the space of an houre he was choaked therewith, and so hee ended, shedding his owne blood, who had caused fire and riuers of humane blood to flow; and had slaine a greater number of men, and vsed greater cruelty then any King or Capitaine that euer was before him.

The death of ATTILA gaue liberty to some Kings and Nations which were vnder him, and had serued him in all his warres, and there ensued great warres betweene them and his sons. But the Empire could neuer recover the Prouinces and Countries which it had lost in *Germany*, in *France*, in *Spain*, in *England*, and in *Africa*; although that in *France* and *Spain* it held some part: yet it so much declined and fell to so meane estate, as from henceforth wee shall write

The saying of
Proximus to
the Emperour
Valentinian.

Attila his coming
into Italy,
Forum Iulij.

The beginning of
the city of Venice.

Some are of opinion
that it is
called *Venitia* of
these words
Venite qua, u-
fied by those
which were first
there, to induce
the rest which
were on land to
come thither.

The siege of A-
quileia.

Aquileia taken
and razed by
Attila.

Cities taken in
Italy by Attila.

A great miracle
of grace.

Attila had Va-
lentinian's sister
to wife.

The death of
Attila.

The end of the
Empire in the
west.

of the Emperors and such accidents as happened in *Italy*, as additions annexed to the Empire of the East, principally naming the Emperors of *Constantinople*, wherein consisted the strength and power of the ancient Empire. For, after five or six Emperors, and some of them tyrants (as we will shortly declare) AVOVSIVS being the last of them, for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres the western Empire was wholly lost, and that which in *Italia* remained was subiect to the Emperors of *Constantinople*, who ruled the same by their Governors (called *Exarchi*) vntill the time of Pope L. so the third, in which time through the negligence and baseness of the Grecke Emperors, the Imperiall state was transported to the West, as when time cometh we will specifie.

The death of
the Emperor
Valentinian.

The next yeere after the death of ATRILA, the Emperour VALENTINIAN was slaine in *Rome*, by the secret practice and treason (as it was afterwards knowne) of MAXIMVS; and he, which executed this murder was a valiant souldier, who had serued that braue Captaine ECVS, whose name was TRASILIA, who did it in reuenge of the death of his Captaine, And so ended VALENTINIAN after that he had reigned thirtie yeeres; five and twentie in the company of his father in lawe THEODOSIUS the lesser, and five with MARTIANVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, whoby reason of his death remained sole Emperour, which happened in the yeere of our Lord (after most writers) foure hundred six and fiftie. He left not any sonne that might succede him, but two daughters by his wife EVDORIA.



THE LIFE OF MARTIANVS. ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR of ROME. (*)

Maximus
surge: the name
of Emperour.



Presently vpon the death of the Emperour VALENTINIAN in *Rome*, as PROCOPIVS, PAVLVVS DIACONVS and some others doe write, MAXIMVS for that he was a Romane Citizen, of high parentage, nobly defended, and of great authoritie in the Citie, presently vsurped the name of Emperour; and was possessed of *Rome* and of all *Italie*. And the better to assure his tyranny, he vsed such meanes, as (more by force, then any free consent) he married with EVDORIA, which had been VALENTINIAN'S wife, and daughter to the Emperour THEODOSIUS the lesser. Towhom after that he had her in his power, thinking thereby the better to winne her loue, he discovered and confessed that he had caused her husband to be slaine: with this addition,

that he did it languishing for the loue of her; which did nothing allwaie her discontentment, but rather so much incensed her, that she resolved to be reueng'd on him by any means howsoever

uer. And imagining that from *Constantinople*, or from the Emperour MARTIANVS, the should not haue any redresse, she secretly wrote to GENSERICVS King of the Vandales, who then reigned in *Africa*, very effectually recommending her vnto him, and earnestly intreating him to set her at libertie, and to deliuer her from the power of MAXIMVS; who was a tyrant and a traitor. GENSERICVS to take the benefit of the time, and in hope to make himselfe Lord of *Italy*, or at least to haue the spoile thereof, employing his whole power, raised the greatest Armie he was able, and vsing all possible expedition sailed into *Italy*, being so strong as Authors affirm, that he brought with him three hundred thousand men in his Armie: against whose power MAXIMVS was neither able, neither durst make any resistance, notwithstanding that he attempted as farre as he could: wherefore being altogether hopelesse and in despair, he resolved to flic, and to abandon *Rome*; but by the way he was slaine by a Roman captaine called VRVS.

Genericus
came into *Italy*
with 300000
men.
The death of
Maximus.

When GENSERICVS arriued on the coast of *Italy*, there was so great feare in *Rome*, as all the principal citizens abandoned the Citie: wherefore Pope L. so seeing the calamitie likely to fall vpon it, resolved to hazard his life for the same. And knowing how great cruelty GENSERICVS had vsed against the Bishops in *Africa*, as an Heretike (for he was an Arian) before that he came to *Rome*, he went forth to meete him, and in great humilitie intreated him for the Honor of Christ to mitigate his furie, and to content himselfe with the wealth of *Rome*, without spoiling and sacking the Churches and Temples. But this cruell king forbore not to march to *Rome*, and to enter it with his whole Armie, and robbed and spoiled without any difference as well the sacred, as the prophane. Being in *Rome* thus buisied, in the space of foureteene daies, he departed from thence, carying with him infinite wealth, and rich prisoners; and so *Rome* being the head of the world, and Queene of all Nations, was spoiled, dishonoured, and sacked by the Vandales, hauing already at another time been spoiled by the Gothes, as aboue is mentioned: a wonderfull example, to moue a man to make little account of the power & riches of this world. Leaving the Citie thus wasted (notwithstanding that at the intreaty of Pope L. so he commanded that no edifice or buildings should be set on fire, neither any man to be slaine or tortured) he led with him from *Rome* the Emperesse EVDORIA, and her two daughters which she had by VALENTINIAN, which he afterwards caried with him into *Africa*. After that GENSERICVS departed from *Rome*, he did the like in many other Cities in the marches thereof, as he had done there: and destroying the Citie of *Capua*, for that it made some resistance, he went to *Naples*, and besieged it, thinking to haue wonne it by assault. But the inhabitants so manfully defended it, that he was driuen to raise his siege, and so returned into *Africa* laden with the spoiles and wealth of *Italie*, where he married one of the Emperour VALENTINIAN'S daughters, which he brought with him from *Rome* to his sonne TRASTMYNDVS, who succeeded him in his estate.

Rome sacked by
Genericus.

The Emperesse
Eudoxia, and
her two daughters
caried into
Africa.

This befell in the sixt yeere of the raigne of MARTIANVS, being the next yeere after the death of VALENTINIANVS. GENSERICVS with his Armie hauing left *Rome*, and being departed out of *Italie*, the principall Senators and Romane Gentlemen, which through want of forces and of an Emperour, had abandoned the Citie, presently returned, and by common consent, chose for Emperour of *Rome*, *Italie* and *Sicilie* (for now in a manner all the rest of the state was vsurped) an antient Noble Romane Gentleman, both for age and blood, of the order and dignity of Senator, whose name was AVITVS: which when the Emperour MARTIANVS vnderstood, as a gentle and religious Prince, he was very glad thereof, and allowed and ratified his election, in hope of better order to be taken in the Government; and so it seemed that there was good hope to haue preserved the Empire in that state wherein it then was. But all was disturbed through the death of MARTIANVS, who was poisoned in *Constantinople*, by the practice and deuce of ARDABYRVS, and his father ASPAR, who were his Captaines: which happened in the yeere of our Lord 459, he hauing reigned seuen yeeres. This MARTIANVS was a vertuous and a iust Prince, and preferred and enlarged the Easterne Empire;

Auitus chosen
Emperour by the
Romans.

Martianus poisoned in *Constantinople*.



THE
LIFE OF LEO THE FIRST,
BEING THE FIVE AND FIFTITH
ROMANE EMPEROR; AND OF THOSE
WHICH IN HIS TIME TOOK
Vpon THEM THE
NAME OF
Emperors.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



When Martianus was dead, some which had bene the causes thereof sought to haue vsurped the Empire: wherein failing to effect their desires, they made Leo Emperour, being a Greeke borne, who in the beginning of his Empire bare himselfe so valiantly, that there was not an enemy so hardie, as to make warre against him. But in the Westerne Empire many tyrants arose, and many Emperours; which for that they liued not long, were the cause of great alterations and combustions: and the Vandales aduentured to come into Italy, against whom Leo sent a good and a worthy sctee, vnder the conduct of a Capitaine called Basiliscus, who encountering them, ouerthrew them. In the meane time Leo in Constantinople was driven to fight against some who sought to haue vsurped: who being overcome and slaine, he had great difficultie to rescue Rome, which was sacked and spoiled by many under the name of Emperours; which for that they liued not long, or were deposed from that dignity by others which were more mighty then they, were the causes of very great troubles in the Westerne Empire, in the middle of which tumults ensued the death of the Emperour Leo in Constantinople, when he had reigned feneenteene yeeres.



Resently when MARTIANVS the Emperour of Constantinople was dead (whose death was greatly lamented) the principall men began to consult about the choosing of a new Emperour: and ASPAR, who wrought the last Emperours death, sought to haue bene his successor: but he preuailed not, for as much as he was of the Arrian sect: for as the Catholike Christians were the stronger side, so they would not consent to his election. But seeing that he could not obtaine the Empire for himselfe, hee bare a great sway in the election of another, which was an excellent man both in peace and warre, a Tribune, whose name was LEO, a Greeke borne, and the first that euer was Emperour of the Greeke Nation, and as most Authoivs write, was born in the City of Bessica. But ASPAR first made this bargain with him, that when he should

be

be in full possession of the Empire, hee should then make his sonne, ARDABYRVS, CÆSAR; although it succeeded not. This being concluded, LEO was chosen and obeyed for Emperour: and gouerning the Empire in good order and with good successe, in the beginning thereof he wan great credit and reputation; so as neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Persia*, durst to stirre against him: but in the West, in *Italie*, and in *Sicilia*, there were great alterations, and many were Emperours more in name, than in power or authority comparable to the Antient. And that old and mighty King GENSERICVS neuer desisted from infesting *Italie*, coming himself in person, and sending his fleets to rob and spoil the Countrey; so that (as EVYROPVS relateth) he ruined and laid waste many Cities, and in the end became sole and absolute Lord of all *Sicilia*. In the first year of the Reign of LEO, AVITYS died in Rome, who (as we said) reigned there, and the Roman Army, being then neere to *Ravenna*, chose and nominated for Emperour a good man of warre, whose name was MAIORANVS: whereto the Emperour LEO gaue his consent.

The death of A. vitus.

This MAIORANVS was a good Prince, and an excellent Captain, for the time he reigned: for, he took great care, and vsed great diligence in defense of *Italie* against the Vandals & GENSERICVS their King: and to that end he raised a great Army, and remained for the most part of his time vpon the sea-side, to be the better able to send relief and succour where most need required. This prospering well with him, and seeing himself mighty and strong in men and munition, he resolved to haue sailed into *Africa*, in hope and with intent to haue reconquered the same; but he could not accomplish that good work: for, death surprisid him when he had reigned three yeeres and odde moneths. Some say, that hee died of a disease: and others say, that the same Army that chose him slue him. In place of MAIORANVS rose vp another Emperour, which was an eminent man called SEVERIANVS; who, besides the ordinary warres against the Vandals, was troubled with another against the Alanes: who, with GEORGE their King departing from *Spain*, where they had of long time inhabited together with the Gothes, resolved to come into *Italie*, thinking to haue conquered the same, and to haue made themselves Lords of certain places in *Lumhardy*: against whom, SEVERIANVS commanded an Armie to bee leuied, and made a valiant man called RITHINER Generall thereof, who was by lineage a Goth, but now made a Citizen of Rome, and received into the degree and dignity of a Roman Gentleman. The King of the Alanes coming with the Roman Generall neere to the City of *Bergamo*, to a battell which of either party was very cruell, in the end the Alanes were ouerthrowne, and their King slain.

The death of Majoranus, chosen Emperour.

Seuerianus chosen Emperour.

After this victory and other accidents which happned of lesse moment, SEVERIANVS died in Rome, when he had gouerned the Empire in *Italy* almost foure yeeres: and in his place was chosen a very excellent man of war, sent thither by the Emperour LEO to succour and protect *Italy* against the Vandals, who was called ANTHEMIVS, and was sonne-in-law to the late Emperour MARTIANVS, LEO's Predecessor. There presently arose against ANTHEMIVS (intituling himself Emperour) a Captain whose name was GERVANDVS, who was Prefect and Gouernor of the Prouince of *Narbonne*; which was all that remained subject to the Empire in *France*. But ANTHEMIVS speedily sent his Captains against him: and, being by them taken, hee was condemned to perpetual exile; and ANTHEMIVS established in his place a friend of his which was a good Captain, called BELIMER, to gouern the Countrey of *Gallia Narbonensis*. This rebellion was scarcely ended, when in Rome another prime man arose, and would also haue rebelled, called PATRICIVS: but ANTHEMIVS pacified that matter with as great facility as the rest.

The death of Seuerianus.

Anthemius chosen Emperour.

Geruandus was called Emperour.

During all these alterations, and the death of Emperours in *Italie*, the Emperour LEO gouerned *Greece* and the East very valiantly, and in peace. But the ould and politick GENSERICVS, King of the Vandales in *Africa*, seeing the alterations and troubles which daily happened in *Italie*, resolved with himself to invade it, and to make himself absolute Lord thereof; which was a thing that hee long desired, as a man who had tasted the sweetness of the wealth and riches of Rome. Whereupon hee mustred vp his valiant Vandales, and the countrey Inhabitants of *Africa* and other Nations; and armed and rigged the mightiest Armie and Nany that hee euer before had leuied. Whereof when LEO was aduertised, and knowing that ANTHEMIVS had not power sufficient to defend himself against GENSERICVS, and that if ANTHEMIVS sped ill, his estate was not assured (at the least *Slauonia*, and those Countiees which bordered vpon *Italy*) he resolved to imploy his whole power against GENSERICVS, in defense of ANTHEMIVS; who of his side made all the prouision of men and Arms that

Genfericus, King of the Vandals, came again into Italie.

possibly he was able, for the defence of *Italy*, and had rigged vp an excellent fleet for the Sea. When L *eo* had prepared his Armie and fleet, he made one B *asili* c *vs*, a great man in his countrie, Generall thereof, who was his brother in law, being brother to his wife the Emperesse, and was also brother in law to A *nthem* i *vs*: for A *nthem* i *vs* had married his sister. B *asili* c *vs*, with his great fleet departing from *Greece*, safely arrived in *Italy*; and ioyning with the fleet which A *nthem* i *vs* had prepared, they went in quest of G *enseric* c *vs*, who with no lesse a fleet was come vpon the same coast.

These two Naues being come within sight one of the other, and G *enseric* c *vs* knowing his enemies souldiers to be farre more readie and expert in Sea seruices then his were, would gladly haue avoided the fight; but he was so charged by B *asili* c *vs*, that he could not chuse but fight: and as the battaile was fearfully begun, so was it cowardly maintained. And he feeling his disadvantage, would haue gon out of the fleet, whilest the ships were fighting one with an other, and did attempt to haue done so: which the rest of his fleet perceiving, they all presently turned their backs, and he was apparently ouerthrowne: where he lost many of his ships and much people; and so very shamefully fled into *Africa*. Whom B *asili* c *vs* pursued, and took land but two hundred and fourescore furlongs from *Carthage*: and (as P *roco* p *ri* u *s* reporteth) if he had presently gone thither he had easily taken the same. And G *enseric* c *vs* being without forces (as he then was) he might haue taken all that prouince: for alreadie on the other side towards the East, another Captaine whom L *eo* had sent, whose name was H *erac* l *i* u *s*, had taken the citie of *Tripoli*, and other townes: but through ignorance, or as some say, B *asili* c *vs* being corrupted with a great summe of money by G *enseric* c *vs*, he forswould the warres, and was content to retire his Armie into *Sicilia*, and there to recover what G *enseric* c *vs* possessed. Whilest as the Emperor L *eo*'s Captaines and souldiers performed these seruices, he himselfe was not idle in *Constantinople*: for A *spar* and his sonne A *rdab* r *i* u *s* had caused great combustions. And as they were chiefe in making him Emperour; so were they of great power and authoritie in his Court, and in the government of the Empire: besides that both the father and the sonne had euer been eminent men, and very powerful. This A *spar*, perceiving that B *asili* c *vs* the Emperors Generall prospered well in all his actions, began to feare to fall from that dignitie which he then enjoyed; imagining that the Emperor being out of feare of G *enseric* c *vs*, would make small account of him: and to auoide this, he resolved whilest B *asili* c *vs* was in the warres, to importune and vrge him to nominate and make his sonne A *rdab* r *i* u *s*, C *esar*, according to his former promise when he was chosen Emperour; which he had hitherto deferred, by entreating them with some apparant reasons. But now A *spar* (as a mightie man) so audaciously importuned him to hold his word, as taking hold of the Imperiall robe which the Emperor then ware, he said, L *eo* thou oughtest to performe what thou hast promised me; for he that wareth this robe ought not to lie. Whereto the Emperor answered: And much lesse ought he to endure that any man vse violence or force him.

A *spar*, perceiving the Emperors determination, resolved to make his sonne C *esar* by force; and accounting himself of sufficient power to effect it, gaue him the name of C *esar*; and leuying such forces as he was able, the warre began between him and the Emperor. Some say that L *eo* nominated him C *esar*, and that the Catholike Christians would not yeld thereto, for that A *spar* and his sonne A *rdab* r *i* u *s* were both Arian hereticks: whereof ensued great tumults. But howsoeuer the matter went, it is certaine that they tooke Armes against their Soueraigne, and that their men of warre fought one partie against other. Wherefore in great haste L *eo* sent to recall his Generall B *asili* c *vs* from *Sicilia*, to the end that with his Armie and fleet he should come to his aide: but before that he could come, the Emperour was in great danger, and likely to haue been vtterly lost and ouerthrowne.

But being come with his Armie, notwithstanding that there were many skirmishes within the citie of *Constantinople*, and that in apparence it seemed the matter went in a manner at euē hand (for A *spar* and his sonne were excellent men of warre, very rich and of great power) yet in the end L *eo*'s partie prevailed, and the two tyrants were taken and put to death by the Emperours commandment: and so was he freed from this daunger and seruitude.

But there presently ensued other troubles with the Ostrogothes, which had accompanied A *ttila* in his warres. For B *alem* i *r* and T *hodomir* Kings of those Gothes, with all their whole power, after many battailes fought between them and the sonnes of A *ttila* (which I write not; for that it appertaineth not to our historie) resolved to make warre in the

Genseric
ouerthrowne
in a battaile by
Sea.

Speeche vtter-
red by Aspar
to the Emper-
L *eo*, with his
assure.

Aspar made
Cesar by his
father Arda-
burius by force.

Aspar and his
sonne Arda-
burius, slaine
by the command-
ment of the
Emperour L *eo*.

East Empire: and beginning in *Slauonia*, they put the Emperor L *eo* to great care and trouble. But he, as a wise Prince and a lover of peace (seeing that there was no other remedie) gaue them *Hungarie* and *Austria*, and taking hostages and great assurances of them, concluded a peace; which at that time was very necessary and profitable for the Empire, although nothing honourable. He also granted vnto them *Serua*, *Misia*, and *Walachia*.

In the meane season, after the ouerthrow of G *enseric* c *vs*, the Emperor A *nthem* i *vs* liued in peace in *Italy*. But as there is no constancy in humane estates, and that in the time of most prosperity, there many times happen the greatest disasters and calamities; R *ithiner*, who (as we said) ouerthrew the Alanes and slew their King neere to the Citie of *Bergama*, being growne proude and vaine glorious, by reason of so famous a victory, forgetting the fauours which A *nthem* i *vs* had bestowed vpon him (first in marrying him to his owne daughter; and then making him Governour generall of *Gallia Cisalpine*, now called *Lombardy*) resolved to rise and rebell against his father in law, and soueraigne Lord; by either of which he was bound to haue been a faithfull and loyall seruant; and to that end resolved to come with the greatest force that he was able, against the Emperor A *nthem* i *vs*: whereupon, all *Italie* was in Armes, either for the one party or for the other. But Pope E *phani* u *s* vsed the meanes to bring them to a peace: which he caused to be confirmed vpon certaine conditions, and with exceeding great oathes. But the wicked R *ithiner* (within a litle while after) brake all, and with his Army came to the walls of *Rome*, making warre against all such as tooke part with the Emperour.

A *nthem* i *vs* was then vn furnished of any sufficient Army to take the field; and therefore contenting himself to defend the Citie, suffered it to be besieged, expecting the succours which came to him out of *France*. For B *alem* i *r* (whom as we haue said, he had made Governour of *Gallia Narbonensis*) vnderstanding in what distresse he was (as a loyall and gratefull seruant) resolved to come with the greatest power he was able to leuie, to relieue his soueraigne Lord and to raise the siege. And the Emperor L *eo* b vnderstanding what past in *Italie*, and knowing how small meanes and power A *nthem* i *vs* had to defend himselfe, being informed also of the treason of R *ithiner*, with all speed he sent into *Italie* a Captaine whose name was O *l* i b *ri* u *s*, with a good Army against him; with authoritie, when he should fee time fit for it, to take the name of Emperour. Which when A *nthem* i *vs* vnderstood, thinking by this meane to be freed from the siege, wherewith the Citie was distressed, he agreed that the other should be called Emperour, and willingly allowed his name and title.

But before that O *l* i b *ri* u *s* could come, B *alem* i *r* arrived with such succours, as he brought with him out of *France*: and seeking to enter *Rome*, and to ioyne with A *nthem* i *vs*, R *ithiner* got between him and the Citie, in such manner, that whether B *alem* i *r* would or would not, they came to blowes, and there was between them a cruell battell, wherein the loyall Captaine (through the secret iudgement of God) was slaine by the traitor: whereupon, the people of *Rome* being out of hope of this succour (and as O *l* i b *ri* u *s* which came from *Constantinople* was in *Rauenna*, so farre from *Rome*) they so cowardly fainted, as R *ithiner* entred the Citie by force; and being in possession thereof, put his Lord and father in law the Emperour to death, and sacked the whole Citie, excepting two streets wherein hee was lodged. And so this was the third time that *Rome* endured wants and much trouble in defending it selfe, and violence and spoile after it was taken. So that (as it hath been scene, and hereafter will often appeare) this World knoweth not how to giue any good thing, but takes it away againe; neither how to aduance, but to the end to pull downe againe. *Rome* had commanded and subdued the whole World, and had reigned ouer all the habitable knowne Nations of the earth: it had tamed and deputed great Kings and Common-wealths of their Kingdomes and Dominions, and had enriched it selfe with the spoiles and wealth (in a manner) of all the Nations and Cities of the World. Neuerthelesse, through the diuine prouidence of God, in proceesse of time it was taken and spoiled by the same people and Nations which it had subdued, and brought vnder their yoke. And those Nations came to *Rome*, tooke it, and made spoile thereof, as if they had come to fet home, and to haue that restored to them, which in former time was taken from their Auncestors; which the Reader may plainly perceiue by that which is already written, and shall be written hereafter: which will shew how often *Rome* hath beene entred and taken by force, and how often it hath beene sacked and spoiled, and indured such like disasters and calamities.

But to returne to our History: R *ithiner* being Master and Commander of *Rome*, and

Rithiner rebel-
led against the
Emperour A *nthem* i
u *s* in *Italie*.

Balemier
ouerthrowne
and slaine by Rithi-
ner.

Rome taken and
sacked the third
time by Rithi-
ner, wherein the
Emperour An-
themius was
slaine.

Rithner made
Emperor of
Rome, and his
death.
Olibrius made
Emperor, and
his death.

of the rest of *Italie*, with the power and name of Emperor (excepting *Ravenna*, and the marches thereof, which was defended by OLIBRIUS) three moneths only hee enjoyed this sovereignty: after which, he fell into an extreme sickness, whereof he died in terrible pain. And as soon as he was dead, OLIBRIUS was proclaimed Emperor in *Rome*, who then was in *Ravenna*: and coming thither, and giving out the signes and shew of an excellent good Governour, within foure months he died of his natural death. And as *Rome* had lost her power and authority: so had the Emperors thereof little health, and short life. For, who-so shall make a computation thereof, shall finde, that whilst L E o reigned in the East, there were in *Italie* (by good and bad titles) one and other, six or seven Emperors.

Glizerius
made Emperor,
and deposed.

Presently after the decease of OLIBRIUS, the Senate of *Rome*, considering the losses and tyrannies past, would have used their authority in chusing an Emperor by voices, and by general consent, with good aduice and consideration; but they could not bring their purpose to effect: for, being overruled by GVANDIBARVS (a Captain who then was in *Ravenna*) they made choice of one GLIZERIVS a Senator of *Rome*, who was in *Ravenna* with him. Yet his Empire lasted but a while: for, the Emperour L E o, vnderstanding that his election was by force, sent against him a Captain called NEPOS, with the title and name of Emperor; who, being assisted by the Romans which against their wils had sworn obedience to GLIZERIVS, deposed him, and made him against his will to take Monastical Orders, and gaue him a Bishoprick: but he took the Empire to himself; which was the occasion of many commotions and troubles in *Italie*. For, GVANDIBARVS, who had advanced GLIZERIVS, took his suppression for a great disgrace and an indignity done to himself: wherefore he leuied an Army, to the end to haue restored him. But Pope EPIPHANIUS used such diligence, and took such pains in the matter (who, as we said, made the peace between BALBIR and ANTHEMIVS, although it continued not long) that hee made a stay thereof, procuring peace between them: so as they laid down their Arms; and for that time NEPOS remained in peace in *Rome*. But, as hee liued in that estate, he was aduertised that HENRY King of the Gothes (who then reigned in *Tholose* in *France*, and in the greatest part of *Spain*) made warres upon those Countries which were subject to the Romans; and had taken certain Towns; so as it was feared that he would haue proceeded further. NEPOS, to shew his power, leuied a very good Armie; and, making one ORBSTES, a private friend of his, General thereof, commanded him to take his way towards *France*. But ORBSTES, departing with very great forces, took no care for going that journey according to his commission, which had been more for his honour; but rather, as soon as he came to *Ravenna* (having first founded the good will of his Army, so far forth as he thought expedient) made his son to be called Emperor, whose name was AVGVSTVS; whom the Romans called AVGVSTVLVS (for, that name they gaue him when hee was a child) and so he is called by all Historians. And having brought this to effect, he resolved to return to *Rome* against NEPOS; who, as hee had employed all his men of warre and whole power in that Army, was not of force able to stay his coming, neither to make any defense or resistance against him. Wherefore he abandoned *Rome*, and the hope to bee any longer Emperor, having been so but a little while; and fled into *Dalmatia*, which was vnder the jurisdiction of the Emperor L E o: and so AVGVSTVLVS continued in *Rome* in possession, and with the name and title of Emperor.

Orcestes, being
sent by the Em-
peror Nepos
with an Armie
into France,
made his son to
be called Empe-
ror.

The Emper-
or Nepos, aban-
doning Rome,
fled into Dal-
matia.
Augustulus
made Emper-
or.
The death of
the Emper-
or Leo in
Constantinople.

While the affairs of *Italie* stood in this estate, the Emperor L E o died in the City of *Constantinople*, having reigned (as writeth PAVLVS DIACONVS) seuenteen yeers with great valor and honour, as an excellent Prince, in the yeer of our Lord foure hundred, threecore and sixteen; who left not behinde him any sonne to inherit, but two daughters, the one called ARADNE, and the other, L BONCIA: the one was married to ZENO, who afterwards was Emperor; and the other to MARTIANVS, sonne of ANTHEMIVS, who (as we haue said) had been Emperor of *Italie*: yet some say, that ARADNE, who was wife to ZENO, was not his daughter, but his sister, and that hee instituted a sonne of hers before his death for Emperour, and his Successor. His death was condoled by all, and many lamented the same with tears.

The Emperour L E o being dead in *Constantinople*, and AVGVSTVLVS reigning in *Rome*, the general estate of all the Provinces that were wont to be in subjection to the Empire, stood in this manner: The Gothes, with their King called by some EVRIQVS, and by other HENRICVS, held *Tholose*, and that part of *France* which borders vpon *Spain*, and the greatest part of *Spain* it self. The Suenians in *Gallia*, and in part of the Kingdome of *Leon*, held warres with the

the Gothes, and to the Empire remained some haucn townes on the coast of *Arragon*, *Cathagena*, and *Tarragona*, and some others also. The Alanes which remained in *Spain*, dwelt together with the Gothes in a part of *Spain* towards *Italy*: and after the names of these two nations, that province was called *Gotalonia*, which now through corruption of speech is called *Catalunia*. In *France* reigned the French, in *Paris* and in all the countries round about it, and in other countries with all that which we now call *Flanders* and *Picardie*, whose king was called HERERICVS. The Burgonians held the two *Burgundies*, and the Empire held no more but *Marbone*, and some land thereto neere adioining, which continued but a while in the Emperours iurisdiction. In *England* reigned the English Saxons, and in *Scotland* the Picts and Scots. In *Hungarie*, *Austria*, and *Misia*, *Serua*, and *Walachia*, the Ostrogothes, with their King TODOMIR, and his sonne THEODORICVS, by permission of the Emperour L E o, bare the sway. In *Africa* were the Vandales, and their very old King GENSERICVS, many times spoken of: who died within a little while after, and his sonne HONORICVS succeeded him. The most of the provinces of *Germany* were vsurped by the successors of the Hunnes, called Hercul, Turing, and others which came thither with ATRILA: and betwene all these nations and countries and their Kings were great warres, each of them courting to enlarge his territorie and dominion. All the Easterne provinces were in peace subiect to the Empire, and to the Easterne Emperour, who then was L E o, nephew of that L E o of whom we but now discoursed.



THE LIFE OF LEO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND SIXE AND FIFTITH ROMANE EMPEROR, And of his Father ZENO.

THE ARGVMENT.



THE Emperour Leo being dead, his Nephew, whose name was also Leo, took possession of the Empire: to whom it seemed a matter unreasonable, that his father, whose name was Zeno, should live as a private man, and be an Emperour: wherefore he renounced the Empire unto him, and crowned him with his owne hand, and within short space after dyed. Zeno being then made Emperour, the widow Emperesse being much displeased that he should enjoy so great a dignity, procured Basiliscus a Captain of his owne, to rebel against him; who making himselfe Emperour, compelled Zeno to flee into *Isauria* in *Asia*: but he continued not long in that miserie, for Basiliscus being hated for his pride, behuied himselfe so, as Zeno was restored to the Empire. Whilst as he liued in the East in peace, the Westerne Empire and *Rome* were so troubled, that Orestes father to the Emperour Augustulus was taken prisoner in *Pavia*, and there slaine. And Augustulus (for feare) left the Imperiall ensignes, the Empire and *Rome* to the discretion of Odoacer, who was afterwards displaced by Theodoricus King of the Ostrogothes. And Zeno having been somewhat troubled with warres in the East, and having obtained victorie against two tyrants, which were Alpar and his sonne Ardaburius, which rose against him, dyed of an ordinary death in *Constantinople*, when he had reigned sixteen yeeres.



Am of opinion that the Reader hath sufficiently vnderstood, in what estate the Empire remained, when the Emperour L E o died in *Constantinople*: wherefore I hold it needlesse to make any repetition thereof. I say then, that as soone as L E o departed out of this life, his Nephew without any contradiction was acknowledged and obeyed for Emperour, whose name also was L E o. For as I sayd, his Grandfather had chosen and so appointed him to be, before his death, and hee held the Empire the space of certaine moneths: at the end of which he did a thing which seemeth strange, and breedeth admiration. Which was, that of his owne ac-
cord

Leo refused the
Empire, and
gave it to his
father Zeno.

cord and voluntarie free will (holding it a hard case, that the father should be subject and inferior to the sonne) he renounced the Empire, and gave it to his father ZENO, and crowned him with his owne hand, and presently did him homage. For fathers in their life time to give to their children their kingdoms and dignities, is a thing we have seene, and often read of; and it seemeth that there is reason to induce them thereto: but seldom hath any man euer heard, that the sonne would dispossesse himself of a kingdom or Empire, to give it to his father. For it hath rather happened to the contrary, that the sonne hath bereaved the father thereof by force in his life time, yea and sometimes hath wished and practised his fathers death, to be his heire, and to succede him. Therefore I say, that this accident is very strange, and the reverence and obedience of this sonne much to be noted.

But it succeeded in this manner, that ZENO was crowned and obeyed for Emperor in Constantinople, and his sonne LEO remained in his former estate. To the contrary hereof, in Italy ORBESUS made his sonne AVGVSTVLVS Emperor, not desiring or procuring it for himselfe. LEO having renounced the Empire and given the same to his father (as IORDANES and other authors say) died within few daies after. But PAVLVVS DIACONVS reporteth after another manner: for he saith that the father fought his sonnes death, from which he was delivered by making himselfe a Priest, and so lived certaine yeeres. But howsoever it was, there is no more mention made of LEO, and his father ZENO began to rule the Empire. Going in progresse to visit the same, being in Chalcadonia, the widow Emperesse, his wifes mother, who remained in Constantinople, repining to see ZENO Emperor, whom her husband LEO euer accounted worthe of the Empire (as IORDANVS writeth) induced her brother BASILISCVS, who (as we said) ouerthrew GENSRICVS in a battaile at sea, to take upon him the name of Emperor. And as by reason of that victorie and the affinitie which he had with the late Emperor LEO, he was very mightie and highly esteemed: so was he both able and willing to make himselfe Emperor, and for such was received; and they sware obedience vnto him in Constantinople. Which as soone as ZENO vnderstood (whether it were through basenesse of minde, or to auoide the warres and the effusion of blood which would haue ensued) he took no care to make any head against him, but retired himselfe into Isauria, which is a very strong and guardable prouince in Asia the lesse, where he assured himselfe to line in securitie. Whereof BASILISCVS waxing proud, and very ioyfull, and holding himselfe now safe and past all danger, he made his sonne MARCVS, CÆSAR. But his pride and ioy continued but a while: for as he was infected with the Nestorian heresie, so he began to persecute and afflict the Church and Catholike Christians; by meanes whereof (as IORDANVS and PROCOPIVS report) he grew so hatefull, and was so abhorred by all sortes of people, that those Captiues which he sent against ZENO, returned against himselfe, and by the generall consent of all men ZENO was restored, and reestablished in the Empire; and he with his sonne MARCVS and VERINA his sister, were taken prisoners, and being banished died in exile. In this manner remained ZENO mightie and in peace, hauing bin dispossessed of the Empire the space of eightene moneths: where we will leaue him, and returne to speake of AVGVSTVLVS the Emperor of the West, or to say better, of Italy.

Whilest these things passed in the East, we told you how that ORBESUS had exalted his sonne, and made him Emperor against NEPOS, who held his Empire in Rome, and that NEPOS had abandoned Italy, and AVGVSTVLVS remained there; and seeing that in Italy no man durst oppose himselfe against him; by the aduice and counsell of his father he made peace, and entred in league with GENSRICVS King of the Vandales in Africa, who was now growne old and worne with beaung armes, and euen at deaths dore. By reason of which league, hee held himselfe to be in great securitie: for of ZENO he made no account, seeing the discord between him and BASILISCVS. But his trouble and ruine sprang from whence he least mistrusted it; for the Heruli and the Turingi, a people of which we haue made mention, and which had serued in the warres vnder ATTILA the mightie King of the Hunnes, and which at that time inhabited along the riuier of Danubius, in the furthest confines of Hungary, took for their Capitaine a man of their own nation called ODOACER, with a resolution to come into Italy, and to make a conquest thereof; seeing that no man had any right thereto, but he who was of greatest power, and could best fight for it. And it was the will and pleasure of God, that as Italy had sent Captains to the conquest of all parts and nations of the world, so should Captains and men of war come from all parts and nations of the earth to make a conquest thereof. Leaving apart other accidents which by the way befell ODOACER; hee beeing approached to the

Borders

Borders of Italy, ORBESUS, the father of AVGVSTVLVS, sallied forth to encounter him, with an excellent Armie which the father and sonne (hauing intelligence of his coming) had leuiued.

The two Armies being com within sight one of the other, both the Generals would haue fought: but certain companies of ORBESUS his souldiers went ouer vnto ODOACER, which when he perceived (reposing no firm confidence in the rest which remained) hee retired in the best order he could towards Ticinum, which is now called Pavia, a City in Lombardy; and ODOACER pursued him. But ORBESUS, hauing no sufficient Armie to take the field to fight with him, suffred himself to be besieged in that City: And notwithstanding that he did as much as was possible for his defense, yet the assaults giuen were so terrible, that the City was entred by force, after that hee had defended it many daies, and ORBESUS taken: on whom, and the souldiers which were with him, ODOACER souldiers executed extreme cruelty. And from thence ORBESUS was carried prisoner to Placencia; where, by ODOACERS commandement, he was put to death.

After that ODOACER had obtained this victory (as AVGVSTVLVS his Empire had but a weak foundation, and lesse equity of his side) all things went against him, and prospered with his enemy: and so with small difficulty, and as little resistance, ODOACER took all the cities of Italy, and presently proclaimed himself Lord and King thereof.

When AVGVSTVLVS vnderstood that all the towns and people took part with ODOACER, he departed from Rauenna, where he then kept his Court, to go to Rome: but by the way, before he came thither, being out of hope, hee voluntarily put away his Robes and Impetiall Enginies, abandoning Rome, and fled; contenting himself with the hope of sauing his life, when he had reigned two yeeres a peaceable Emperor: and so he afterwards ended his life in poeuertie and misery (as it is to be presumed); for, the Historiographers make no more mention of him. Rome being abandoned by AVGVSTVLVS, ODOACER without any resistance possessed himself of all Italie, which he enjoyed foureteen yeeres in great prosperity: after which we will tell you who were Lords thereof. And so in this AVGVSTVLVS ended the Empire and dominion of Rome; which afterwards had no Emperor for the space of three hundred and thirtie yeeres. This happened in the year one thousand, two hundred, nine and twenty. after the building of Rome; and in the five hundred, nine and twentieth after that IVLVVS CÆSAR made himself Tyrant and Lord thereof; and in the year four hundred, seventy and seuen, after the birth of our Saviour CHRIST.

In these times (as PAVLVVS DIACONVS and BLONDVS write) there arose a Nobleman in England, by linage a Roman, descended from those which in ancient time had dwelt in that land; whose name was AMBROS, who joyning with the Britans, the ancient Inhabitants of that Country, against the Angles, fought many battels with them; but in the end hee was ouerthrowne and slain. Whereupon, many of those Britans resolved to abandon that land; and in Barks and Ships (such as they could get) embarked themselves, and sailed ouer into that Coast of France which for that cause is now cald Britanny; where in those daies dwelt a people called Veneti, Cenomanni, and others: where, sometimes by leaue, and with the good will of the Inhabitants, and sometimes without it, they inhabited and possessed themselves of that Country; and haue continued there euer since with good successe; that the name thereof and their language continueth there untill this day, and is one of the best Prouinces of all France; wherein haue been mighty Princes; but, by means of sundry alterations, the French Kings is now Lord thereof.

After this, the Emperor ZENO reigned in Constantinople, and ODOACER in Italie, some yeeres peaceably; so as there hapned not anything in the Empire worth the writing; but in the end fortune turned her wheel in such manner, that ODOACER justly lost all that which hee had wrongfully gotten; and one Tyrant was bereaued of what he had taken from another Tyrant which happened in such manner as we will set down. THEODORICVS, son of THEODOMIR King of the Ostrogothes, who in the time of the Emperor LEO the First had lien in hostage in Constantinople, when his father and vncle made peace with LEO, who granted vnto them Austria, Hungary, and Misilia, to inhabit; at this time his father THEODOMIR being dead, THEODORICVS succeeded him in the Kingdom: whereof when the Emperor ZENO was aduertised, he sent Ambassadors to him; giuing him to vnderstand, that he was very glad of his succession; and therewith requested him to come to his Court, for the great desire he had to see him, and to doo him honour: which THEODORICVS gladly performed; remem-

Orbesus, father
to Augullinus,
marches against
Odoacer.

Orbesus takes
and leaves Odoacer.

Augullinus abandons
Rome to Odoacer.

Odoacer made
himself Lord of
all Italy.

After the building
of Rome, Anno 1220 after
that Iulius Cæsar made
himself monarch
of the Roman
Empire.

The Britans
abandoned Eng-
land, and went
ouer into Brit-
tany in France.

Basiliscus made
himselfe Empe-
ror against
Zeno in Con-
stantinople.

Marcus made
Cæsar by his
father
Basiliscus.

Basiliscus the
tyrant dispo-
sessed, taken
prisoner and
banished, died
in exile, together
with his sonne
and sister.

Augullinus made
peace with
Geneticus
King of the Van-
dals in Africa,
Augullinus
Emperor in
Rome.

Odoacer king
of the Heruli
came into Italy.

Theodoricus,
King of the
Goths, came to
the Emperor
Zeno's Court.

remembering the honour and good entertainment which in former time he had received in *Constantinople*. Whither when he came (besides that he was very solemnly received at his first coming) he was afterwards very honourably entertained by the Emperor *ZENO*, who gave him Ensignes of Arms, and other honours and dignities, assigning to his people pay and perpetual pensions: and so was *THEODORICVS* beloved and esteemed by the Emperor & his whole Court. And, living in this manner with great contentment for a certain space, his people that came with him, and those which remained behind also in his Countrey, being accustomed to the warres, and to rob and spoil, and now grieved with living idle in peace, continually petitioned him, that (imitating those from whom he was descended) he should seek to make some conquest, and not to spend his life in banqueting and feasting; but principally they counselled him to sue to the Emperor to give him leave to make a Conquest of *Italy*, which *ODACER* had taken and vsurped, and they told him so many things thereof, that in the end he resolved to follow their counsell: and, finding a time and place convenient, he made a faire speech to the Emperor, intreating him to grant him what is before said; which, Bishop *JOHANNES* writes at large in his Book of the Originall and Acts of the Gothes.

Theodoricus
made suite to
the Emperor to
give him leave
to conquer *Italy*
from *Odacer*.

When *ZENO* had heard his discourse, and understood his meaning, hee was very fussy for it: for, he desired ever to have had him neer to himself, and not to have suffered him to haue departed; allwell for the loue hee bare him, as for the fear and doubt which hee ever had of the Gothes. But seeing his resolution, after counsell taken with the Senate, he was of opinion what hee might well grant him (as he requested) the conquest of *Italy*; considering that the Empire had lost it, and that it was now in the power of *ODACER*; wherefore it were better that a King which was a friend and confederate should possess the same, than another; and if hee did not accomplish his conquest, yet it was a means to weaken both their forces; of which the Empire stood in fear, having been oftentimes molested by them.

When the Emperor had made this Grant, and confirmed the same by publique instruments, *THEODORICVS* took his leave, and went into *Hungary* and into *Misla*, where his people inhabited: there he gathered together the best and choicest men of war he was able for this enterprise, and began to march forwards with his Armie; but by the way he was hindred and encountered by certain Kings and barbarous people which were the remnant of *ATILIA* his troops: so as by that time he came into *Italy*, he was well trained in the warre, and his souldiers were accustomed to vanquish. *ODACER*, who some daies before was advertised of his coming, had leued a very great Armie, and had assembled together the people of that countrey, whom he perswaded to aid him, and to defend themselves.

Theodoricus
entered *Italy*, &
Odacer went
to encounter him.

A battell
between
Odacer
and *Theodo-*
ricus.
Odacer was
overthrowne
by
Theodoricus.

When *THEODORICVS* was arrived in *Italy*, he encamped himself by a rivers side called *Sonza*, neer to the ruines of old *Aquileia*, to refresh his Armie in those fertill fields: As soon as *ODACER* heard of his coming (as he lay in wait for him in those Marches) hee drew to neer with his Armie, that in short space they came to a battell (which *THEODORICVS* with great courage offered, and *ODACER* refused not: for, it seemd that both the Commanders desired the same); which was one of the most cruell and bloodie that hath been seen: for, the Commanders and souldiers of either side were very valiant; and the one fought to winne a Kingdom, fame and honour, and the other fought to preserve all these. The Fight lasted a great part of the day; and, after great slaughter, and effusion of much blood on either side, *THEODORICVS* obtained the victory, and *ODACER* was faine to see when he had done all that was possible for him to maintain the Fight. And although *ODACER* lost this battell, yet he lost neither courage nor hope to defend himself: but, gathering together the remainder of those which escaped from the battell, he raised new forces; and, again taking the Field neer to the City of *Verona*, returned to fight with *THEODORICVS*, who followed him thither: and the two Kings came the second time to battell, which was no lesse cruell than the first; for, this was the last of *ODACER*'s hope: but hee was again overthrowne; for, those supplies which came to his aid forsook him, and he lost great part of his Army fighting; and afterwards in his flight passing the river *Pa*, many of his people were drowned.

Odacer over-
throwne the
second time
by *Theodo-*
ricus.

In this flight *ODACER* neuer staid till he came to *Rome*: where he thought to have gathered a new head, and there to have resisted his enemies; but they would not receive him: for, seeing that hee had been twice overthrowne, they had no hope or confidence in him; but sought to gratifie *THEODORICVS*, so as the City was in Arms: wherefore *ODACER* returned, and with the best forces hee was able to gather together, put himself into *Ravenna*. *THEODORICVS* for that time forbore to pursue him; but went to *Milan* and took it, with o-

ther

ther cities in that quarter: whereupon, many cities in *Italy* sent to him to yeeld their obedience, and many companies of souldiers came to serue him in his warres. In the meane season *ODACER* fortified himselfe with armes, men, and victuals, thinking at the least to have been able to defend himselfe in *Ravenna*, which at that time (after *Rome*) was the principall citie of all *Italy*. *THEODORICVS*, being in a redines to besiege it, there followed so sodaine an alteration, as he neither could, neither durst to stay before it: for by the procurement of one of *ODACER*'s Captaines, who was either a president or admirall of some part of *Italy*, many Captaines, townes, and people againe took part with *ODACER*; and they grew to so great ahead, that *THEODORICVS* was in such feare, as he put himselfe into *Paulia*, and many daies passed before that he drew his Armie againe to field, so as neither *ODACER* came to seeke him, nor he *ODACER*. Within few months after, they made frontier warres; and *THEODORICVS*, recovering forces, committed his Mother and Sisters to the keeping of *EPHIANIVS* Bishop of *Pania*, and went to *Ravenna* (wherein *ODACER* lay) and laid siegethereto: but *ODACER* so manfully defended the same, that in three yeeres space (for so long the siege lasted) he not onely made head against *THEODORICVS*, but made so many sallies vpon him, and gave him so many alarmes, as he neuer suffered his Armie to rest. But in the end wanting victuals, and out of hope of any reliefe, having first tried all means both to offend and defend, and seeing it auailed not, he resolved to yeeld to *THEODORICVS*, vpon condition that he should give him assurance of his life, with promise to allow him some place in *Italy*, wherein he might live; which promise was ill performed: for he commanded both him and his sonne to be slaine: and so ended the life and raigne of *ODACER*, which cannot iustly be termed, cowardlie.

Theodoricus
besieged *Odacer*
in *Ravenna*.

Odacer slaine
by the com-
mandment
of *Theodoricus*.

ODACER being dead, the remainder of his Armie of Heruli, which escaped from the battelle, were entertained by *THEODORICVS*, and he gaue them pay, and in short space made himselfe Lord of all *Italy*, finding not any resistance; afterwards he went to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great ioy and solemnitie, as well for the fame and good report which they had heard of him, as for that he was sent thither by the Emperor *ZENO*. And this morouer digreadly helpe him to get the good will of the citie; that at his very first coming thither, he caused a great quantitie of wheat to be distributed amongst the citizens; whereof they then stood in great need: And so he remained Lord of *Rome*, and of all *Italy*, calling himselfe king thereof, as *ODACER* had done, thirteene yeeres before.

Theodoricus
went to *Rome*
and made him-
selfe Lord there
of all *Italy*.

This *THEODORICVS* was a very vertuous, iust, and a most excellent Prince and gouernour, and made himselfe very mightie, and much beloved and feared: but about all, he was very wife and circumspect in preserving his estate. And to the end to make himselfe the more mightie, he procured alliance with all the kings then in *Europe*: for he presently treated a marriage with *ANDEFREDA* the French Kings daughter, which he solemnized with great feasting and triumph. And of his owne three daughters, one he married to *SIGISMUND* King of the Burgonians; and another to *ALARICVS* King of the Visigothes, and of *Spain*; and his third daughter called *AMALASINTHA*, he married to a Prince of *Germany* called *EVTHARICVS*; and his sister *ALMAFREDA* hee married to *HONORICVS* King of the Vandales and of *Africa*, who was *GENSERICVS* his heir and successor. So as with all the Princes neere vnto *Italy*, he made some amitie and league of friendship; and held that kingdom, which with such honour he had conquered, with no lesse honour, the space of thirte yeeres.

The alliance
and league made
by *Theodoricus*.

Whilest these things passed in *Italy*, *ZENO* the Emperor of *Constantinople* and of the East, had somewhat to doe with the Bulgarians, who euer since the death of *ATILIA* had inhabited *Germany*, and had made an incursion into the province of *Thracia*, and done much harme in that countrey: but they quickly returned to their habitation. In *Constantinople* also happened a great fire, which burnt a great part of that citie. There befell vnto *ZENO* also another great disaster, plotted by a favourite of his, who was steward of his palace, whose name was *YLLO*, which was thus: This *YLLO* made the Emperour beleue (though vniustly) that his wife the Emperesse, whose name was *ARABIANE*, daughter to the Emperour *LEO*, liued dishonestly; and so *ZENO* being deluded, commanded her secretly to be slaine. And hee to whom the charge of the execution was committed, revealed the secret to a young gentleman of the Emperesse chamber, who presently advertised her Ladie thereof. And shee the very instant without any delay, fled from the palace in the closest manner she could, leaving her in her chamber, which had advertised her thereof, and went to the house of *ACACIVS* then Bishop

What befell
the Emperour
ZENO
in *Constantino-*
ple.

The treacherie
of *Yllo* against
the Emperesse
Arianne.

D d

of

of *Constantinople*. The Emperour the next day, assuring himselfe that his commandment had been effected, clad himselfe in mourning attire, faining that his wife had died naturally. But presently the Bishop, came vnto him: who with great authoritie severely reprehended his lightnes and hastic resolutions; aduertising him of his wifes innocencie; and that her accusation was vntre. Finally, he handled the matter so well, as hee perswaded him of the truth, and reconciled him to his wife, and made a perfect peace betweene them. But the Emperesse *ARIADNE*, after that she vnderstood that it was *YLIOS* which had accused her, as a woman would bee reuenged, and commanded a certaine man, whom she held fit for that purpose, to kill him; who the better to bring his purpose to effect, lay in wait for him: and purposing to haue stricken him vpon the head, his blow failed, and it happened vnto him as to *S. PETER*: for missing his head, he smote off one of his eares, and so hee escaped. And daring not to remaine in the Emperour *ZENO*'s Court, he resolved to commit a greater treason then the former, which was to goe into *Asia*, and there to rise and rebell, with a great part of the East: which he might easily doe, for hee was very cunning and of great account; and *ZENO* for his conditions was in those parts very ill beloued. But he speedily sent a good Armie against him vnder the leading of a Capitaine called *LEONCIUS*: but this *YLIOS* used such meanes and perswasions to *LEONCIUS*, as he did the like: and so of onerant there arose two, which made themselves Lords of a great part of *Asia* the lesse. But within few daies after, the Imperiall Armie which had conspired with them, after that the souldiers were growne rich by spoile and boocie, repenting their errors, and to obtaine pardon, vpon a day mutined and slew them both, and brought their heads to *Constantinople*. And so was *ZENO* freed from this trouble and reuolt, and liued the remainder of his time in rest and peace: notwithstanding that he put certaine Noblemen to death without any iust cause. All these things being past, in the seuenteenth yeere of his reigne *ZENO* died of a naturall death in *Constantinople*. It is written of him that he was exceedingly ill fauoured and deformed, and of a loathsome aspect and gesture. He is not reckoned among the good Emperours; and it is also said of him, that he would sometimes be drunke. He died in the yeere of our Lord foure hundred, fourescore and fourteene.

By what meanes
the Emperesse
was deliuered
from death.

Leoncius con-
spired with
Ylios, and both
were slaine by
their souldiers.

The death of
Zeno.

THE LIFE OF ANASTASIVS, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND SEVEN AND FIFTITH RO- MANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGUMENT.

ZENO being dead, *Anastasiu* was chosen, who was greatly fauoured by the Emperesse: to whom she was married, at the end of fortie dayes after the obsequies of her dead Husband. This man finding all things in peace, in the beginning of his reigne did many good deeds: but he suddenly altered his condition, and being posted with the hereticke of *Eutiches* or *Euticeus*, which made a quarternitie of the *Dionysie*, he began to growe hatefull to God and men; and many countries rebelled against him. Against which passing himselfe in order to fight (although that he ouercame many of the Rebels) neuertheless he was once brought to such an extremitie, as he was driuen shamefully to buy his peace with money; and afterwards the Persians, rising against him, gaue him many crosses in sundrie battailes: but finally he made a truce with them, and during the time of the truce, he was slaine by a thunderbolt from heauen.



ZENO had not any sonne that might succeed him in the Empire: wherefore, after his death some of the chiefeest Lords procured themselves to be chosen; among which was this *ANASTASIVS*: who although he were not of any Noble Family, yett he was a man of great reputation, and well beloued. By reason whereof, and also for that he was in great fauour with the widow Emperesse, he was chosen Emperour, with the ayde and assistance of an Eunuch, called *VABRICIVS*, who was of great authority in the Court. And *ARIADNE* did not onely procure his election aforesayd, but within forty dayes after the obse-

Anastasiu
chosen Empe-
ror.

obsequies of her dead husband were solemnized, and his body intombed, she married with the new Emperour: and by this meane obtained *ANASTASIVS* the Empire. In the beginning whereof, without any contradiction, but with the generall contentment of all men, he was obeyed: and he not onely found the Empire in peace, but there was peace also in *Italy*, *France*, *Spain*, *Germanie*, and *Africa*; they gouerning those kingdomes as their owne, who were successors to them which first vsurped and tooke them from the Empire; notwithstanding that shortly after there arose great vvares betweene them. *THEODORICVS*, who was called King of *Italy*, made choise of the citie of *Rauenna* for his royall seat; which was by him enobled with sumptuous buildings: and in his absence he commanded the like to be made in *Rome*, and did much good through all *Italy*, directing all things like a good and an excellent Prince; in so much as the people praised God for him, and held themselves happie, in that they had so good a man for their Lord and gouernour.

But returning to our new Emperour; as soone as he was crowned, he commanded by a publike decree that all such debts as were due to his chamber of accounts, or as we say, his exchequer, vntill that day, should be pardoned, and not be recovered from the debtors; which amounted to a very great summe. He began also to giue offices and places of charge to such persons as were of worth, and sufficient for them, and not for money (as the custome was) by reason of late wants. By meanes whereof and of other apparant signes of a good prince, in the beginning of his reigne, he was very well beloued. But this lasted but a while: for he was infected with the hereticke of *EVTICHES*, who held an abominable opinion of the person of *CHRIST*. And for as much as nothing can be of any assurance, or acceptable without faith; this Emperour began to growe secretly hatefull to God, and publickly odious to men; and so although that he died old, yett he died an euill death: And in his life he was neuer free from tyrannicall which rebelled; and other warres and troubles. The first which rebelled, were the people of *Illyria* (a very valiant nation in *Asia* the lesse) the occasion whereof was, for that hee took, from them, that pay which his predecesor *ZENO* had promised, and giuen them, when he subdued the tyrant *ILLOS*, who (as we said) falsely defamed the Emperesse. This nation making choise of a valiant and expert soldier, whose name was *LILINGVS* for their capitaine, made cruell warres vpon the lands of the Empire, for the space of fixe yeeres. In which time, betweene the souldiers of *ANASTASIVS* and of *LILINGVS*, there happened some battailes, and many conflicts and skirmishes, vntill that *LILINGVS* dying, the *Illyrians* being scattered, and lost through want of a capitaine, were cruelly punished, and many cities were ruined, and laid waste, as relateth *IOHANNES* the Bishop: who although briefly, yett he expresth the greatest part of that historie.

There arose also against *ANASTASIVS*, another capitaine in *Cilicia*, at the same instant, called *ATHEMIDORVS*, but he was soone brought to ruine. In *Slauonia* and *Dalmatia*, rebelled two mightie men and very rich, called *SABIANVS* and *MUNDO*: and neere to *Adriano*, another whose name was *POMPEY*: and within the citie of *Constantinople*, were certaine tumults and insolenies committed, wherein many men were slaine. By reason of all which rebellions, *ANASTASIVS* was much perplexed; and being in great feare, he came to some compositions (little to his honour) and lost fundrie townes. Being freed from this trouble, he had another ciuill warre, which was of great importance and long continuance, against a valiant soldier, a Scythian borne, but trained and brought vp in the wars of the *Romans*, and in the Emperours house, and court: he was high constable, or commander of his men of warre, and was called *VATILIANVS*, who either of ambition and desire to be absolute, or for some displeasure or discontent (which historiographers write not) rebelled against *ANASTASIVS*; and with threescore thousand men, which he leuied, of *Hunnes* and other nations, began cruell warre against him, both by sea and land; so as sometimes he came within three miles of the imperiall citie of *Constantinople*. Against whom the Emperour raised a great Armie, and made his nephew *HIPATIAS* General thereof, who before he could come to fight any battaile, by a wife was taken prisoner by the *Hunnes*, and deliuered into the power of *VATILIANVS*: After which, the Emperours other captaines were ouerthrowne; so as the warre continued fixe yeeres: and in the end thereof, the Emperour bought his peace of *VATILIANVS*, for a great sum of money which he gaue him, and so was deliuered from the perill, although not from the disgrace and dishonour of buying peace. In this warre (as writeth *ZONARAS*) called *IOHANNES* *MONACHVS* (as relateth *IOHANNES* *CYSPINIANVS*) *ANASTASIVS* was greatly assisted by the skill and industrie of *PROCLUS*, an excellent philosopher and Mathematician,

The hereticke
of Eutiches.

Lilingus rebel-
led in Illyria
against Ana-
stasius.

Athemidorus,
Sabrianus,
Mundo, and
Pompey, Dy-
rants.

Hypatius made
General against
Vatilianus.

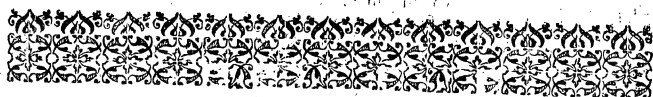
Proclus, an ex-
cellent Philoso-
pher.

Mathematician, who was most skilfull in inuening instruments, engines and stratagems. Amongst other matters, they report one thing of him, which seemeth incredible, which I dare neither affirme, nor deny, but will recite it for a wonder, let the reader belieue what he listeth; yet I say that the secrets of nature are so great, as we ought not to hold all for impossible which we cannot comprehend how it may be brought to passe. That which I say, these authors write for certain, which was, that as we now see certain glasses, which being lay in the sunne, with the reflexion of the beames thereof will set tow or flax on fire, and such like other dry stuffe neere at hand; so did this PROCLVS make a very great many of these glasses, which wrought effect with such force as being let vpon the high turrets of the walles and bulwarks, they set on fire and burnt whole fleets of shippes in the harbour, with all the people that were in them; and in like manner any other engines that were erected against the walles, wheresoeuer they were (if the sunne-beames might reuerberate from those glasses) wherewith the enemy was greatly annoyed, which was done in the same manner as we now see tow set on fire. Whilst these things passed in the Empire of *Constantinople*, there were great wars betwene the King of *France*, and *Spain*, and THEODORICVS King of *Italy*: which for that they are long to recite, and nothing to my purpose, I omit.

But returning to our Emperour, who seemed now to bee at some rest, being freed from warre with VATICIANVS; there happened another warre with the Persians, which was of as great importance, and no lesse perillous, the cause whereof was this. At that time in *Persia* reigned a King both mightie and valiant, whose name was CAVADAS; who by reason of warres and other expences, stood in neede of a summe of money, therewith to pay a certaine King which was his neighbour to whom he was indebted: which by ambassage he requested the Emperour ANASTASIUS to lend him, as to a friend and confederate (as he then was). But ANASTASIUS taking counsell vpon the matter, was aduised not to graunt it, for that it was a meane with his owne money to ioyne in league of amitie and friendship, those which were the ancient enemies of the Empire: and that therefore the best course was to take away the meane from the Persian, to be able to make payment; to the end that they might make warre one against another, and so waste and consume themselves. And in this manner it was concluded, in the best sort that might be, to excuse the matter, without granting what the King requested. The King of *Persia* hauing receiued this answer, was so extremely enraged therewith, as he resolved to make warre against the Romane Empire: and putting his determination in execution, leuying a great Armie, and making great preparation for the warres, he personally entred the limits and confines thereof, and made cruell warres, and incamped himselfe before the citie of *Amida*, which was then a great and a famous citie in the prouince of *Mesopotamia*, as writeth PROCOPIVS, before which were many conflicts: but in the end the Persian tooke it, and held the same for some space. As hee lay before this citie, ANASTASIUS raised the greatest Armie that euer hee had before, which hee diuided into foure parts, and sent the same vnder the command of foure Generals, against CAVADAS: whose names were ARIOVINDVS, who then was Pretor in the East; and CBLER, the Capitaine of the Emperours guard; and another was called PATRICIUS borne in *Phrygia*; and the fourth was HIPATIAS, who was the Emperours Nephew, as is before said. And with these went other great men: as IVSTINVS who afterwards was Emperour, and some other noble and expert men in the warres.

These Armies marched by severall waies, and directed not their course to relieue *Amida*; but to make warre in sundrie parts of CAVADAS his kingdome. He being aduertised of their coming, went to meete with ARIOVINDVS; who behaued himselfe so cowardly, as not daring to fight, he retired very shamefully, and left his campe full of many rich things, and of great value, which were taken by the Persians, who had them in chase, and pursued the Imperiall Armie. The other two Generals, to wit, PATRICIUS and HIPATIAS, ioyning their forces together, being neere the enemy, began the warre, without any certaine knowledge where the King was, after the retreat, or rather flight of ARIOVINDVS; and they by chance met with eight hundred horse of his, the King being but a little behind them with a very mightie Armie: who putting themselves in order for their defence, were all slaine and cut in peeces, without any newes learned of them by the Romans: and they hauing no sight of CAVADAS his troups, pitched their tents vpon a rivers side; the current whereof ranne directly that way as CAVADAS came, and so they began to victuall and refresh themselves, of their wearie journey; and

and went into the water, and did fetch water out of the said riuier. And as CAVADAS and his Capitaines saw the water come downe troubled, bringing therewith other things which seemed to be lately throwne into it, they suspected as it was; whereupon CAVADAS in all haste commanded his Armie to march in order ready to fight. Which came so suddenly vpon the Imperialists, that before they could range themselves in order, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and the most part of all these carelesse Capitaines were slaine, except some which escaped by flight. And without question if at this time the Hunnes had not come downe out of *Seythia*, *Asiatica*, and with great power had not made warre vpon the Persians, country, to take order for the defence thereof, he had after this overthrow done great spoiles in the Empire. But he vpon this occasion retiring himselfe, there came in good time the fourth Capitaine called CBLER, with his Imperiall Armie, who began in better order and more aduisedly to follow the wars: and gathering together those troups which ARIOVINDVS had left (for he himselfe was commanded by ANASTASIUS to come to *Constantinople*) and ioyning with PATRICIUS the Capitaine which escaped, they besieged the Citie of *Amida*, which the Persians had taken; and after a long siege, they gat it by a wile. This most cruell warre continuing two yeeres, with great slaughter and losse to either side; and the Persians being much distressed by the Hunnes, and other nations which with them entred their countries, being expired, ANASTASIUS commanded a citie to be built in *Mesopotamia*, which he called after his owne name, *Anastasia*: wherewith the Persians were much displeased. But they were so oppressed by the Hunnes, as they durst not breake with the Emperour, and so the peace continued during the life of ANASTASIUS, wherewith he was well content: for in the wars he had lost both many men and much reputation; and being (as we said) infected with the heresie of EVTICHVS, he reigned in great trouble. In the end when he least thought thereof, when he had reigned seuen and twentie yeeres, a Thunderbolt fell from heauen which slew him in the yeer of our Lord, five hundred and nineteene, leauing not any sonne that might succeede him.



THE LIFE OF IVSTINVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND EIGHT AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR OF ROME.



AFTER ANASTASIUS IVSTINVS EVRODALATES succeeded in the Empire. And truly it is a wonderful thing to consider from how base an estate, and from how poore a beginning he mounted to so high a dignitie; and of the waies and meanes wherebv he attained thereto. Which for an example of the strang adventures and variable accidents in this life, I hold worthe to be related in such sort as it hapned. This IVSTINVS was borne in *Thracia* (yet some say, that he was of *Slaunonia*, or *Dalmatia*) of poore and simple parentage; so as from his infancy he was bred vp in keeping of beasts. But as it pleased God in his secret indgement, to ordaine him to raigne and rule, to some good end; he inspired him to leaue that base kinde of life: so as at the age of seuentene yeeres he went to the warres, with a resolution to continue in the exercise of

Arms. And he proued so worthy a souldier, that within short space he purchased the name of Valiant, and fought oftentimes with great dexterity and courage, with his enemies in single combats man to man; and in all occasions made good proof of his person. Wherefore within short time he was made a Captain, and within a while after an Earl; which (as is already said) at that time was, and still is, a great dignity. In that estate was he when ANASTASIUS died, being now well grown in yeers: And as presently after his decease the Lords began to consult whom they should make Emperor; a great Courtier named AMANTIVS, who was an Eunuch, and had bin the Emperors Steward, and was now the best monied man of his time, sought by all means to make a great and mightie man, called THEOCRETIANVS, who was his great friend, Emperor. And for as much as the Armie and men of warre bare greatest sway in the election (for, now nothing was done in such order as it behoued, but by force and by benefit) he therefore determined to buy the good wils of the Captains and men of warre: And to this effect hee purposed first to winne IVSTINVS, and to vse him for a mean to perswade the rest; and conferred with him concerning the same. And, coming to a composition, hee gaue him a great summe of money, to the end he should diuide the same among the Captaines and men of warre where he thought good; conditionally that THEOCRETIANVS might be chosen Emperor.

Amantius sought to get the Emperre for his friend Theocretianus.

The mean where by Iustinus got the Emperre.

When IVSTINVS had gotten this money into his fingers, hee forgot to deal for THEOCRETIANVS, but secretly sought to buy their good wils for himself; and carried the matter so cunningly, that when AMANTIVS thought that the souldiers would haue made his friend Emperor, he found that they had nominated and would haue IVSTINVS. And in this manner they presently sware fidelity and obedience to him, by the generall consent both of the Senate and Army: for, besides what is already said, he was well beloued, and held for a vertuous man, and a good Christian.

AMANTIVS seeing himself deluded, although for the present he could not refuse to yeeld him obedience, yet shortly after hee practised the death of the new Emperor, and conspired with THEOCRETIANVS, who pretended to haue bin chosen Emperor; and with another called ANDREAS, and with MISSAHLE and ARDABURIUS (all which were of the Emperors chamber) to the end they should kill him as soon as any opportunity were offered. But it pleased God that their treason was discovered; and, it being proued, IVSTINVS commanded AMANTIVS, ANDREAS and THEOCRETIANVS, to be slain; and the rest to be perpetually banished. And, the better to assure himself in the Emperre, hee vsed a mean that VATILIANVS, who rebelled against ANASTASIUS, came to Court; whom he made ordinary Consul, and Generall of all his men of warre, and bestowed great gifts and honours vpon him. But, for all this, he (as ingratefull, and a Traitor) within fewe daies practised with some others against the life and estate of IVSTINVS: which being discovered, he was vpon a day slain in his Palace, together with PAVLYS and CELERIANVS, who were confederates and complies with him in his treason.

The treason and death of Vatilianus.

IVSTINVS being freed from this danger, and seeing himself in peace in the Emperre, being a good Christian, and knowing how far the Arrian heresie had extended it self over the world, resolved to vse therein all the remedy that possibly he could: whereto he was likewise perswaded by Pope HORMISDA, who from Rome sent GERMANVS, Bishop of Capra, to confer with him of matters concerning the faith. Whereupon IVSTINVS sent his decrees throughout all the East, commanding that no man should bee accepted into the Church for Bishop or Priest, that should bee of the sect of ARRIUS. At what time IVSTINVS did this good deed, TRASIMUND King of the Vandals died in Africa, who was an Arrian Heretick; and his sonne ELDERICVS possessed his Kingdome, whom he had by the Emperor VALENTINIAN'S daughter. This man, following his faithfull mother, and not his hereticall father, as soon as he was established in the Kingdome, recalled from exile all the Catholique Bishops which his father had banished (as is aboue said), and reformed all the Churches. But the Emperor and this King hauing done so good a deed, THEODORICVS, who ruled in Italie, becoming of great power, and for that he was (as the most of the Gothes were) an Arrian Heretique, was therewith much displeased; resolving, if the Emperor did not reuoke his decree, to vse through all his dominion all manner of cruelty against the Catholiques. But first hee constrained Pope IOHN, who succeeded HORMISDA, to go to Constantinople, and with him THEODORVS and AGAPETVS (men who had been Consuls) to treat with the Emperor, to the end he should presently restore those Arrian Bishops which he had depoled; otherwise that in

Iustinus the Emperre persued the Arrianus.

his dominions he would put to the sword all such as did not beleue as he did.

Pope IOHN and the other Ambassadors being arriued at Constantinople, were very honorably received; and the Pope with teares intreated the Emperor to be pleased, notwithstanding that his suit was vnjust; yet to auoide the excessive cruelty which was expected, for the present, to permit the Arrian Bishops to be restored. The Emperor to eschew this cruelty, granted his request: and so the wicked Bishops were restored to their Churches; and the Emperor did Pope IOHN great honour, and those which came with him. In the meane time, whilst they were in Constantinople, THEODORICVS King of Italie, made SIMACHVS, and BORTIVS SAVERINVS to be slaine, who had been Consuls, and were very Noble and excellent personages, very deuout Christians, and excellently learned in all Arts. And not herewith content, hauing beene vntill then a good and iust Prince; hauing Pope IOHN and the other Ambassadors which came with him from Constantinople in suspition, by reason of the great honour done vnto them by the Emperor, he commanded them to be apprehended and cast in prison; where they all three died of hunger and cruell vage. After which cruelty, it pleased God that within ninetie daies he died suddenly, leauing a Nephew of his, called ATHALARICVS for his heire: for he had not any sonne. And for as much as his Nephew was but eight yeers old, his mother took vpon her the government of the Kingdome, as a woman who was very wife and valiant.

Theodoricus King of the Gothes defended the Arrianus.

The cruelty of Theodoricus, and his death.

Returning to IVSTINVS the Emperor; It grieved him much for that which THEODORICVS had done: but he was not of power able to redresse the same; for, besides the wants and necessities wherewith he was oppressed, the Persians made warres against him, which was a Nation, of all others, most feared by the Romans. But for the small time that he liued, hee had good success in those warres, and his Captaines obtained some victories; SCITA and BELISARIVS being his Generals. Of which two, BELISARIVS (who then was very young) proued afterwards to be one of the best Captaines in the world, and which conquered more countries, and obtained more victories, than any other man in his time: as we will hereafter briefly declare. IVSTINVS, living in this prosperity, seeing himselfe old, and without any sonne to succcede him, resolved to make IVSTINIAN, who was his Nephew and his sisters sonne, CÆSAR; and to adopt and nominate him for his successor; and so presently made him his companion in the Emperre. And within four moneths after, falling sick, he died in the Citie of Constantinople, when he had reigned eleuen yeeres, or (as some Authors write) but nine. I finde little more writen of him, then by me is rehearsed. He died in the yeere of our Lord, 529; and, as some say, 28.

The death of the Emperre Iustinus.



THE LIFE OF IVSTINIANVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND NINE AND FIFTITH EMPEROVR of ROME.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



After Iustinus, without any contradiction, succeeded Iustinianus, who amongst his first attempts, made one against the Persians, vnder the leading of Belisarius; whom with variable fortune of ill warres, in the end he ouercame: Yet he made a peace with them afterwards. After this, there followed a ciuill warre in Constantinople, wherein Iustinian was likely to haue sped but ill; but by means of Belisarius, he was freed; notwithstanding there died therein many thousand; which being ended, he returned to make a conquest of Africa, which of long time had beene vsurped by the Vandals; and getting it, he came againe to Constantinople, where Iustinian prepared him a triumph. But it was not long before the Emperre

Emperour sent him into Italia against the Gothes, where after many changes of fortune, and treaties of peace, and of truce, having taken the Citie of Naples (wherein as it seemed consisted the principall hope of the Gothes) he took his way towards Rome, who's he peaceably entered, and defended the same, with great valour, against Vitiges King of the Gothes, whom Belisarius at last took prisoner. After this victory Iustinian recalled Belisarius, to employ him against the Persians, which was the occasion that Italia againe fell into the hands of the Gothes, particularly Rome, which by Totila was burnt and destroyed; and that for no other defect, but for that it could not be relieved by Belisarius, who then was sick. Who as soone as he had recovered his health, took it againe from the Barbarians. And re- turning to Constantinople, the state of Italia was very happily governed by Narces an Eunuch, In which time Iustinian having applied himselfe to reforme and abridge the Lawes, when he had reigned nine and thirtie yeeres, departed this life, no lesse replenished with yeeres then full of glory.



After the death of IVSTINVS, IVSTINIANVS was without any contradiction received and obeyed for Emperour; being of the age of foure and fortie yeeres. He was a powerful and a good Prince, and such a one, as might well be compared with the best in ancient time, for his good government, both in peace and warre. The warres and conquests which hapned in his time (which was little lesse then fortie yeeres) were so many, and so noble, that I cannot expresse the same as I would, and they deserve; following my accustomed breuitie. I will therefore write as I may, notwithstanding that the length of the time, and the variety of accidents, will compell me to exceede my prefixed limits.

As soone as IVSTINIANVS saw himselfe confirmed in the Empire, he was not contented to preferue that which he inherited from his Vncle; but (bearing the minde and hauing the iudgement of an antient and good Emperour) he began to desire, and therewith to practise, to enlarge the Empire, and to reduce the same (if it were possible) to the antient majestie and dignitie. The first occasion of warres that was offered, was against the Persians; who in the time of his predecessors, had broken and violated the peace, invaded the bounds of the Romane Empire, and vsurped certaine countries and Prouinces thereof in so much (as PROCOPIVS writeth) that for the space of fiftie yeeres before the reigned of IVSTINIAN, in all the wars the Imperialists commonly had the worst, and all conclusions of peace were made to the advantage of the Persians.

The cause of this warre betweene the Emperour IVSTINIAN, and CAVADAS King of Persia, was in truth the emulation and hatred which these two Empires, and the Lords thereof, had of antient time borne, and still did beare the one against the other, which was continually nourished and increased, as by that which we haue written may plainly appeare. But the occasion and principall cause was this, IVSTINIANVS, as soone as he was Emperour, sent BELISARIUS, an excellent Captaine, into those frontiers, with direction, in a certaine citie, which was on the borders of Persia, to build the strongest and most inexpugnable Castle that could be devised, for that Citie was one of the entrics and passages of greatest importance; which order BELISARIUS presently put in execution. Whereof when CAVADAS was aduertised, he was highly offended, and presently sent Capitaines and men of warre, to require BELISARIUS to giue over the worke, which if he would not doe; that then they should throw downe what he had built.

These men being come to the place where this Castle was a building; there passed many words, and some deedes betweene them: and for as much as the builders were not of force sufficient to make resistance against the Persians, the Emperour sent thither two Capitaines, brothers, with some companies of souldiers. These being arrived, and the Imperialists persisting in their building, and the Persians in hindering the same, they came to fight a battaile, wherein the Imperialists being fewer in number, were by the Persians defeated and overthrowne, and many were slaine, others were carried away captiues, and the building was laid leuell with the earth. When IVSTINIAN vnderstood of this overthrow, he presently made BELISARIUS General of all his forces in the East, who as a wife and valiant man, with all expedition raised a very mightie Armie; and taking to him another Captain called HERMOGENES (whom the Emperour with a good supplie had sent vnto him) he took his way towards the Citie of Durra, in Mesopotamia, which at that time was the frontier of the Persians; where began a cruell warre betweene

The beginning of the warre betweene the Emperour Iustinian and the Persians

Belisarius made General against the Persians.

between the one and the other Nation. But as IVSTINIAN, seeking to imploy his time in recouering some other Prouinces which the Empire had lost, desired peace with the Persians, he sent an Ambassador called RUFINVS, to CAVADAS King of Persia, to treat of a peace (if vpon honourable conditions it might be concluded).

This Ambassador being come into the Borders where the King was, before that hee was to come to his Court certain motions were made of peace; and as they treated thereof, the Imperiall Generals were giuen to vnderstand, that the Persian Army came to seek them, and was within half a daies journey, and had for General thereof a great man called PEROZAS, who was Mirraces, which was the name of a Magistrate, of great dignity and authority in Persia. Whereupon BELISARIUS set his troops in order; and the two Camps came to lodge neere one to the other: and so they continued the space of two or three daies, ranging themselves euery day in order of battell; either partie expecting when the other should charge. Vpon one of those daies certain Archers of the one and other side beganne to skirmish: whereupon, the squadrons moued and brake the one vpon the other; and fought in such manner, that it was a very cruell and a bloody battell, which lasted till neere night: wherein the Romans in the right wing had the worse, and the better in the left; and euery Captain did his best to obtain the victory: but in the end the Romans preuailed, and made great slaughter of their enemies; and PEROZAS the Mirraces escaped by flight.

BELISARIUS, hauing obtained this notable victory, within fewe daies after recovered some places in Mesopotamia, which the Persians had vsurped; wherein also passed sundry difficult conflicts and encounters. In the Kingdome of Armenia, wherein the Persians held many places, SITTA being General, and DOROTHVS Pretor, the warres were followed with the like good fortune; and the Imperiall Army, obtaining victory, recouered most part of what was lost. The wars standing in these teares, and kindled euery where, RUFINVS (who we said went Ambassador to the King of Persia) vpon safe conduct came to his Court, and had many treatises and discourses with him; but no peace could be concluded: and CAVADAS, resolving to prosecute the warres anew, to be satisfied for the losses which his people had received; by the counsell of AZAMANDER, a valiant old Captain of his (who in times past had gotten many victories against the Romans) he made EZARETHA, General of his Armie, a man both valiant and of great experience, and a Persian born. With whom, BELISARIUS, together with SITTA the other General, after some encounters, came to a battell; which was one of the cruelliest and greatest of all that hapned in those wars:

This battell was fought neere to the Riuer Euphrates, and much against the opinion of BELISARIUS; who, knowing that the enemy had the advantage, would not haue fought: but his troops against his will prepared themselves. Whereupon he, seeing their resolution, marshalled and encouraged them against the Persians, which were already in order. And the fight began with so great fury and obstinacie on both sides, that for the greatest part of the day it appeared not whether party should haue the victory; vntill such time as the Imperialists, being vnable any longer to endure the toil thereof, for they were fasting, being Easter Euen (Christians of our Age may see how inuolubly fasting daies were obserued in those times) they disbanded, and began to scatter. Whereupon the Persian horsemen charged BELISARIUS his horse-troops with such force, that the Romans brake, and began to flee, and the like did the other squadrons of foot. Which when BELISARIUS perceiued, after that hee had vsed all means to stay them, and to haue renewed the Fight, and could not preuaile, hee alighted from his horse, and placed himself in a squadron of footmen, which kept together whole and vnbroken; and, encouraging them with his presence, they all resolved rather to dy than to be overthrowne. And EZARETHA and the Persians, which followed the chase of those which fled, seeing that squadron to remain whole, returned with great fury, thinking easily to haue had the execution of them: but they failed of their purpose, for they kept themselves so close together, that they could not be broken; and fought so valiantly, that they did the Persians more harm than they received from them; and so till night held their ground, and kept themselves in such order, that EZARETHA and his men were faine to leaue them: but they had the ransacking of their tents, and so returned to their Camp. BELISARIUS in very good order withdrew himself to a little Island, which the riuer Euphrates maketh in that place; whither the greatest part of his souldiers which fled, were already retired. And there the next day he again set himself in order, and gathered together his souldiers: but the Persians, houlding themselves for victorious, had the spoil of the Field. After this journey EZARETHA remoued his Camp to another quarter: for,

PEROZAS, General for the King of Persia.

A battell with the Persians, wherein Belisarius had the victory.

SITTA, General for Iustinian in Armenia, ouercame the Persians.

Ezaretha, General of the Persians.

A cruell battell.

for, there hee had receiued greater losse than BELISARIUS; insomuch that CAVADAS King of *Perfia*, vnderstanding what number of men were lost in that battell, held not himselfe content, nor for well seru'd in that victory. And dying shortly after, his sonne COSROES succeeded him in his Kingdome: with whom, after many embassies and treaties, a peace was concluded; and BELISARIUS reconquered other Countreies, which other nations held in the East. Thus much honoured and victorious, being sent for by the Emperor IVSTINIAN for the warres in *Africa*, SITAS remaining Generall, he came to *Constantinople*; where he was receiued in triumph with great solemnity.

This being past, within few daies after there fell so great a vprore and tumult in the City of *Constantinople*, that it was likely to haue gone ill with IVSTINIANS: for, this tumult in the beginning, growing from the factions of the common people, came to that point, that IPATVS and POMPEY brethren, the chief men of that City, with the fauour of the people which took their part, they being the Emperor ANASTASIUS sisters sonnes, rebelled against IVSTINIAN; and IPATVS took the Ensignes and name of Emperor: and the warre was so cruell within the City, that 30 thousand persons were slain. But in the end IPATVS was taken and slain, and IVSTINIANS troops remained victors: wherein BELISARIUS did him great seruice about all others. Afterwards (punishing such as were offenders, and confiscing their goods) the conspiracies and troubles were all appeased; and IVSTINIAN liued more in peace, and in better estimation, than euer before. But soon after followed the wars of *Africa*, the occasion whereof grew through the dissension between GENSERICVS his nephews, the first King of the Vandals that euer raigned in *Africa*, which hapned after this manner: YLDERICVS, one of the nephews of GENSERICVS, succeeding in that Kingdome, bec'ing in contention with another who was his cosin germane, and nephew also to GENSERICVS, whose name was GILMER: both which pretended to haue title to the Kingdome, vpon what occasion for breuitie I will omit. This YLDERICVS grew to be so negligent, that GILMER (who was both wife and valiant) took him prisoner, and against all reason made himself King and Lord of all *Africa*; vnder this title, that the other was vncapable and insufficient for the government. Wherewith the Emperor IVSTINIAN was very much displeased: for before that he was Emperor he held friendship with YLDERICVS, who was now deprived of his Kingdome. Whereupon, after that he had required GILMER by his Ambassadors to render the Kingdome to his cosin YLDERICVS, which he refused to perform, hee resolved to make a conquest of the Kingdome of *Africa*, and rigged a mighty Nauy, and sent his Noble Generall BELISARIUS vpon that seruice; and to that effect commanded a great army to be leui'd: with which BELISARIUS embarking himself, accompanied with many excellent Captains in five hundred sail of Ships, and fourscore and twelue Gallies, hee began his voiage towards *Africa*. Wherein, a great man born in that Countrey, whose name was PRYDENTIVS, had taken Arms against GILMER in the City of *Tripoli*, on the behalf of the Emperor IVSTINIAN; and another Captain in *Sardinia*, whose name was GODAS, had done the like. So as when BELISARIUS arrived in *Africa*, hee found some which took his part: and hauing landed his Army neer to a City called *Titimush*, marching along the seacoast he took his way towards *Carthage*: and his Nauy did the like by Sea.

When the Tyrant King GILMER vnderstood of the coming of BELISARIUS, with the Army which he had in readinesse he departed from that City wherein he first intituled himself King, and sent commandment to his brother called AMATA, whom hee left in *Carthage* for the guard of the City, and of YLDERICVS the deposed King, that hee should presently kill him, and such other prisoners as were in his power; and then with his whole force he should fallie out, and take the Field against BELISARIUS, and at a certain time appointed should fight with him; for that he at the same Instant would charge him in the Arreergard. Hee sent another Captain all the day long to trouble him on the one side, and to tire his people with continuall alarms. To be brief, there passed many things in that journey worthy to be noted: and, coming neer to the City of *Carthage*, AMATA, beginning to fight at such time as his brother had appointed, was slain by BELISARIUS his Vaunguard: And GILMER, without hauing intelligence thereof, with his troops so resolutely charged in the Arreergard, that the Imperialists began to retire in such manner, that if GILMER had not made an Alt (as PROCOPIVS affirms) that day he had gotten the victory. But when it was told him that his brother was dead, hee caused his troops to stand. And BELISARIUS his souldiers, vnderstanding of the good successe of their Auanguard, which was farre before them, being by him animated

Cauadas King of *Perfia* dying, his son Cosroes succeeded.

A great tumult in *Constantinople*.

IPatius rebelled in *Constantinople*, and was slain by IVstinian.

The occasion of the conquest of *Africa* against GILMER, King thereof.

BELISARIUS went to the wars of *Africa*.

BELISARIUS being arrived in *Africa*, King GILMER came against him.

AMATA, brother to GILMER.

and encouraged, returned to fight with such fury, that GILMER was wholly ouerthrowne and scattered, and many of his people slain, and hee by flight saved his life; and his souldiers, which escaped from the battell, straggled into diuerse parts: vpon which, greater execution had been done, if night had not ouertaken them.

The next day after this battell, BELISARIUS marched with his Armie towards the City of *Carthage*; where hee arrived in the euening, and found no resistance; for, they opened their ports, and made great lights to haue receiued him: but he would not by night come into an enemies City, leauing it vntill the next day, and then entred with great quietnes, without any spoil or murder committed by any of his souldiers; he hauing so commanded; for, his authority and reputation was such, that no man durst doo the contrary. The Vandals, which were in *Carthage*, withdrew themselves to the Temples and Churches; and BELISARIUS, granting them their liues, commanded them to come forth vpon his word, which hee held inuolubly. Possessing himself of that City, he commanded the wals thereof to be repaired, which were in many places decayed; which was the occasion why GILMER did not retire thither: BELISARIUS, being in *Carthage*, sent a Poste, a chief Captain called SALOMON, to the Emperor IVSTINIAN, to giue him to vnderstand of all that had passed. And GILMER, who escaped from the battell, recovered certain fields of *Genetha*, called *Bulla*, which are foure dayes march from *Carthage*: where (as a man no way disiniaid) he gathered together his troops that were scattered, and leui'd others: and he also sent in great haste to recall his brother AZON, who then was in *Sardinia*; whither hee had sent him against GODAS, which (as wee said) was in Arms in that Island against GILMER: whom AZON had ouerthrowne and slain, and recovered the Ile. But AZON, seeing the message from his brother, left all, and came with his forces to ioyne with him. GILMER, after that his brother was come, hauing recovered a sufficient Army, took his way towards *Carthage* to besiege BELISARIUS; or to giue him battell if he would come forth and fight: but BELISARIUS for certain daies would not take the Field, vntill hee had thoroughly repaired the walles of the City, and taken order for the rest. Which being done, he took the Field with his Armie; drawing neer to GILMER, who attended his coming.

The next day one Army hauing fight of the other, each of the Commanders set his people in order; and the Fight on either side began with such fury, that in the first charge AZON, GILMER'S brother, was slain, and certain other principall men of the Vandals; which strook such a feare among them, that they began to faint: and BELISARIUS charging with his Squadron, they turned their backs, and fled to their Camp, which they had very well fortified; and GILMER, vnable to stay them, did the like. BELISARIUS, gathering together his forces both of foot and horse, the very same day in the euening made towards GILMER'S Camp, with intent to haue assaulted it, and to haue made a compleat victory. When King GILMER saw the battailions march, knowing that he was not able to defend himself, with some few seruantes which followed him he fled: and BELISARIUS with little resistance, by reason of the Kings absence, got their Camp: his souldiers, putting to the sword all they found were able to beat Arms, took all the women and children captiues; and in the Camp they found an infinite quantity of gold, siluer, money and jewels: Which (as PROCOPIVS affirms) was one of the greatest and richest spoils that euer was seen of taken. For, the Vandals, hauing no place or refuge which they accounted safe, carried their gold, siluer, money, and all their treasure, with them: so as within one houre they lost all they had stoll and gotten together in *Africa* in 55 years. For, so long had they been in possession thereof.

The next day, BELISARIUS, to let slip no occasion, dispatched an excellent Captain called IOHN, with a good troop of horse to pursue GILMER; he himselfe purposing to do the like. And, leauing good order for all things in *Carthage*, and a sufficient garrison, hee followed with some of the choice men of his Armie. King GILMER, riding without any stay, retired himself into certain inaccessible mountains and rocks in the Prouince of *Numbidia*, called *Papida*; inhabited by a people called Maurusi, who were great friends to the Vandals. But before hee came thither, he was in danger to haue been taken by IOHN; and he escaped out of his hands when hee was very neer vnto him. But it was his ill hap that one of his souldiers, shooting at a bird, and missing it, slue his Captain; who, being shot through the throat, fell down dead: and by that mean had GILMER opportunity to escape, and to take the rocks & mountains; where hee staid not long ere BELISARIUS came. But forasmuch as it seemed a long work to take those rocks where GILMER was, by force; hee left one PHARAS a Captain with sufficient forces

A battell where- in King GILMER was ouerthrowne.

BELISARIUS entred *Carthage* with victory.

King GILMER escaped from the battell.

AZON, brother to King GILMER came to his aid with succour.

The second battell and victory obtained by BELISARIUS against GILMER.

The Vandals held *Africa* 55 years.

The flight and pursuit of King GILMER.

Gilimer brought
by Pharas.

forces to compass in GILIMER; so as by no means hee could escape. And hee with the rest of the troupes returned to Carthage, and in his going and coming, tooke many Townes; and much people, with great ioy and contentment came to doe him service, glad to see themselves freed from so great servitude, and so restored to the libertie of the Empire.

Belisarius con-
quered all Af-
rica in little
more then foure
moneths, which
had been held by
the Vandales
ninety six yeeres.

Being come to Carthage, for the full accomplishment of his victorie, he sent a Captaine to take the Isle of *Sardinia*, and sent other Captaines into *Mauritania*, and into diuers other parts, in all which he had most happy successe: for the Vandales in all places (for the most part) were ill beloued. So as in little more then foure moneths, BELISARIUS reconquered all *Africa*, after that the Empire had lost the same the space of fourescore and fixteene yeeres. And truly it was a wonderfull thing: for all that people were Arrian hereticks, and for such the same IUSTINIAN recordeth them, in his booke *de officio Pretoris*: wherein although that he saith, that there were one hundred and fiftie yeeres expired after that *Africa* was lost, it doth not therefore gainsay the ninety and six, as I have reported: for that was written nine yeeres afterwards, and he speaketh according to the day of the making of that law. But the truth is, that they possessed *Africa* but ninetie six yeeres. PHARAS, which remained behinde, to beseege King GILIMER, begirt him in on every side, in such manner, that GILIMER seeing no other remedie, after many letters which past betwene them, yielded himselfe vpon securitie of his life: which assurance BELISARIUS sent vnto him, and to certaine his kinsmen which were with him. And PHARAS as soone as he had him in his possession, came with him to Carthage to BELISARIUS, who entertained him very honorably. And so BELISARIUS ended his victories and enterprises: which truly was an admirable thing, and worthe of great consideration, if we call to minde the valour and power of those Vandales, and the great victories which they had obtained against the Romanes, of which we haue touched some. BELISARIUS presently sent to give the Emperor IUSTINIAN notice of the successe and issue of the warres, and to intreate him to give him leaue to make his repaire vnto him, and so bring GILIMER with him. Whereto IUSTINIAN answered, that he should doe therein what best pleased him, either to continue in the government of *Africa*, or to repaire to him at his pleasure. But BELISARIUS to cleere himselfe of certaine whispering mutterings, vnjustly raised against him, chose rather to goe to *Constantinople*, and left SALOMON before named for General and Governor of *Africa*, with a good part of his Armie; who afterwards had wars with the Maurusi; which rebelled, and he subdued, although with great danger and trouble.

Belisarius left
Salomon go-
vernor of A-
frica.

BELISARIUS followed his journey, leading with him the King and many of his kindred, men and women prisoners, with infinite iewels, treasure and riches, which was the greatest and best part of all that the Vandales had stolne from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Africa*, and other Princes; in almost a hundred yeeres before. Being come to *Constantinople*, the Emperour commanded him to be receiued in triumph, with all the ceremonies and solemnities, which the Romanes Customs in old time, and the Emperours afterwards triumphed in *Rome*.

Belisarius his
triumph.

The Historie of IUSTINIAN must of necessity be longer then that of many other Emperours; as well for that he reigned a long time, as also for that the accidents which happened in his time, were great and famous, and the feates of Armes done in that time, noble and excellent: wherefore it shall not be fit to forbear to make mention thereof. I doe also know, and (as I thinke) have said it, that Readers take pleasure in reading of great battailes, strange aduentures, conquests of countries, and alterations of Kingdomes and estates: wherefore the Histories of peaceable Princes, and of happy times, without warres and disasters, are nothing so pleasing as are those which treat of slaughters, ruines of estates, alterations of kingdomes, notable victories, insurrections, factions, tumults, rebellions, and finally great accidents whether good or euill: for which reason fabulous bookes are read, and doe commonly giue content, for that they kill and cut in peeces thousands of men, batter Cities, and faine things in a manner impossible. Hercin, following the aduice of HORACE, I haue determined to take care as well to please, as to profit the Reader (when I may) with the truth; relating sometimes the great deeds of Armes, without concealing the examples of peace also, and the good conditions and vertues of peaceable and milde Princes, reproving and condemning vice and sinne, by detecting and abhorring those which committed the same; for so that end Histories are written, and are to be read; that reading vicious and wicked actions, the Readers may flee them, and follow those which are good and vertuous. And by the variable aduentures and accidents may become

To what end
Histories are to
be read.

more
more
more

more circumspect; and frame the rule of their liues according to such things as may befall them.

But returning to our purpose, BELISARIUS rested not long in *Constantinople*, before that IUSTINIAN gaue him the charge of the warres, and conquest of *Italy*, and *Sicilie*, against the Gothes; and THEODATUS who at that time was Lord thereof: which enterprise was held to be of no lesse importance and danger, than that of *Africa*: and the successe thereof shewed it afterwards to be farre greater, in regard of the great battels and slaughters which followed.

The beginning of this war (briefly) was such, as in the end of the life of the Emperor IUSTINIAN was by vs related. For, the great and redoubted King THEODORICVS being dead, his Nephew, ATHALARICVS (for that he had no sonne) succeeded him in the Kingdom of *Italy*, being of the age of eight yeeres. Wherefore his mother AMALASYNTE had the government of the Kingdom; who began to rule with infinite wildome, and to bring vp her sonne in virtuous exercises, and in the study of learning and good letters. But it was not long before that contentions and factions arose between her and her sonnes kinned; and particularly the malice and enuy grew between her and THEODATUS, cozin-germane to ATHALARICVS. Whereupon she, seeing her self oppressed, gaue the charge of the bringing vp of her son to certain principall men of them: and, leaving *Rome*, she came to *Rauenna*, where she still had great authority in the government. The enmity increasing between her and THEODATUS, who was a man of great power, and openly had made himself Lord of the Province of *Tuscane*; either of them, to weete, AMALASYNTE and THEODATUS, sought the friendship and assistance of the Emperor IUSTINIAN, and promised to giue him entrance into *Italy*.

As matters stood on these terms, the young King ATHALARICVS died; wherewith AMALASYNTE was greatly troubled and very hardly sorrie, for that she was a widow enuid, and ill-beloued of the chief men among the Gothes. Afterwards, studying what course was best to be taken, she resolved to come to an agreement with THEODATUS, and to make him King of *Italy*; persuading her self, that he for so great a benefit could not chuse but be her faithful friend; and that she should still hold the authority, and he the name and title of King. She having resolved heerupon, procured certain treaties and a meeting to be had: yhere, after long discourse and great promises, bound with solemn othes, made by the one and other party, shee proclaimed him King of *Italy*; and he joyning his power with her forces (which were greater than his) without difficulty obtained the Kingdom, and all men obeyed him. But this deuice proued ill with AMALASYNTE, neither was it any sound course for her: for as soon as THEODATUS saw himself an absolute Lord, and in possession, he began to rule, little to her liking; and within fewe daies commanded her to be apprehended, and in the end to be put to death, like an ingratefull and wicked Christian.

Theodatus,
sent to Atha-
laricus, re-
covered the kingdom
of Italy for him-
self.

IUSTINIAN being aduertised hereof, was highly displeased (for hee tooke part with AMALASYNTE) and detecting so vile a fact, holding this for a good occasion, through the desire which he had to recover *Italy* to the Empire, hee resolved suddenly to make open warre against THEODATUS, in hope to make a conquest thereof by armes, which before he sought by wiles and secret practices. And to that effect hee chose BELISARIUS for General of his armie, who then came triumphing and victorious from *Africa*. IUSTINIAN at that time had an Ambassadour in *Italy*, called PETER, who went thither to treat of peace between AMALASYNTE and THEODATUS, with whom THEODATUS labored to come to some conditions of peace, for hee greatly feared the power of IUSTINIAN: and whilst that hee was builde hereabouts, BELISARIUS arrived with a Naue and an armie in *Sicilia*, for that hee held it expedient first to take that Island: and suddenly landing his men, hee presently took the cite of *Calania*, and within fewe daies after marched towards *Syracusa*, and with the like fortune entred, and took the same, and did the like by many other townes and cities.

Theodatus ap-
prehended A-
malasynthe, and
caused her to be
slain.

Then hee marched to *Palermo*, where hee found greater force and resistance, for it defended it selfe certaine daies, and many men were slaine of both sides: but those which were within it fearing their ruine, yielded themselves to BELISARIUS, and so did all the rest of the Island. Such was his expedition and good hap in the warres: And foras much as hee (for his fame) was greatly feared, THEODATUS seeing what had happened in *Sicilia*, standing in feare of him, treated with this Ambassadour PETER concerning certain conditions of peace, wherein he renounced his right to *Sicilia*; and that in *Italy* in all decrees & proclamations to be made IUSTINIAN should be first named, and that every yeere THEODATUS should send him a golden crown,

Belisarius rec-
Sicilia.

in token of subjection, and other things which **PRUDORIVS** setteth down at large.

PATR being gone with this message, fear so much increased in **THEODATVS**, that hee sent vpon the way to recall the Ambassador which he had sent with **PETER**, whose name was **RVARIVS**; and made him to swear, that hee should not reueal his resolution vntill that he came into the presence of the Emperour; and saw whether hee would accept of the first offer or no; and if he did not, that then he should offer the whole Kingdom of *Italia* to **IVSTINIAN**, vpon condition that he should giue him some lands and possessions in *Gracia* or else where, to liue in. And to that effect he wrote a notable Letter to the Emperour, with his owne hand. When **IVSTINIAN** had heard the first offer made by **THEODATVS**; as hee was a valiant Prince, and of an haucie courage, he would not accept thereof; whereupon, the Ambassador discovered the second, wherein he offered him *Italia*: wherewith hee was exceeding glad, and wrote a gracious Letter to **THEODATVS**, and therewith sent Ambassadors to confirm the agreement, and to command **BELISARIVS**; that, making an end in *Sicilia*, he should passe ouer into *Italia*, and possesse himself of the forces thereof: but the account was not so concluded. For, in the meantime that these Ambassadors went and came, **THEODATVS** his Captains had obtained a notable victory, and had slain **MVNDVS**; and his son **MAVRICIVS**, who were **IVSTINIAN**'s Captains in *Slauonia*, and had defeated the Imperiall Armie.

By reason of his victory, **THEODATVS** grew so proud, that hee not onely refused to accomplish what he had offered; but, saining himself much displeased with some speeches vsed to him by **IVSTINIAN**'s Ambassadors, he caused them to be apprehended. This also increased his presumption; for, at that instant **BELISARIVS** was gone out of *Sicilia* into *Africa* to rescue **SALOMON**, whom hee had left there. For, a Captain called **ESTORZAS** mutined with the greatest part of the Army, and making himself Lord of the Country, put to death the Iudges and Gouerneurs thereof. But **BELISARIVS**, arriuing in *Africa*, took such order, that within very fewe daies he ouercame them in battell, and vsed extreme punishment in the Country; and so, leauing all in peace and quiet, returned into *Italia*, the affairs wherof he found in such estate as is before said.

At this time (as **PROCORIVS** writeth) there was seen so prodigious a light in the Sun, that the like hath neuer been heard of: which was, that the greatest part of one whole yeer the Sun gaue so little light, that it was but equall or little more than the light of the Moon; the sky being clear and without clouds, or any other thing to shadow the same. And lo, without any apparent occasion, it was obscured all that time: which, as it was afterwards conjectured, was the occasion of the famine and want of grain, which generally ensued through all the world, and did prognosticate the wars and effusion of blood which followed in *Italia*.

IVSTINIAN, seeing the inconstancy of **THEODATVS**, and being greatly displeased with the death of his Captains in *Dalmatia*, and the imprisonment of his Ambassadors in *Italia*, with great widdome, and the courage and resolution of a worthy Prince, providing for both occasions, sent into *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia* for his Generall, a valiant Captain called **CONSTANTIVS**; who recovered much of that which was lost, and renewed the warre in that part. And, as for the affairs of *Italia*, he commanded **BELISARIVS** speedily to enter it with the greatest power he could. Who, with his accustomed expedition and courage, left, in the fortresses and strong holds of *Sicilia*, such garrisons as he thought good; and transported his Army into *Italia* at the streight of *Messina*; and began to seise on the places and towns neer the sea-side, not finding any Army to hinder him; and so he conquered all the Coast to the City of *Naples*: wherein **THEODATVS** had put a great garrison of Gothes, who valiantly defended the same. Where passed many conflicts; and the Besieged sent secretly to craue relief, but in vain; for, in the end they were taken by force, and the souldiers had great spoil, and made great slaughter of the Gothes. But **BELISARIVS**, the next day assembling his Armie, took such order with the souldiers, that they set all the Inhabitants of the City at liberty, and restored to them the greatest part of the goods which were taken from them; contenting themselves with the spoile of their enemies onely, sparing the citizens: to whom they protested, that the cause of their coming was, To set them at liberty. Great was the fear which the taking of *Naples* strake into the Gothes; for, they held it impregnable. Wherefore all the chief men and Captains amongst them, seeing the small prouision that **THEODATVS** made, and assuring them that **BELISARIVS** would not continue long in *Naples* before he came to *Rome*; One inuiuing another, they mette at a place neer vnto it; and, after long debating and consultation vpon the matter, they did chuse a wife and valiant Captain for their King, who by name was called **VITIGES**.

to the end that he should presently take order for the leuying of men of war, and the defense of the countrey against **BELISARIVS**. Which which when **THEODATVS** vnderstood, who then was in *Rome*, holding himselfe to be in no securitie, he fled thence towards *Rauenna*; but he was ouertaken vpon the way by a Captain called **OPTARVS**, whom **VITIGES** sent to pursue him; and so was slaine by his commandment, when he had reigned three yeeres King of *Italy*. **THEODATVS** being dead, **VITIGES** called a councill; and being of opinion that he had not power sufficient to attend **BELISARIVS** in *Rome*, neither to sallie forth to fight with him in the fields, resolved to go to *Rauenna*, and there raising sufficient forces, returne to giue him battaile. And he was the rather induced thereto, for that he stood in doubt of the French, which had declared themselves for the Emperour. Being thus resolved, he left for gouernour of *Rome* a Captain whose name was **BADERS**, with fewer thousand mercenarie souldiers in garrison: and encouraging the citizens to defend themselves, he tooke his way towards *Rauenna*.

BELISARIVS, leauing a good guard and garrison in *Naples*, marched with his Armie towards *Rome*; where the inhabitants knowing of his coming, resolved that they would not stand vpon their defence, but opened the ports & let him in: and they so agreed together, as the Gothes could not hinder it, but held it their best course to be gone. And it so hapned, that in one day, and at one instant, **BELISARIVS** entered at one port, and they sallied out at another. Who after that he had made a most excellent speech to the Senate, and encouraged them to embrace their libertie, he presently applied himselfe to repair the walles and to fortifie the citie; bringing in victuals and prouision from all parts: For all the countrey round about was at commandment.

In the meane while, the new King **VITIGES**, (who was neither idle, nor a coward) left nothing vndone that might encrease his power against **BELISARIVS**. First he concluded a peace with the King of *France*, to the end he should not bee his aduersarie, and gaue him those lands which **THEODORICVS** held in *France*, thereby to be the better assured of his friendship; and sending for his binarie capitaines and souldiers which he usually held in *France*, hee commanded them to come and ioine with him. And from *Germanie* and other parts he procured all the aide he possibly could. Finally, he vsed such meanes, as hee raised in *Rauenna*, and the marches thereof, one hundred and fiftie thousand men, of foote and horse; good souldiers, and the most of them very well armed.

With this Armie he began to march towards *Rome*, wherein **BELISARIVS** was; but not with any such forces as might suffice to take the field, or to fight with so great an enemy. Whereupon King **VITIGES** (nothing doubting of the victorie) grew so proud, as hee not onely tooke care that **BELISARIVS** should not flie and abandon *Italia*, but by the way hee ever asked, whether **BELISARIVS** were fled or no: and reioiced infinitely when it was told him that he fortified himselfe in *Rome*; and that it seemed, he meant to abide his coming. But the valiant **BELISARIVS** was farre from that which **VITIGES** supposed, for he was resolved rather to die, then to abandon what he had gotten. But seeing his small power, in respect of his aduersarie, he sent to **BLESVS** and **CONSTANTINVS**, Capitaines which hee had sent into those marches, that they should presently returne to *Rome* with their troupes, where hee was with his, and had fortified and furnished the citie; with a resolution to defend the same, and to stoppe the enemy, if he purposed to goe forwards, to recouer what he had gotten in *Campania*, *Pulia*, and *Calabria*. But **VITIGES** held on his way directly towards *Rome*, imagining that it could not be held; and at his arriual there happened so great an accident, that although I know it will somewhat detain me, yet I will describe it.

BELISARIVS, at a bridge ouer the river *Tiber*, about a mile from *Rome* where **VITIGES** should passe, had caused two very strong towers to bee built, and placed therein a very good guard to entertain the enemy: but **VITIGES** being comm with his Armie, those that had the guard at the bridge, one night were in such fear, that without any fight they presently gaue vp the place; and the same night **VITIGES** began to passe ouer a great part of his Armie. The next morning, **BELISARIVS**, suspecting no such matter, sallied forth of *Rome* with a thousand choice horse, and came towards the bridge, to the end to chuse a fit place to lodge his people, for the defense and stopping of the passage: but being comm somewhat neer vnto it, he suddenly met with **VITIGES** men-at-Arms, who that night had past the river by the bridge: wherewith **BELISARIVS** was so much dejected (imagining the guards of the bridge to be lost) that with lesse discretion than he ought, hee charged **VITIGES** men with

Theodatus of jereen to vnder the kingdom of Iste into the lands of Iustinian.

Theodatus refused to perform his promise

The same gave very little light for the space of almost a year.

Belisarius came with great power into Italia.

The Gothes, discontented with Theodatus, chuse Vitiges for their King.

Theodatus flane by the commandment of Vitiges.

Belisarius entered Rome.

Vitiges leuied an Armie of 150000 men of foote and horse.

Vitiges marched towards Rome against Belisarius.

A strange encounter.

so great rage and fury, that there followed a cruell Fight; so as VITIGES his Vauanguard retired to the battailon wherein he himself was: whence hee charged with so great a troop of Gothes, that BELISARVS his company was held for lost; and hee in his owne person did wonders, slaying and wounding many of his enemies; and charged so farre in amongst them, that all Authors which write thereof affirm, that he discharged the part of an excellent man at Arms, but not of a good and discreet Generall. For, he put his person in such danger, that hee was held for dead; and so it was presently reported in Rome by some of his people which fled. He being in this distresse, wherein hee lost many of his friends and seruants, being vnable any longer to maintain the Fight, his people began to retire a main gallop, and hee did the like, after they had slain 1000 of the Gothes. And many of VITIGES his horsemen pursued them: euen to the very gates of Rome, which were shut: and those which held the guard there would not open them, fearing to let in the enemy. And for that with the noise and callings, they knew not BELISARVS by his voice, whom they accounted for dead; he, hauing fought the greatest part of the day, was driuen to lean to the wall; and, ranging his souldiers into a Squadron, made head against the enemy, and so continued fighting, without any meat or sustenance, till it was night: in the which hee did a valiant, though a dangerous and desperate, exploit; which was, that he charged the Gothes with such fury, that they all beleened (through the darkness of the night) that great troops had sallied forth of the City: and in this doubt they began to retire towards their Camp, BELISARVS still charging them in the ariereguard, til hee found a free place, and then returned; and, coming to the Port, was knowne and receiued into the city with his people, although many, fewer in number than they sallied. And so he escaped this perillous conflict, with a great number of arrows sticking in his horse & armor; and had some blowes and cuts with the sword, but none of them toucht his flesh: which was held for a wonder by those which saw in how great danger hee had been.

The next day VITIGES arriued, and ouerran the fields of Rome; and, being vnable to besiege the City round on euery side, by reason of the greatnes thereof, hee diuiding his Armie, inuested it with six Camps: and forasmuch as it would be too long to recite the conflicts which passed in that siege, they were so great and strange, I will leaue them all. Onely let this suffice, to vnderstand, that it was one of the most terrible and bloody sieges that euer was before any city: for, it continued one whole year and nine daies; and the first seuen moneths of that time, VITIGES and his Gothes (who were valiant men) neuer ceased to batter and assault the City on all parts; where they did and receiued much hurt. And BELISARVS and his people neuer suffred their aduersaries to rest, neither forbore to sallie forth and to fight with them in field; so as in skirmishes and sallies Writers affirm, that they slue about 40000 of the Gothes: in which time hee did marvels in Arms, as well for valour and hardinesse, as for wisdom and pollicie, as an excellent Captain.

The Emperour IVSTINIAN was not carelesse of this siege, but sent reliefe and succor both of men and munition to BELISARVS; and supplied him with certaine Captains and companies of horse and foote, with come and other victuals, which without great trouble and daunger could not come to Rome. But this was not so sufficient, but that they endured extreme famine. Yet that notwithstanding, he managed things so wisely and valiantly, as VITIGES seeing himselfe and his Armie tired, and weakened, sought to make a truce with him, which was concluded for three moneths: but it continued not so long, for VITIGES through the cunning and treacherie of some, demanded to haue leaue to come in, and to see the citie, within the time of the truce: whereupon the warres were renewed. And BELISARVS sent commandement to a Captain of his called IOHN, who was Marshall of his Armie, that he should make cruell warres in the marches of Rauenna, whither hee had sent him with about two thousand horse, and certaine other souldiers before the time of the truce, imagining that hee harrying that quarter, VITIGES would rife from before Rome. This Captain sped so well in his enterprise, as hee took the citie of Arimino, and other places. And VITIGES standing in feare to lose Rauenna, raised his siege from before Rome, and returned to defend the rest. But in his retreat BELISARVS charged him so furiously in the ariereguard, as he slew a great number of his men. And so with shame, dishonor, and losse of his forces, VITIGES returned to the countrey of Rauenna, and very resolutely besieged Arimino, wherein this Captaine IOHN was.

BELISARVS, to auoid losse of time, leuying such forces as hee could get, staid not any longer: but whilst he went to Naples, and fortified that City, he then presently took his way towards the city of Rauenna: and so the warres were renewed in diuerse parts of Italie. And

to BELISARVS came a Captain sent by IVSTINIAN, called NARSIS, an Eunuch, with a great supply of souldiers. This NARSIS afterwards was Generall; and an excellent man: with whom, and those which hee had already, BELISARVS relieved IOHN, who was besieged in Arimino; and with some losse of men constrained VITIGES to raise his siege. Before and after which, in Gallia Cisalpine, now called Lombardy, Milan, Bergamo, &c. and other Cities, took part with BELISARVS; whiche hee sent some Captains, and therefore followed great conflicts and battels, as well with the Gothes, as with THEODORVS King of France, who came with a resolution to haue made himself Lord of that Countrey; while they were busied in these wars. BELISARVS, after many great adventures, fought a battell with VITIGES, who had drawn together his whole power to that end: And, to vse brevitee, BELISARVS getting the victory, VITIGES, fleeing to Rauenna, was therein besieged; which siege lasted many daies, and there were many treaties of the one and the other side; so far forth, as to offer to make BELISARVS King of Italie: But hee continuing his siege, and the City being taken, VITIGES was delivered into his hands, with whom in a manner all Italie came under his obedience.

The affairs of Italy standing in this estate, by the commandment of IVSTINIAN, BELISARVS was to depart from Italy (which he ought not to haue done); for the Emperour meant to employ his person in his wars against the Persians, leaving Italy in subjection; although that afterwards through his absence there followed great alterations & combustions. For, although that IOHN, BESA and VITALIS (all valiant men, and of great esteem) remain'd for Commanders and Gouverners in his place, yet there was no comparison between them and him: for, he was a most excellent Captain. This great Captain BELISARVS departed from Italie, carrying with him King VITIGES, and the Queen his wife, with many of his kindred, and other principall men of the Gothes, prisoners; and was receiued into Constantinople with exceeding honour and much joy: And he was so beloued and esteem'd, that all men, both inhabitants and strangers, went to see him as a wonder of the world, extolling his vertues and noble acts; which for the breuitie of my stile I am not able to expresse. This was also a great help thereto, in that hee was a man of a most pleasing countenance, tall of stature, of an excellent constitution, Noble of condixion, milde, courteous, and endued with many other rare and herocicall vertues.

Within fewe daies after that BELISARVS was gone out of Italie, some Cities rebelled, and chose YDIBALDVS for their King, a valiant Captain, and of great authority among the Gothes; who began to growe mighty by means of the euill government, and the powlings and extortions, vsed by the Emperours Captains in the Countrey. He leuying an Army (which vntill then hee durst not do) presumed to fight with VITALIS, and ouerthrew him in battell, and began to be feared by the Imperialists. But, because hee slue a nephew of VITIGES, one of his guard slue him, when hee had reigned little more than one year. In his place was chosen ARARICVS (whom PAVLVS DIACONVS and IORDANVS call ARARIS) who was also slain within fewe moneths. And then they chose TOTILA for their King; who wrought the miserie and destruction of Rome, as I will presently tell you, when as we haue declared how and vpon what occasion BELISARVS was drawn out of Italie by the Emperour IVSTINIAN, which before we spake not of, which passed in this manner:

COSROES King of Persia, seeing that BELISARVS (whom he chiefly feared) was busied in the wars of Italie, sought some occasions, whether fained or iust, to make warre vpon the territories of the Empire; and, entering some Prouinces, took certain Imperiall Cities. Whereupon IVSTINIAN, who very circumspectly provided for all parts, besides the ordinary garisons sent an Armie into the East, and for Generall thereof a valiant Gentleman named SITTAS, who in a battell was ouerthrowne and slain. And IVSTINIAN sent another called BUCINA, a very rare man at Arms; and also a nephew of his called GERMANY, and other Captains and souldiers: so as the war was very cruell and bloody between COSROES and them, which I haue not time to relate. But the Imperialists could not make sufficient resistance against the Persians: and so COSROES entred far into the Empire; and, leaving Mesopotamia on the right hand, marched towards Syria and Cilicia, and by assault took many good Cities. Wherefore IVSTINIAN, holding no man sufficient for that war but BELISARVS, sent for him out of Italie: at what time hee had brought it all vnder subjection, excepting some fewe Holds and Castles in Lombardy, wherein the Gothes had fortified themselves.

BELISARVS leauing Italie, and arriuing at Constantinople, within fewe daies after was sent

A desperate assault.

Rome terribly besieged, and assaulted by the Gothes.

Vitiges besieged Rome.

Rome hardly besieged.

Vitiges took truce with Belisarius for three moneths.

Vitiges raised his siege from before Rome.

Narsis sent by the Emperour to the aid of Belisarius.

A battell: Belisarius victor.

Belisarius took King Vitiges prisoner. Belisarius left Italy by the Emperours commandment.

Belisarius carried King Vitiges and his wife prisoner to Constantinople.

Ydibaldus was chosen for king of the Gothes by some of their Armes.

Totila made king.

Cosroes, king of Persia, made war in the East.

Captains sent against the Persians, Sittas, Bucina and Germany.

The Persians took many cities in the Empire.

Belisarius from
against the
Goths.

Totila his good
success in Italy.

Belisarius by
the Emperours
commande
ment returned
into Italy.

Totila besieged
Rome.

Belisarius ef-
fected by the river
Tiber, with a
determination
to relieve Rome.

who had last against *Cosroes* the mightie King of *Persia*; And with his comming the Im-
perialists took heart, and he requied the warre with such discretion and courage, as there was
profant alteration in all things: and having obtained some victories against certaine of *Cos-
roes*'s Captaines (for he himselfe durst not fight with him) he recovered much of that which
was (stolen) by means whereof the affairs of the East went daily from well to better, through
the presence and good gouernement of *Belisarius*. But in the meane season (which
was two yeres) the estate of *Italy* wanted worse: for as we said, *Totila*, being made King
of the *Goths*, followed the warres with so great courage and in so good order, as hauing ouer-
throwne and slaine some of the Emperours *Iustinian*'s Captaines, the *Goths* wanne such
reputation, as all the towines took part with them, excepting such as were held by garisons.
And *Totila* marched through all *Italy*, without finding any resistance, and besieged the
great cite of *Naples*: which after many exploits, both by sea and land, he tooke; and many
others in that quarter, and prospered so well in his enterprises, as it seemed, that in a short space he
would (without speedie redresse) make himselfe Lord of the whole. Which when *Iustin-
ian* perceived, grieving more for *Italy*, then for all the rest, he commanded *Belisarius*,
that leauing the affairs of the East in the best order he could, he should make his repaire vnto
him, and be as a seruant accustomed to obey; did so. Leauing his people in the East, and com-
ming to *Constantinople*, without any stay, he was sent by the Emperour into *Italy*; whither he went
with so great haste, that he could not leade with him above fiftie thousand men: for it was
thought that he should haue found sufficient forces there; and was made to beleuee that the
Emperours' partie was not brought to so great extremitye as it was. But he found all quite con-
trarie, in so much as it did partly seeme that his comming did more harme then good; for being
wished for, and expected by his friends, and feared by his enemies; seeing him come with so
small forces, the one were dismayed, and the other took courage: and so in the beginning his
enterprise was very doubtfull and tedious. Putting himselfe into *Ravenna*, to fortifie and defend
the same, within few daies he took such order, as notwithstanding that he could not keepe the
field and heard the enemye (for that he was too mightie for him) yet the *Goths* neuertheless
did rather lose then get. Wherewith *Totila* being much displeased, and desirous to make
warres to the yerkmost, assembled all his whole power, and sent Captaines and companies to
Ravenna against *Belisarius*. And he with his whole Armie went to *Rome*, which was so
flenderly provided for, either with men or munition, that it seemed, it could not long be de-
fended.

Belisarius vnderstanding hereof, and remembering with how much trouble and ex-
tremitye he had defended that cite in former time, and seeing that he had not forces to keepe
the field, neither could put himselfe into it by land, was much displeased and sorrowfull, and
wrote an earnest letter to the Emperour *Iustinian*, desiring him to send him men and
money; resolving to put himselfe into *Rome* by sea from *Ravenna*, where he then was. And pas-
sing ouer into *Dalmatia*, and thence to *Dyrrasse*, he found captaine *Iohn*, whom *Iustinian*
had sent with a good Armie, wherewith he was of opinion to be able to fight with *Totila*.
But the reliefe of *Rome* he held necessarye to be provided for, with greater expedition then could
be made with that Armie: for if *Totila* should take it, he feared that all *Italy* would revolt.
Wherefore he resolved to goe thither by sea, and to put himselfe into *Rome* by the riuer *Tiber*:
(for the cite called *Porto* in the mouth of *Tiber*, held for the Emperour; and *Ostia* on the other
side of the riuer held for the *Goths*) and that Captaine *Iohn* should crosse the Sea with his
Armie, and comming into *Calabria*, should march by land, to relieue him.

This being thus concluded; *Belisarius* sailed, and arrived at *Porto* in the mouth of
Tiber; and hauing no sufficient power to march by land, by reason of *Totila*'s great Armie,
heer speedily rigged a great number of Barks and Fregates, which he fraughted with men and
munition, and so passed by the riuer. And notwithstanding that *Totila* had in the narrowell
place of that riuer drawne chaines, and made a bridge, and two Castles at the ends of the bridge,
guarded with a great number of souldiers, by this meanes to stop his passage, yet *Belisarius*
followed his course by the Riuer; and comming to the bridge, he and his people in such fort
charged those which guarded the same, that they brake and scattered them and passed through;
and *Rome* had been presently relieved, and euery thing had had good successe, had there not be-
fallen a strange mishap, which troubled and altered all.

Belisarius had left his wife and familie (which wife he loued so much, as in his o-
ther warres he euer carried her with him) in the port before named, at the entrie of the Riuer,
with

A great mis-
fortune which
befell Belisarius

Totila took
Rome.

Totila burnt
and destroyed
Rome.

Belisarius en-
tered Rome to
the end to forti-
fy and defend
the same.

Totila besieged
Rome, and there-
in Belisarius.

Belisarius was
inforced out of
Italy.

with a Garison which held the fort, and a good Captaine, whose name was *Isaaz*, with ex-
pressiue commandement that he should not fallie forth without the walles, but should keepe the
fortesse. But *Isaaz*, hearing the newes of *Belisarius*'s victorie, and being desirous
to doe some notable exploit of himselfe, sallied out of the towne with his Garison, to
charge *Totila*: his souldiers, which lay there against him: and although that at the first he
disordered them and made them retire, yet in the end he was ouerthrowne by them and taken
prisoner. Whereof *Belisarius* was presently aduertised by some which fled, and the
report went (without any author) that the Towne was taken, and that his wife was in the ene-
mies hands. Which when he vnderstood, he was so grieved and enraged, that without expec-
ting any further newes, he returned downe the Riuer, with a determination either to die, or
to see his wife at libertie, imagining that if he sped well, he might speedily returne to the rescue
of *Rome*. But being come to the port, he found the place at his deuotion, and that his wife
was well and at libertie, although the Captaine were lost. Whereupon he tooke greater dis-
pleasure to see himselfe thus delayed, then at the first euill newes; and the same night after his
arruall at the port, through extreme choler and griefe which he had taken, or some other vn-
knowne occasion, he was so extremely taken with a feuer, that he fell downe for dead, and his
disease daily encreasing, he was oftentimes at the point of death. In this meane time, which
was for the space of many daies, *Totila* did so straightly besiege the Cite, that they within
died of hunger, and did eat dogs, cats, rats, and other things which seemed impossible. And
Totila in the end, hauing the Cite in his power, sent his Ambassadors to *Iustinian*,
offering to be his seruant and good friend, and to preserve and keepe the Cite, if hee would
grant him peace; if not, that then he would raze it and make the most cruell warre he could.
Iustinian answered that his Generall *Belisarius* was in *Italy*, to whom he referred
all matters.

Totila was so enraged with this answer, that hee resolved to ruine *Rome*, and so
hee did. For hee made the Capitoll it selfe to be burned, and the best part of all the Cite,
and the third part of the walles hee caused to be throwne downe, and commanded the inha-
bitants to abandon the Cite, vpon paine of death, and to goe to liue in some other place. And so
he left burnt, desolate, and waste, that Cite which had commanded the World, and which
had bene the greatest, most frequented, and best peopled of all others. Then he marched a-
gainst *Iohn*, who with the Armie sent by *Iustinian*, came through *Calabria*, towards
Rome, who shewed himselfe so very a coward, that hee durst not attend him in the field, but
put himselfe into *Ostia*, the furthest place of all *Calabria*. And so *Totila* without
any resistance tooke all *Calabria*, *Abruzzo* and *Lucania*, which vntill then held for the Empe-
rour *Iustinian*.

In the meane time, *Belisarius* recovered his health, and performed one of the most
desperate attempts, that euer he had done at any time before; which was with those troups
which he had, to goe and put himselfe into *Rome*, with a resolution to repaire, reedefie and de-
fend the same; and so he did. And so first sending his wife to *Constantinople*, he presently went
to *Rome* (as desolate as it lay) and caused with all expedition, trenches to be digged, and ram-
piers to be made, where the walles were throwne downe, and all the victuals that possibly
could be gotten, to be brought thither, and made a Cite of that which lay waste. Through
the same hereof, many Citizens, that could get to him; for the loue of their countie came;
and put themselves therewith him. Whereof as soone as *Totila* was aduertised, by
long iourneys without any intermission, he returned againe, assuring himselfe presently to en-
ter it, and there to take *Belisarius*: But *Belisarius* so valiantly defended the
same; that to his great losse, *Totila* was driuen to raise his siege. Whereby it may be i-
magined, how well he would haue defended it before it was ruined, and he repaired it with
new ports and rampiers. In the meane season captaine *Iohn* in *Calabria* and *Pulia* gathered
the Citizens of *Rome* together and sent them thither, in whose Cite *Belisarius* remai-
ned; and hauing fortified it, and left a good Garison therein, with an excellent Gouernour
called *Gonon*; he went to ioyne with *Iohn*, and other Captaines, to pursue *Totila*:
where many things hapned too long to be recited. But the King of *Persia* againe making wars
in the East, *Iustinian* resolved to send *Belisarius* thither, although that afterwards
he went not, for peace was concluded betwene them: Vpon this occasion *Belisarius* a-
gain went out of *Italy*, although not with so great good fortune, and victories, as at the first,
yet with no disgrace, neither with any lesse honor, for he neuer failed in any thing, to doe what

behold him, or what he was able; and so in summe went to *Constantinople*; where he remained all the remainder of his life. After he had liued there certaine yeeres, *Agathius* writeth, that the Huns came down into *Thracia*, euen very neer to *Constantinople*, robbing and spoiling the countrie. And *Belisarius* being now old, was sent against them; and overthrow them in battaile; and had not *Ivstinian* sent for him to returne; hee had wholly ruined them.

Totila besieged
and took Rome.

Within few daies after that *Belisarius* was departed out of *Italy*, *Totila* returned to *Rome*, and againe besieged it, and after a long siege and great extremities and famine endured by the besieged, through the negligence of *John* who should haue relieved it, and the treason of some others, the fierce barbarian tooke it, but the taking of it at this time was quite contrarie to the last: for now he did not any harme, but sought to repaire and repeople it, and gave great gifts, priuiledges, and exemptions to the inhabitants, to the end they should returne and dwell there. Afterwards he took many other places, and passed ouer into *Sicilia*: and for that he could not easily make a conquest thereof, he left foure captaines with many men of warre therein, and returned into *Italy*. And if *Narses* a captaine whom *Ivstinian* sent, had not come thither, he had within short space made himselfe absolute Lord of the whole countrie. This *Narses* was a famous Captain, valiant, and of great experience, and very priuate with the Emperor *Ivstinian*; and therefore rich, and of great authority; who came into *Italy* with a great Armie, leuiued of fundrie nations, as Hunnes, Heruli, and other warlike people. Amongst which there came to his seruice, a people called Longobardi, who then dwelt in *Hungarie*; and he marched by land along all the coast of the *Adriaticke* sea; now called the gulf of *Venice*, vntill he came to *Rauenna*; notwithstanding that at his entrie into *Italy*, he had some encounters and conflicts with some of *Totila*'s Captaines, where there came to ioyne with him some of those Captaines and companies, which *Belisarius* had left. Staying but few daies in *Rauenna*, he tooke the field with his Armie, directing his course for *Rome*. But *Totila* who was no way a coward, attended his coming upon the way, and presenting him battaile, they fought, and in the fight *Totila* was slaine, and his people scattered and overthrowne. Which victorie was the occasion that *Narses* easily reconquered all *Italy*: for after this fight, he held on his iourney and besieged *Rome*. And notwithstanding that the Gothes which *Totila* left there in garrison, did defend it well, yet *Narses* took it by assault, with great losse of the defendants. And departing from thence, he took all the towns and cities round about.

Treyas made
King of the
Goths.

After the death of *Totila*, the Gothes made a great man amongst them whose name was *Treyas*, their King, who took all *Totila*'s treasure which lay in *Pania*; and sought to get men and aide against *Narses*, and sent to intreate reliefe of the French, who would not intermeddle in that warre. But *Treyas* seeing that *Narses* tooke cities and towns, without finding any man to fight with him, departed out of *Lombardie* with all the power hee could make, and marched towards *Campania*, where *Narses* staied for him. They both lodged their Armies vpon a riuer side: where after some notable skirmishes, they came to a battaile, which was one of the most cruell that had been fought in all that warre. For historians report wonders wrought by this *Treyas*, King of the Gothes in his owne person; but in the end being ouerborne by *Narses*'s men, he was by them slaine, iust at twelue of the clocke at noone; at which time he had fought about six howers; and yet notwithstanding his death, the battaile ceased not, vntill that darke night parted them, without apparance of any victorie of either side: and reposing themselves as well as they could that night, the next morning the Gothes in despair, and the Imperialists despised, to see that a people without a Captaine should defend themselves, returned againe to fight, without ceasing; and the Gothes taking the benefit of the side of an hill, defended themselves. But in the end towards night they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Narses*, offering to render all that they held in *Italy*, conditionally that he should giue them leaue to liue in it, without any armour or weapons. Which request *Narses* granted, for that he would not fight with a desperate people; and for the great losse which his Armie had already receiued: and so they deliuered what they possessed, and some of them continued in *Italy*, subiect to the inhabitants, in such manner, that within a very short space the name of the Gothes was wholly extinct, rooted out and forgotten, although not presently after the victorie: for some Captains and companies which remained in *Gallia Cisalpina*, now called *Lombardy*, and in the Prouince of *Tripadana*, now *Piemont*, began to fortifie; and they crauing aide and succours coming out of *France* and *Burgundy*, the war was renewed, which lasted wel-

neere

neere one whole yeere, and therein passed great battailes: but in the end *Narses* obtained both the field and the victorie, and was absolute commander of all *Italy*. And it pleased God to make him the instrument to roote out, and to extinguiish the name of the Gothes and Ostrogothes in *Italy*, 18 yeeres after the beginning of this warre, and threescore and twelue, after that *Theodoricus* first entred and made himselfe Lord of that countrie. But to the contrary, the Visigothes in *Spain* grew daily more powerfull, and the name of the *Alanes* and *Sueuians* extinct, the Gothes only remaining. At that time reigned *Thanaagildys* in great prosperitie in *Spain*, and ruled that kingdome the space of 22 yeeres. These enterprises being ended, *Narses* applied himselfe to the vttermost of his power, to the reedifying of *Rome*; caused the inhabitants to reduce themselves to one part thereof; and so he tooke the best order he could, both for the government of the same, and of *Italy* also. This *Narses* was a man of great iudgement, a good christian, very zealous in Religion, and desirous of the good of the common wealth, and besides all this, was one of the most excellent captaines of the World. By reason whereof he held the government of *Italy* as long as the Emperor *Ivstinian* liued; who during all the time of these great wars, made his continuall abode in *Constantinople*, providing men and money for the wars in all parts; as well for those of *Italy* as in the East, where hee had dangerous wars against *Cosroes* King of *Persia*.

Agathius writeth of this war in a particular Booke. Narses drove the Gothes out of *Italy*.

The valour and prudence of the Emperor Iustinian.

There hapned in the time of *Ivstinian* (besides the warres and conquests before specified, and many others, which for breuitie, and for that they were of no great importance, I omit) earth-quakes, famine, and other great calamities. For in his raigne the times were so variable, and there hapned such strange accidents, as the like had neuer beene. And he (as I said in the beginning) was as an excellent prince, and exceedingly carefull for the wars; providing captaines, fouldiers and money, without taxing or oppressing his subiects, with incredible magnanimity and bounty. By meanes whereof, he preferred the Empire of the East, and reconquered the Prouinces of *Africa*, wholly subuerting and expelling the Vandales out of those countries, and did the like by the Gothes in *Italy*. And concerning his Government in time of peace, he was no lesse carefull; so as it seemed he neuer had applied himselfe to any thing else: for as the lawes and statutes made by other Emperors his predecessors, were so many, that aman could hardly reade them; and so variable and intricate as it seemed that many of them did contradict one the other; he reduced them all to a conformitie and breuitie; drawing out of them that onely which was necessarie, and made other new. And in this manner he abridged all the lawes of the ancient Magistrates, Iudges and Lawyers, which contained about 2000 bookes, and reduced them to fittie, called the Digest, and compiled the 4 bookes of the Institutions, commonly called *Instituta*. And the lawes and decrees of all the Emperours and *Cæsars*, which were dispersed abroad in very many bookes, he reduced to twelue; called *Ivstinians* Codex. And he made another book intituled, The Volume, wherein he included three of those twelve bookes aforesaid. To bring these things to effect he held about him great learned men; but the principall ministers and authors thereof were, *John Patricius*, and *Theophilus*, and *Dorotheus*, but chiefly *Tribunianus*, all singular Lawyers and Philosophers. Besides all this, *Ivstinian* was very iudicious in Architecture, and built many great and sumptuous edifices. But he was taxed with this vice, that he willingly gave care, and was a friend to bake-biers, and such as spake ill of others, and was very vengefull against such as any way offended him. He was also noted of ingratitude, and couetousnesse, and that by all waies and meanes he sought to encrease his rents, and treasure; but he afterwards spent it all frankly and bountifully in the warres, and vpon his fouldiers.

Iustian abridged the lawes.

Codex Iustinian.

Being now very old and having no sonne that might succede him, he chose his Nephew *Ivstin*, for his companion in the Empire; which *Ivstin*, was his daughters sonne. They write of him, that in his old age, he was infected with the heresie of those, which beleued, that the flesh and bodie of *Christ* was impassible. Which heresie is to be supposed proceeded through want of iudgement, whereof he was bereaued some daies before he died. Finally, after so many noble acts and many others, which for breuitie cannot be expressed, the good Emperor *Ivstinian* being about 80 yeeres old, left this for a better life, when he had reigned 39 yeeres, in the year of our Lord, 568, and was greatly lamented and deplored through all the whole Empire.

Iustinian made his nephew Iustian, his companion in the Empire.

Iustinian died in the year 568.

Tripadana,
Piemont.



THE
LIFE OF IVSTIN. THE SE.
COND OF THAT NAME,
AND THREESCORE RO-
MANE EMPEROVR.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.

Vpon the death of Iustinian, his daughters some Iustin tooke possession of the Empire, whom farre vnlike to his Grandfather, both in condition, and in his vigilantes care for the government: for he left the administration thereof to his wife Sophia. He had warres with the Persians, but they were soon ended, and he particularly applied himselfe to the affaires of Italy, which for the Empire was gouerned by Narles: For, Iustin in the East, gaue himselfe to pleasure and sensualitie. This Narles, being to his great glory performed many worthe enterprises, was ill rewarded by Iustin, and his wife Sophia: But the injuries done vnto him were the occasion of so great misfortunes, as poore Italy shall neuer haue cause to lament them. For Narles calling Alboinus King of the Longobards into Italy, and afterwards desiring to haue stayed them (whom hee could not) hee was the cause of the ruine thereof: For they made themselves Lords of the greatest part thereof, and possessed the same about two hundred yeeres. In time of which warre, Iustin died of the Goutte, when hee had reigned eleven yeeres.



Iustin obeyed
for Emperour.

Sophia wife to
the Emperour
Iustin.

we said) was IVSTINIAN'S daughter. His father was a great Noble-man in the countrie of *Slaunomia*; he himselfe was of a quick and actiue wit, and both apt and sufficient for any thing; but ill conditioned and vnworthy of the Empire, prouing farre vnlike his Grandfather. For, as *PAVLVS DIACONVS* writeth, he became colicetous and tyrannous, a robber and a despoiler of the poore, and about all, he was retchlesse and negligent in matters of iustice and gouernement; and thereof left all the charge and care to his wife the Emperesse, whose name was *SOPHIA*, whose wit was incapable thereof, neither had she conditions or vertues deseruing the

same

same. At his first coming to the Empire, this *SOPHIA*, to win the loue and good will of the people, counsell'd IVSTIN, out of his Exchequer, to pay the debts of such poore men as were vnable to make satisfaction without their vndoing, which he did: wherefore in the beginning of his raigne he was generally well beloued.

There also happened warre between him and *HORMISDA* King of *Persia*, who through the death of *COSMOS* succeeded in that Kingdom: whither he sent a Noble-man called *MARTIN* for General, and there passed great matters, but principally a cruell and bloudie battaile, wherein the Imperialists preuailed; and finally they returned to treat of peace; and that was confirmed, which was made in the time of the Emperour IVSTINIAN. So the East remained in peace, and IVSTIN passed his time without care in pleasure, giuing himselfe ouer to vice and sensualitie. So as of him there is no notable matter to be written, but of the affaires of *Italie*: which happened in this manner. In the fourth yeere (as some write) of the raigne of the Emperour IVSTIN, and the tenth or twelfth of *NARSES* his gouernement in *Italie*, after the great victorie obtained through his wifedom and policie against the *Gothes*; some malicious men enuying his great honour and dignitie, and the great riches which he had gotten in former warres, reported and wrote to IVSTIN much euill of *NARSES*; and as in Court (an vsual thing) there wanted not some that enuid him, and were glad thereof, so they found the fauour to be heard; and IVSTIN through want of iudgement, and the Emperesse *SOPHIA* being light of beleefe, were perswaded that what was told them of him was true. So without respect or regard of the daungers and troubles wherewith he had conquered *Italy*, they resolved to depose him from his gouernment, and to send him a successor, which was one of the greatest indignities that could be done him. And it pleased God to permit so great an ingratitude to be punished. For *SOPHIA* was not content to embase *NARSES* by depriving him of his gouernment, but she also disgraced him in his speeches, saying, that she would haue him come to spinne amongst her women at *Constantinople*. And a principall man called *LONGINVS*, was presently sent to take his place and to succeed him.

When *NARSES* vnderstood of this, his courage could not endure so shamefull a disgrace, without great disdain. Wherefore being no lesse grieved with the words vsed by *SOPHIA*, then with what they had done; it is written that he sayd: That, seeing that she meant to make him to spinne, he promised to twist her such a web, as she should neuer be able to vntwine: which he well performed, as hereafter shall be sayd. And vnderstanding that *LONGINVS* was come to *Ravenna*, he durst not goe to *Constantinople*, but came from *Rome* (where he then liued) to *Naples*, where he was so much beloued and honored, as he held himselfe to be there in security. From thence as a man disgraced and in despair, he by often letters and otherwise, sollicit'd *ALBOINVS* King of the Longobards, who was his friend, and had sent men to ayde him in his warre against the *Gothes*; and at that time made his residence in *Hungarie*, that he should come into *Italy*, and make himselfe Lord thereof; and that he would assist and direct him in what he had to do in that conquest. And *ALBOINVS* afterwards followed his direction. These Longobardi, as some say, were so called, for that they were long beards. Their originall and the place of their breeding (as *PAVLVS DIACONVS* writeth of them) was in an Iland in the German sea, then called *Scandinavia*: from whence they being many, and accounting their Country too little for them (as many other Northerly Nations had done) with two Captaines, the one called *AYON*, and the other *THATON*, left their Countrie, and went to seeke some place wherein they might inhabite, either by peace or warre.

These Captaines being dead, they chose one *AGERMOND* for their King, and afterwards had other Kings; and diuers warres at sundrie times with variable successe, against the *Gothes*, the *Vandales*, and other nations; vntill that after many yeeres they became Lords of *Hungary*; from whence their King *ALBOINVS* sent men of warre (as we said) to the aide of *NARSES* against the *Gothes*; wherof grew the occasion that he called him into *Italy*, to the end that he should make himselfe Lord thereof; who resolved to goe thither, as well for the proffer made to him by *NARSES*, as for that hee had heard of the fruitfulness of that soile, not onely by common report, but also by the particular relation, made by those whom hee had sent to seeke *NARSES* in those warres. Whilest that he multered vp his souldiers, and made such preparation as for so great an enterprise was requisite, *LONGINVS* the new Capitaine and gouernour of *Italy*, settled a new forme and order of gouernment, which continued a long time after: which was, that coming into *Italy* hee tooke the name and title of Exarch, which

Hormisda
king of the Per-
sians.
Warre & peace
in the Persi-
ans.

Narles depost
from his go-
uernment of
Italy.
Longinus sent
to gouern Italy.

The Lombards
what people
they were.

Exarchus the
name of a su-
preme Govern-
nor.

The original of
Duxes.

The last Roman
Consuls.

is, Generall or supreme gouvernor. And resting in *Ravenna*, careless of seeing *Rome*, in every city of *Italy* he placed a governor called *Dux*: whereof (as I imagine) sprang the beginning of the title and dignity of a Duke, which now is vsed throughout all the World. And so each of them gouerned a Citie, and not as in former times, when every Prouince had some principall man of great authority for their particular Capitaine or Gouvernour. In *Rome* for the greater honour was placed a Gouvernor called *Præles*, who was (as we say) a President or Lord Deputie. And so the Authoritie of the Senate, and dignity of the Consuls, was wholly lost and extinct, so as they were neuer after in that manner as in ancient times: for *NARSSES* and his companion *BASILIVS* were the last Consuls.

This forme of gouernement being established, and *ALBOINVS* king of the Longobards being in a readinesse to take his journey towards *Italy*, it followed that Pope *IOHN* the third, with the generall consent of all the Roman people, who infinitely loued *NARSSES*, went from *Rome* to *Naples*, where he then was, and perswading him to returne to *Rome*, preuailed so much as he brought him with him, where he was receiued with great loue and ioy, they pretending to protect him, and to keepe him there amongst them. Whereupon *NARSSES* repented that euer he had called *ALBOINVS*, and againe wrote to him, to take no care to come into *Italy*, alleging many difficulties. But as *ALBOINVS* was refused, and knew the small force that was in *Italy*, with the gouernement of *LONGINVS*, and the little discretion and care of the Emperor *IVSTIN*, he would not be dissuaded from his intended enterprise, but hastened his coming. Before which, *NARSSES* died in *Rome*, where he left great treasure hidden, which afterwards was found; and his bodie was carried to *Constantinople*. And at the same time died Pope *IOHN* who brought him from *Naples*.

The death of
Narses.

King *ALBOINVS* departing with a great Armie of Longobards from *Hungary*, together with a great number of Saxons and other Nations which he had leuiued, and were ioynd with him, through the desire they had to dwell in *Italy*, all which might amount to the number of two hundred thousand men, with their wiues, children, herds of Cattrell, and moueable goods, such as they could carrie, would not abandon *Hungary*, but left the Hunnes, which liued in that countrie, and were the remainder of the great Armie of the fierce King *ARTILA* (of whom heretofore we haue made much mention) to guard it. Which Hunnes (as the Longobards prospered well in *Italy*) remained owners and possessors of the countrie, which after their name is now called *Hungarie*, which before was called *Pannonia*, as some say: yet some others affirme (as is before noted) that a certaine people called *Hungari*, came from the frozen sea, and together with them the Hunnes dwelt in *Pannonia*, and so after these two Nations it was called *Hungary*. But howeouer it was, vntill this day it is so called, and the successors of the Hunnes haue possessed it, and valiantly defended the same against the Infidels, vntill our time, that for our sinnes *SOLIMAN* the Turkish Emperour tooke the greatest part thereof.

Pannonia
wherefore called
Hungary.

ALBOINVS passing with his Armie towards *Italy*, came into that Prouince which now is called *Prinlis*: where he tooke many Cities, and vsed no small cruelty, and much more would haue done, if he had not bene somewhat pacified by the prayers and intreaties of *PAVL* the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and of *FELIX* Bishop of *Trenigi*. But being desirous to enter further into *Italy*, and to leaue that to safe keeping which he had gotten, he left therein for gouernour and to guard the passages into those countries, a valiant Capitaine which was his Nephew called *SYSLEPVVS*, and he proceeded in his journey: It was the will of God, that hee found small resistance in *Italy*, for it was then afflicted, both with famine and pestilence. By reason whereof *LONGINVS*, the Gouvernor and Exarch before named, was not of power to leuiue any sufficient Armie to fight with *ALBOINVS*, and therefore held himselfe in *Ravenna*, where he drew together the best men and the greatest number he was able, with a resolution to make frontier warres by fortifying the Townes, and putting good Garrisons in them; which hee principally did in *Casarea*, which at that time was a very noble Citie, neere to *Ravenna*, whither he drew the greatest number of souldiers he could possibly leuiue, and fortified *Palania*, and therein put a Garrison, which is now called *Padoia*, and is vnder the government of the Venetians. The like he did by *Cremona* and *Manua*, and in other of the strongest Cities, imagining if he could hold those countries, *ALBOINVS* would passe no further; and if he did, he should be greatly annoyed by them in his Arriereguard. Which was no ill deuice, if in that Prouince there had bene any Armie to haue made head against *ALBOINVS* and his forces in the field. But *LONGINVS* had neither heart nor power to doe it: and *ALBOINVS* holding it for a long peece of worke to batter and assault all those Townes, tooke another course, withdrawing him-

The coming of
Alboinus and
the Lombards
into Italy.

himselfe from them, for that he would not be forced to stay before any of these Townes: but went and assaulted *Verona* and *Vicenza*, wherein were no Garrisons, which with others, yeelded without resistance. From whence passing ouer the river *Adda*, he tooke his way towards *Milane*, where the Citizens (induced thereto by the perswasion of *HONORATVS* their Bishop) gaue vp the Citie, to free themselves from slaughter and sack.

Alboinus took
Milan and o-
ther townes.

After this, other places did the like: for the famine was so great, and so generall, as, without any force the townes yeelded, being vnable to victual themselves for a siege; excepting those places which were victualled by *LONGINVS*: amongst which in that quarter were *Pania* and *Brijelli*, now called *Verelli*, which by the said *LONGINVS* were sufficiently furnished with all things needefull. *ALBOINVS* resolved to besiege them: and having bene now six moneths in *Italy*, he besieged *Paui*: but it defended it selfe so valiantly, that the siege continued three yeeres. In the beginning of which time, perceiving that it would be a long siege, remaining before it with such part of his armie as he thought sufficient, he sent the rest to make warre in other parts of *Italy*, and to make a conquest thereof: and they all sped as he desired: for they tooke many Townes, Cities and Castles in *Italy*. And the President or gouernor of *Rome* fearing to be besieged, and seeing the great scarcitie and famine which was in the Citie, sent to desire reliefe of men and victuals of the Emperor *IVSTIN*, who commanded a great quantitie of wheate to be brought from *Africa* to *Rome*, and some souldiers also. Where-with the citie was well relieved, and the Longobards at that time came not thither, neither durst they invade *Ravenna*, nor the cities adioyning: for they were all verie well fortified and garrisoned by *LONGINVS*. But in other places they made themselves Lords of a great part of *Italy*, in so much that between *Bologna* and *Milan* there were few places of strength; but within three yeeres war were brought vnder their subiection: and so they afterwards possessed all that prouince about two hundred yeeres, with variable fortune, as hereafter wee will relate, and by them it was called *Lombardy*, and is so still vnto this day. About the end of this time *ALBOINVS* tooke *Paui*: and seeing himselfe mightie, hee tooke his way towards *Verona*, whither hee had caused his wife Queene *ROSAMUND* to come, with his treasure and wardrobe; and there holding his Court hee gaue himselfe to feasting and banquetting, and was slaine by treason, by the order and consent of his wife, whose father hee had slaine, and in a banquet gaue her to drink in her fathers scull: for reuenge whereof shee worthily practised his death.

The warres of
the Lombards
in Italy.

Galla C'salpis
na called Lon-
bardia by the
Longobards.

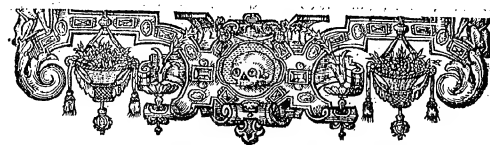
The death of
Alboinus.

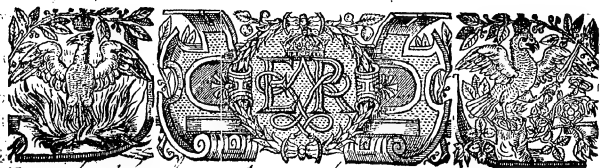
ALBOINVS dying in this manner, after many incounters and battails, the Longobards chose for their King a great man of bloud and of worth amongst them, called *CLERPHIS*, or *CLEVB*, who proued a most cruell Prince, and renewing the warres, committed great cruelties in those cities which held of the Empire, in the prouince of *Venetia*: for in those daies the citie of *Venice*, which in the time of *ARTILA* began to be inhabited, was greatly increased by those which (to escape the cruelty of the Lombards) went to dwell in those Ilands, and were now of force able to defend themselves; and this citie began to bee famous and of great account, and hath continued and increased vntill this day: so as it is now one of the most famous cities in the world. At this time the Emperor *IVSTIN* who liued viciously, careless and negligent, in *Constantinople* was taken with so grievous paine of the gowte in his feete, as he died thereof. And some daies before his death, by the consent of his wife *SOPHIA*, by whom he was wholly gouerned (for that he had no sonne) he made an excellent Nobelman, *CÆSAR*, whose name was *TIBERIVS*: and hauing exhorted him very effectually to yeelde obedience vnto *SOPHIA*, hauing swaied the Imperiall scepter 11 yeeres, he died, in the yeere of our Lord 579: and after some, 576.

Paulus Dia-
conus lib. 2.
cap. 24.
Clephis king of
the Lombards.

The prosperitie
of Venice.

The death of the
Emperor Iustin





THE
LIFE OF TIBERIVS, SE
COND OF THAT NAME,
AND THRESCORE AND ONE
ROMANE EMPEROVR.
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Such were the conditions of the Emperour IUSTIN in his life time, that when he was dead, no man lamented or mourned for him, except his wife SOPHIA, who through her husband's insufficiency governed and commanded all, and had a conceit to have continued it; meaning to have married with TIBERIVS, who presently upon the death of IUSTIN was created and crowned Emperour. But, as he was a virtuous man, just, pitifull, milde, charitable, and endued with such virtues, as in a good and Christian Emperour were requisite, he would not have her to wife; all whose conditions he knew to be quite contrary; and with whom even in the life time of IUSTIN (as some write) he was at some controuersie. TIBERIVS when he was created CÆSAR, made distribution

of much of the Imperiall treasure to the poore; and afterwards at his Coronation named for Emperesse a great Ladie whose name was ANASTASIA, with whom hee was secretly married. Whereupon SOPHIA at the same feast practised by treason to haue had him slaine, with a determination to haue made one IUSTINIAN, another of IUSTINIANS nephews, Emperour. But, as it pleased God, the good TIBERIVS escaped this treason, and others also which SOPHIA practised; and his Coronation was held with great solemnitie: and the treacherie of SOPHIA being discovered (she craving mercie) hee pardoned both her and IUSTINIAN. But many daies passed not before shee attempted the like, in a house of pleasure whither TIBERIVS went for his recreation. At this time hee caused her to be apprehended, and despoiled of all her riches. But as hee was milde and pitifull, hee pardoned her her life, and gaue her maintenance, and made her to be serued with great respect and honour; but he took from her all her old seruants, placing others to attend her by his appointment; he againe pardoned IUSTINIAN: for hee knew that hee was induced to all that hee did by SOPHIA. And hee was afterwards greatly beloved by TIBERIVS, and serued him faithfully, as PAVLVS DIACONVS writes.

These were the priuate and domestical accidents which in the beginning befell TIBERIVS. In the generall estate of the Empire, hee cuer maintained iustice, and raigned valiantlie. Africa, and all the provinces which the Empire held in Asia and in Europe, peaceably obeyed him. But the warres in Italy against the Lombards, and in the East against the Persians, did put him to much care and trouble. In the warres of Persia hee had good successe, whereof wee will first speake briefly. For as soone as TIBERIVS came to the Empire, hee sent his Ambassadors to King HORMISDA, to confirme the peace in such manner as his predecessors held

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the same before him. But HORMISDA, who saw himself rich and mightie, would not accept thereof, but made warre vpon the Frontiers of the Empire. TIBERIVS speedily sent a mighty Army against him: but at that time they fought not. For, there was a truce concluded for a time: which being expired, a cruell warre began chiefly in the Kingdome of Armenia; where the Roman Generall and Armie came to a battell with HORMISDA: which Fight was very cruell, and of long continuance. Neuertheless, the Romans had the victory; and HORMISDA faced himself by flight; and therein were taken the greatest and richest spoiles that cuer were gotten from the Persians: all which were giuen to the men of warre, excepting the Kings treasure, and the vessell of gold and siluer for his seruice, which (as PAVLVS DIACONVS saith) was carried to TIBERIVS in Constantinople vpon twenty Elephants (which had not other loading) with a great number of prisoners; to whom the Emperour commanded rich and gallant apparell to be giuen, and then to be set at liberty, to returne to their Countrey. And in the mean time the Imperiall Armie entred the Countreies subject to the Persians; and, burning and spoiling the same, returned with victorie. But within a small time after, HORMISDA leuied the greatest forces that he was able, and made a very valiant and expert man of warre, Generall thereof: for, by reason of his last ouerthrowe, hee made a law, that the Kings of Persia should neuer be present in any battell; and so hee againe renewed the warre against the Empire, to recover his lost honour. Against whom the Emperour sent a new Generall, a valiant and wife Earle named MAVRICE, who afterwards was Emperour; who with the like good fortune fought to fight with the Persians; and, leuying infinite numbers of souldiers on either side, they fought a great part of the day, vntill that, after many thousands of the one and other side were slaine, the victorie shewed itself to be of MAVRICE his side: and he recovered certain places, and conquered others from the Persians; so as HORMISDA was constrained of necessity to conclude some peace or truce with the Emperour. And MAVRICE came with victory to Constantinople: where hee was solemnly receiued by TIBERIVS, who married him to his owne daughter, in reward of so noble a victory.

Whil'these things past in the East, the affairs of Italy prospered not so well: for, CLEPHIS, the new King of the Lombards, made cruell wars against those Towns and Countreies which held of the Empire; and all things hapned so according to his desire, that he took many cities; and, being desirous to repose himself for a while, he sent his Captains and their companies towards Rome. And they took all the Cities in the marches thereof; and Rome it self was besieged by them; and was in great danger to haue been entred by force. So that (as Authors affirm) if CLEPHIS had liued but a little while longer, he had made himself Lord of Rome and Rauenna, which were the two eyes and fortresses of all Italy. But his designs were made frustrate by death, like to other Kings and Captains, who haue been a great and greater than cuer hee was; whose death was practised by the treason of his owne people. After his decesse the Lombards would neither chuse nor haue any more Kings at that time: but there arose thirty principall men, or (to speake more properly) thirty tyrants; who inuested themselves in thirty of the best Towns which they held in Italy. And so euery of them gouerned his Town and the Territorie thereof. And each of them likewise made warre apart by himself; sometimes the one aiding and assisting the other against the Empire. And as the Emperour TIBERIVS was busied in making prouision for his wars against the Persians, and did not sufficiently provide for Italy, these Captains of the Lombards had opportunity to extend their power there; and took many other Cities, coming before Rome and Naples. In which warre they committed such cruelties, robberies and insolencies, as the like had neuer been seen. So that from Rome to the Eastwards there remained little more subject to the Empire than the Kingdome of Naples, and the City of Rome, with some Towns in the marches thereof; and the City of Naples fell also into the hands of the Lombards: but we cannot certainly say, whether at this time or afterwards. Yet RAUENNA held for the Empire, and some other strong holds need into it which, through the widome and foresight of LONGINVS, were defended. And there also held for the Empire of either side of the riuers of Po, Como, Cremona, Mantua, Padoa, Bologna and Perelli: and the Lombards at this time had all the rest. Thus the warre was managed on either side with great cruelty; for, the Lombards as they were barbarous, and had not yet well receiued the faith of CHRIST; robd and spoild all, as well sacred as profane, without any difference. Where to, besides what is already said, this was a great furtherance, that in the time of this combustion TIBERIVS fell so sorely sick, that he could not apply himself to the government of the Empire; and his infirmity neuer left him till he died. Wherefore the Romans, oppressed by the Longobards, motioned a

Wars with the Persians and their King Hormisda.

A battell where in the Persians were overcome.

Maurice made Generall against the Persians.

A battell where in Maurice had the victory.

The State of Italy against the Longobards.

Thirty tyrants of the Lombards.

The virtues of Tiberius.

The treason of Sophia.

I read nothing of the death and burning of this good King Tiberius the 2

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treatie of peace; and a truce was concluded between them for a certain time. Which truce the Lombards graunted, for that the kings of *France* (wherein at that time reigned three brothers) being much grieued to see the Lombards growne so mightie in *Italy*, sent a great Army against them, which was already entred *Lombardy*. And they also the more willingly granted therree, for that the Saxons, which vntill then had aided them in their warres, had now left them and were returned. *Tiberius* being sick in *Constantinople* (as we said) as a good Emperour desirous as well to provide for the time to come, as he had done for the present and past; nominated for *Cæsar* and his successor his sonne in law *Mauricius*. And afterwards leaving all the Empire entire and in peace, as he inherited the same (the state of *Italy* onely except) in the twentieth yeere of his reign (although some say lesse) he died, in the yeere of our Lord, five hundred fourescore and five; and after some few hundred fourescore and nine. His death was much lamented by all estates, for his great vertue and integritie, and for that he was liberrall and bountifull to all men.

The death of
Tiberius.

THE
LIFE OF MAVRICIVS,
ONLY OF THAT NAME,
AND THRESCORE AND TWO
ROMANE EMPEROVR.

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THE ARGUMENT.

THE Empire being come to *Mauricius*, sonne in law to *Tiberius*, he shewed himselfe to be a very wise disposition, and particularly sinned in conuincingse notwithstanding that in Marriall affaires he was very wise and politicke. He sent Captaines and men of warre into *Italy* against the Lombards, accordingly as *Pope Pelagius* had requested, with whom after long warre, in the end a truce was concluded: he afterwards brake the peace with the *Persians*, and the warre had this issue, that after many rentes and overthrowes equally giuen and received, of the one side and the other, the new King of *Persia*, to suppress a Tyrant which rose against him, became a friend to the Emperour of *Constantinople*. After which peace, binding himselfe to the affaires of the West, he gouerned the estate with indifferent good fortune, through the valour of the Exarch, which he sent into *Italy*: yet in this time God sent many plagues and scourges into the World, as inundations and overflowinges of waters, famine, and Pestilence, which happened more in Rome then in any other country. Beside which miseries, it was besieged by the Lombards and *Maurice* for the hatred which he bare to *Gregoric* (who then succeeding *Pelagius*, was *Pope*) would not relente it, so as to abate the *Pope*, he was content to lose all *Italy*, which God afterwards severely punished. For his owne souldiers rebelling against him, made a priuie Colonell, whose name was *Phocas*, Emperour, who comming towards *Constantinople* with an Armie, made *Maurice* to flee; and he being unable to leaue such forces as might defend him, taken by the souldiers of the new tyrant, was brought back to *Constantinople*: where his kinde first bene the death of his wife and children, by the hands of an executioner, he had his head stricken off; all which he endured with great resolution when he had reigned twentie yeeres.

MAURICIVS peaceably obtained the Empire, by the death of his father in law *Tiberius*, whom he nothing resembled in his vertues, for hee was both vicious and couetous; yet in the affaires of the warres, he was very provident and diligent: as he was both valiant and politique in marriall actions, so he made choice of singular Captaines for the warres which were many, very great and dangerous. Whereof great part happened at one instant, notwithstanding that they were in sundrie parts and Prouinces. Wherefore to deliuer that in fewe words which I haue gathered together, it is requisite I should write each seuerall accident apart:

which I will performe in the best manner I can, so as in the end of all the whole may be understood. Beginning then with the affaires of *Italy*, I say that the truce made with the Lombards, was not of their part thoroughly obserued, but that daily from one citie or other, there were robberies committed, and some encounters and bickerings. Wherefore as *Lombards* were but of small power, and the Romans were in great feare to be besieged; *Pope Pelagius* the second wrote a Letter from *Rome* to *Gregoric* whom he had sent to *Constantinople*, informing him of the state of *Italy*; and of the great danger and necessitie wherein it was, and gaue him especial charge to be an earnest suitor to the Emperour, to send reliefe and men against the Lombards; which hee procured with much efficacy, as the Emperour *Mauricius* (notwithstanding that he was much troubled with the warres of *Persia*, whereof wee will speake hereafter) provided a new Exarch and gouernor for *Italy*, who was a good souldier and a wise man, called *Smaraagdus*, with a good number of souldiers, and sent for *Lombards* to returne. *Smaraagdus* came by sea to *Ravenna*, and with him *Saint Gregoric*, who was coming for the same and good report which was spied of him, gaue great ioy and hope to the Imperialists in *Italy*; and hee presently tooke order for marriall affaires. And forthwith as hee went to *Ravenna*, a valiant captain of the Lombards called *Feraaldus*, held a citie called *Clus*, and had made, and still did make, small warre against those of *Ravenna*, hee refused to let all means to dispossesse him thereof; and to drue him quite from thence, And to this effect hee sent to *Docrivla* an Imperiall capitaine and gouernor of the citie of *Varcelli*, that leaving a competent garrison in that citie hee should come with his forces to ioyne with him: who making prouision of boates and barks, purposed for his better securitie, to passe down the river of *Po*; to the end that being arrived at *Aspertin*, which is at the mouth of the river, he might saile from thence by sea to *Ravenna*. But *Feraaldus* had intelligence heereof, and with the greatest power that hee could make, came likewise with barks to stoppe his passage downe the river: where they came to blowes, and *Docrivla* by means of the aid which came to him from *Ravenna* had the victorie, and *Feraaldus* was overthrowne and fled by water to *Clus*; which the new Exarch *Smaraagdus* in the meane time had besieged and battered; so as it was ready to haue yielded when *Feraaldus* came, who then liutered the citie, by encouraging the besieged.

But as soone as they vnderstood that hee was overthrowne by the enemy and came thither by night, they refused to yeeld, and did so. *Smaraagdus* entred the citie, where all the Lombards which were found therein, were put to the sword, and in like manner their gouernor *Feraaldus*; in reuenge of the like cruelties committed by them.

This victorie obtained by *Smaraagdus*, was so highly esteemed, as those of his partie, reuolting thirte and fourage, and their aduerlaries waxing fearefull, hee recovered some cities and holds, the greater part whereof yielded of themselves. Which the captaines of the Lombards considering (who after the death of *Clephus* continued as tyrants and would not chuse them any King) they refused to make choice of one whom they all should obey, and vnder whom they might liue, for they were of opinion, that if they continued to diuide, they should be continually diuine and brought to confusion, as they already began. Having refused heereupon, they chose one of King *Clephus*'s sonnes, whose name was *Antharis*, a young man of great spirit, and who had purchased greater fame in the warres then any other man of his nation; and so was much spoken of both among his friends and enemies. The name of a King, and so valiant, as was *Antharis*, caused a great alteration in the estate, to whom all the seuerall and gouernours contributed of their treasure, each of them giuing him the one halfe of what he had, for the maintenance of the warres, and his new estate. The first enterprise hee undertooke, was against *Phocas*, and *Docrivla* the gouernor thereof, as well for the late dishonour which hee had done them, as for that the citie at that time was of great importance, wherefore hee besieged it both by water vpon the river of *Po* with barks, and by land with great forces which hee had raised, and forced it in such manner, as notwithstanding that *Docrivla* had all the time constantly been able to doe, being out of hope to hold the place, hee came to a composition with him, and gaue it vp; and to hee came downe the river to *Ravenna*, and *Antharis* made great spoile in the citie, destroying the best part thereof, and rased the walles downe to the earth, so as they were neuer after repaired or made like as in former time they had been.

Antharis having obtained this victorie, refused to goe against *Frankoaldus*, who held the citie of *Com*, and other fortresses in the Lake of *Com*, and had velle gallantly defended

Smaraagdus
Exarch
of Italy.

Antharis
King of the
Lombards.

defended the same for the space of seuentene yeeres. But in the meane season motions were made of peace or truce, and either partie was glad to treat thereof. SMARAGDV, for that he stood in feare of the King, who was both young and valiant, and also for that he imagined himselfe to haue no sufficient power to make head against him, and the King being but newly come to his gouernment, holding not himselfe thoroughly settled and confirmed, the better to establish himselfe therein, thought it best to conclude a peace, and to bring vnder some, to whom his election was nothing pleasing. All which laid together, gaue occasion that a truce was taken for a certaine time, although the Lombards neuer truly obserued the same. During that time all *Italie* enjoyed some rest, and SMARAGDV sent to Rome for Prefect or gouernour thereof, a noble Knight borne in *Constantinople*, whose name was GERMANVS, with whom went S. GREGORIE, and they were received with great ioy and solemnitie: for GREGORIE for his good life and conseruation, was generally beloved and honoured. So as with their coming, and the good hope which was conceiued of their new Exarch, they thought to haue a hand in recovering all that which the Lombards held, and had vsurped; and in the meane time, to enioy the peace in rest and prosperitie. But it followed not according to their expectation: for God sent their perfectiōs, as you shall heare. But vs leave *Italie* in this truce, and briefly speake of those warres which MAVRICVS made by his Captaines in the East against the Persians, which for numbers of men, battailes and great conflicts, were farre greater then those of *Italie*: for they were betwene two the most mightie Monarchs which then were in the world, to wit, the King of *Persia*, and the Romane Emperour.

A truce taken
with the Lam-
bards.
Germanus go-
uerneur of
Rome.

Philippius,
Generall against
the Persians.

A battaile
wherein Philip-
pius had the
victorie.

The shamefull
flight of Philip-
pius.

Prisoners made
Generall against
the Persians in
place of Philip-
pius.

MAVRICVS then sent his Armie, and for Generall a worthie Noble-man called PHILIPPICVS, to whom hee had married his sister. Against whome K. HORMISDA raised greater forces, and made a great man called CARDARIO his Generall. With whom, after some notable skirmishes and encounters, PHILIPPICVS came to a maine battaile, with power against power, which lasted aboute tenne houres, the one charging the other, in such manner that no aduantage could be scene. But in the end PHILIPPICVS and his troups had the victorie, and slew a very great number of the Persians, and took two thousand prisoners, which hee sent to the Emperour to *Constantinople*: and the rest escaped by flight, and with them their Generall CARDARIO. PHILIPPICVS, hauing obtained this notable victorie, marched forwards with his Armie, and sent a good Commander called HERACLIVS, with some selected troups, with direction to enter as farre as he might into the Persians countrie, he promising to secound him. Notwithstanding that CARDARIO was ouerthrowne, yet was he not discouraged, neither omitted to vse all the meanes and diligence which to a good Generall did belong: and so gathering together such forces as he could, making, shew that hee would reinforce his Armie, with those small troups hee had, passing ouer certaine mountains, in a very darke night he set vpon PHILIPPICVS his Arriereguard, wherein the feare was so great, that PHILIPPICVS, as though he had not beene victorious, shamefully fled all the whole night long, with no small losse and slaughter of his people: in so much that the Persians imagining their flight to haue beene fained (seeing how few they were) dared not to follow the chase, and so rested vntill that the day light freed the one from feare, and shewed the other the aduantage they had lost. But HERACLIVS, whom PHILIPPICVS had sent before, followed his direction with better discretion, and greater diligence: for passing oyer the river *Tigris*, with the fame of the late victorie, hee took some cities, and did much hurt, and returned towards PHILIPPICVS very rich with the prey and spoiles of the victorie.

This being past, and the Romane Armie being gathered againe together, the Emperour commanded PHILIPPICVS, that leauing the Armie with HERACLIVS, he should make his repair to *Constantinople*, and PHILIPPICVS obeyed his commandement. In his place was sent a valiant and expert capitaine called BARAS, who being come to the Armie, shewed himselfe so proud and haughtie to the Captaines and men of warre, as they murmured against him; and he was generally so ill intreated by all men, that he was driuen to saue himselfe by flight, hauing received such blowes and knockes with stones, as he was in danger to haue been slaine, and they amongst themselves chose (against his will) GERMANVS for their Generall, who was a man of great account in the Armie. But at that time MAVRICVS was so oppressed with the warres against CAVANVS, and the Auares and against the Slauons in *Slauonia*, in *Misia*, and other prouinces (whereof we will speake hereafter) as he could not then punish so great an insolencie: and therefore as soone as hee vnderstood thereof, he held it for most expedient to send backe PHILIPPICVS, for their Gouernor and Generall, and that PRISCVS should

Philippius re-
stored to his
charge.

should returne. And besides PHILIPPICVS, hee also sent another Noble-man of great estimation, called ARISTOBVLVS, to pacifie the mutinie and rebellion of the Armie, by entreaty, gifts, or otherwise in the best manner he could: which he performed. And so PHILIPPICVS againe vndertook his charge, and returned to warre against MARZAS a new Generall of the Persians, who with a greater Armie then any of those before named, came against him. Which is an argument of the great wealth and power of the Kings of *Persia*, who being so often ouerthrowne, they still returned with great forces, and that alwaies when they desired peace, the Empire willingly granted it. And in the end the Emperours were well contented to defend their confines against them, and held it for a matter of great consequence.

These two great Captaines and Armies came so neere together, that both parties desired to giue battaile, wherein they fought so obstinately, as it was one of the most cruell battailes in the World: and both the one and other partie fought with such obstinacie and courage, that it lasted the greatest part of the day, but the Persians were ouerthrowne; not for that they were eyther discouraged or ranne away, but for that they were almost all slaine. For in the *Annales of Constantinople* I finde written, that three thousand of them were taken prisoners, and two thousand escaped by flight, and that all the rest died fighting, and with them their Generall MARZAS: so as their Campe was left to the Romanes, who found no man therein to make resistance. And so they spent one whole yeere in frontier warres, at the end whereof King HORMISDA commanded a very great Army to be leued.

PHILIPPICVS, presuming on his former victories, made no doubt to giue them battaile; and the Persians refused it not, and so they fought neere to the Citie *Mariopolis*; and therein was PHILIPPICVS and the Romanes ouerthrowne, to their great losse and confusion. For which the Emperour was very sorrie, and provided a new Generall for the East, and sent for PHILIPPICVS to come to *Constantinople*, with direction to leaue the Armie with HERACLIVS, of whom we made late mention, till that another Generall should come, which was performed. Afterwards ROMANVS was sent, and the King of *Persia* sent another, whose name was BARAS. These two Generals being arriued with their new charges, either of them sought to winne honour against the other; and in diuers encounters, lost many men, burned Townes, and did the greatest harme euery where they could, vntill at last they drew neere, and fought in arranged battaile, wherein BARAS and the Persians were ouerthrowne, in the fields of *Albania in Asia*, which is a very great Province in the East, bordering vpon *Armenia*. HORMISDA was so grieved for this losse, imagining that it happened through the defect of his Generall, as thereby to disgrace him, he sent him a womans Garment, and commanded him presently to leaue his gouernement. Yet notwithstanding, hee had set matters in very good order, and had gathered together his scattered Armie. But he stood in such feare of his King, that the best remedie he could deuise, was to rebell against him; which he might easily effect, for HORMISDA was very cruell, and therefore hated by his subjects. After this (vpon the rebellion of BARAS) VINDOLIS, a man of great power (whose brother HORMISDA kept in prison) conspired against him, with many others, which for his cruelty and couerousnesse extremely hated him: and they took him prisoner, and made his sonne COSROES their king. But his other sonne, with his wife, they put to death, and pluckt out his eyes; and afterwards his owne sonne caused him to be slaine: and so ended the raigne and life of HORMISDA. But the cruelty which the sonne vsed against his father, seemed so horrible and odious, that hee presently fell into as great hatred of all men, as his father had been in his life time. In so much that going to fight with BARAS, who as I said rebelled, the greatest part of the men of warre which he led, forsooke him, and went ouer to BARAS. So as COSROES seeing himselfe abandoned, resolved to sue to his enemies for reliefe, and fled into the territories of the Empire, and put himselfe into the power of PROSPATRICVS, who had the guard of the frontiers; through which he passed, where he was very honourably entertained. Wherof when the Emperour MAVRICVS was giuen to vnderstand, he was very glad, and sent vnto him a very honourable Capitaine, whose name was NARSES, and a Bishop, a man of great authoritie and his kinsman, offering him all fauour and aide for the recouerie of his kingdom, and adopted and took him for his son.

Hormisda king
of the Persians
put to death by
his son Cosroes.

Cosroes king of
the Persians fled
into the Empire.

Baras ouer-
throwne in a
battail by
Cosroes.

NARSES, who went for Generall in this action, putting the same in execution, commanded all the Armies and men of warre which the Empire held in *Asia*, to be drawne to an head: and so he and COSROES went to seeke BARAS, who with the courage of a valiant Tyrant staid for them, and fighting was ouerthrowne, and by flight escaped into certaine mountains.

After this noble victory, **COSROES** recovered all his kingdoms, and he and the Emperor continued great friends: and so ceased the wars between the Empire and the Persians, which had continued six yeeres. This happened in the eighty yeere of the reign of the Emperor **MAVRICIVS**.

After this the Emperor **MAVRICE** managed these wars in the East, **Europe** continued not in subordination; for besides the miseries and calamities of **Italy** (as I will presently relate) the Hungers which dwell in **Hungarie** and in part of **Slavonia**, now called **Banaria** (whom we but now call **Auacs**) after the name of a King of theirs who was called by that name, then raising over them a King called **CAYANVS**, who was both proud and very valiant; and therefore with very mightie, they and he concluded amongst themselves to make warre against the Empire: which they followed with such resolution as it caused no small feare: for entering through the upper **Missa**, which now containeth the two provinces of **Serua**, and **Bassina**, he found so small resistance, as he came into **Thracia**, now called **Gracia** or **Turkey**, for that therein standeth the great citie of **Constantinople**: against whom **MAVRICE** sent an Armie, and for General thereof a valiant and prudent captain whose name was **COMENCIOVS**. These two made cruell warres, and after many skirmishes came to a battaile, which did laue, being too long to recite, wherein **CAYANVS** was overthrowne with great losse of his people, and so was constrained to retire. But within short space after, he returned againe with no lesse power then at the first, to warre in the marches of **Slavonia**, and **MAVRICE** sent thither his sonne **THEODOSIUS**, and his father in law **GEMANVS**, with other Captaines, who had so good successe, that although they lost in some encounters, yet they not only draue them out of that which they had formerly vltured, but also wholly rooted them out of all **Hungarie**. But **MAVRICE** either for feare or retchlesnesse flowred those warres, and losing oportunitie (which is seldom recovered) the inconueniences ensued, which we will describe. For a kinde of people called **Slavons**, a nation inhabiting farre in the north, which vntill that time had neuer been heard of, sent their Ambassadors to the **Hungers Auacs** (moued thereto by the newes which they had heard from them) and offered to come to their aid, as in deede they afterwards did, ioynted with them, and did much harme in the lands of the Empire, and our of it, as hereafter we will relate in few words.

Levs now returne to **Italy**, which wee lost in peace and at truce with the Lombards wherein it happened, that as neither partie concluded the peace for any remission of conscience, or for the feare or love of God or of their neighbours, but for their owne advantage and private interest; and to waite a fitter time and oportunitie for the warres (as for our sinnes it often happeneth) and as it was not pleasing to God, neither made according to his will, so it pleased not him to maintain the same: for he sent his wrath and scourge vpon **Italy**, and chiefly vpon **Rome**, as a place which most needed amendment. The first was with raide, which fell in the moneth of September and October, for the space of many daies continually without ceasing, in that sort that the water was so high, as the riues and lakes of **Italy** outflowed and drowned all infinite number of people and cattell, and the riues **Aiber** waxed so high, that all the fields which were not hillie and mountainous, were ouerflowed with water, so as all men feared that it would haue produced another generall deluge; particularly in **Rome**, where the riuer **Tiber** did swell so much, that in some parts it was high, and in some other it exceeded and ouerflowed the banks of the dike, and did the water vent in such manner into it, that it spoiled and defaced the greatest part of the buildings bee to the river. The flood afterwards ceasing, the fields remained so stinking, for muddie and so soft, that they could not be tilled nor sowne, by reason whereof a generall famine ensued through all **Italy**. And in like manner through the excessive moisture of the earth and the aire wet so corrupted, as the plague began, which raged in such manner, that many countries were left desolate, and dispeopled; and where they did least, two thirdes of the people perished. But in the citie of **Rome** (as all writers assent) was the greatest kind of sorrow: for in the beginning it took away **Pope IULIUS** the second, in whose time he began his will and purpose to be chosen **Vicar**. **GERMANVS** who during the whole **Reformation** had bin daily devout prayers to God, and many lermions and orations to the people, exhorting them to amendment of life, and repentance for their sinnes, to the end that might please his most mercifull Father, withold his punishment from them. And in this extreme he ordained that he should himselfe die in the Church, which he did in this day, and in this place. **Pope IULIUS** the third, who took away his mercy to look vpon them, and the plague ceased, and the earth began to be more fruitful, and to bring forth plenty, and to bring forth fruit. But yet this plague, which

the Lord bestowed on them, auailed not to establish any peace or amity among those which escaped this plague: for, the Lombards, hauing gotten supplies of men of warre, without any respect of the feare or love of God (the time of the truce being expired) renewed the wars with greater furie than at the first. And forasmuch as the Land had been punished with so great calamities, and lay waste and dispeopled, it was an easie matter for them to do great harm among the Imperialists. First, their King **ANTHARIS** in person went against **FRANCILION**, who commanded in the City of **Como**, with two other strong fortresses in the Lake of **Como**; and besieging him the space of six moneths, being no longer able to defend the City, he gaue it up, and went to **Ravenna**; that City hauing valiantly defended it self with much honor the space of twenty yeeres.

The taking of this City greatly enriched King **ANTHARIS**: for, **FRANCILION** had in that time gathered together and had in it much treasure. Departing from thence with great honour and wealth, he took other places. Whereupon the Emperor **MAVRICE**, at the instance of **Pope GREGORIE**, and the Exarch **SMARAGDVS** (who daily solicited him for aid and reliefe) sent to **CHILDEBERT**, who at that time reigned King of **France**, a great summe of money, to the end hee should enter **Italy** with some great power, in his behalf: and the King of **France** promised to doo so, and began to put it in execution. Who coming into **Italy**, the fame of his coming began to work great effect; and some Captains of the Lombards resolutely to him. But **CHILDEBERT** imagining, that, if the Emperor again recovered **Italy** wholly to himself, he should hardly liue in safety in **France**; he therefore, coming to a composition with **ANTHARIS**, returned into his Country, without intermeddling in other mens quarrels. At his return died **ANTHARIS**, King of the Lombards: and the principal men of that Nation, falling at variance among themselves about chusing of a new King, at last agreed that hee should bee King whom **THEODELINDA** (which was the last Kings widow) should take to husband; and she made choice of **AGISYLPHVS**, Gouernour of **Taurin**, now called **Turin**; and so he was made King, who was as valiant a Prince as any his Predecessors had been before him.

At that time the Emperor deposed **SMARAGDVS** from the government of **Italy**, and sent thither for Exarch a Knight called **ROMANVS** (of whom we made mention in the warres of **Persia**) with some companies of souldiers for the defense of **Rome**, and to make warre in other places. **ROMANVS**, coming in the mean time, whilst the new King **AGISYLPHVS** was busied with some of his Captains, who houlding certain Cities rebelled against him; he provided and furnished, with men and victuals, **Padua**, **Manua**, **Cremona**, and the rest of the Cities which were in greatest danger: and, setting all things there in order, he came to **Rome**; from whence afterwards, with those forces which he brought, and those also which before his coming were in the City, he departed to recover the Towns and Castles which the Lombards possessed in that Quarter: many of which hee did winne by force, and others voluntarily yielded themselves.

Whilst the Exarch was busie about these things, the Pope sent three very learned men into **England**, who with their preaching conuerted the King and the Inhabitants thereof to the true faith, which vntill then was not thoroughly received among them. The like care hee took for **Italy**, and for all the other Provinces: and **THEODELINDA** (the wife of King **AGISYLPHVS**) being a deuout Christian, he perswaded her and her husband to cause their people to leaue their idolatrie, which hee obtained: and afterwards hee intreated him to surrender to the Church the goods and reuenues which he withheld from it.

About this time grew great contention between the Bishops of **Rome** and of **Constantinople** about the supremacy: for, **JOHN** Bishop of **Constantinople** alleged, that to him did appertaine the Papacy, and to be Viuerall Bishop of the Church, seeing that **Constantinople** was the head of the Empire. Against which, the Bishop of **Rome** opposed himself with all his power; alleging himself to bee **CHRISTVS** Vicar, and Head of the Church: so as there passed many things of the one side and the other about this matter. In this mean time died **ROMANVS** the Exarch, and another was sent in his place, whose name was **GALLICIANVS** or **GALLICANVS**, who was a vertuous man and very valiant: and he presently applied himself to redress many things which **ROMANVS** had peruered and put of order. And although he much desired warre, yet through the counsell of the Pope hee took truce: which being expired, hee carried himself so valiantly in the warres, that hee took the City of **Parma** by assault from the Lombards, and therein took a daughter of King **AGISYLPHVS**, whom he had by his first wife;

Contention betwixt the Bishops of Rome and Constantinople for the Supremacy.

The Exarch Romanus dying, Gallicianus was sent in his place.

Noricum
Banaria.

Warre betweene
Cayanus and Com-
meniolus.

Cayanus & his
people drive
them out of
Hungarie.

The Slavons
came to make
warre with the
Empire.

A wonderfull
deluge in Rome
and all Italy.

A horrible
plague
which
ruined
many
countries
and
cities.

The Letanie
ordained to be
said in the
Church by
Saint Gregorie
the 9th
Pope.

and grew to be so strong in field, that AGISVLPHVS durst not giue him battell. Whereupon, seeing himself ouermatcht, he sent to the Slaouons for aid, who were already joyned with the Auares; and GALLICANVS leuying new forces died in *Ravenna*, and SMARADVS was again sent thither to be Exarch, who came into *Italy* with so small forces, that his coming did rather encourage, than dismay or daunt, the enemy: which proceeded from this; The Emperour so deadly hated the Popes presumption, that, rather than to endure the same, he was content to lose all *Italy*.

And so this his dislike was ioyned the trouble which the Slaouons, who came to his enemies aide, did put him to: for CAYANVS the fierce and proud King of the Auares (the Slaouons and their king MVSACVS being come into *Germany*) ioyned his forces with his enemies, and some Frenchmen came also to them, and entered the bounds of the Empire. The Emperour sent against them one PRISCVS, a capitaine of great account, with a mightie Armie, to stop their passage over the riuer *Ister*, now called *Danubius*; who warred so aduisedly and with so great valour and discretion, as most times that he fought with them he obtained the victorie. And one night he gaue the Slaouons a Camizado, and took their King MVSACVS prisoner, and slew a great number of them. There afterwards happened many things in that warre, which would be too long to relate: for CAYANVS King of the Auares, as he had many men, and those very expert and accustomed to the warres, besides the multitude of the Slaouons, neuer ceased to make cruell warre against the Emperour MAVRICVS; yet sometime they tooke truce, which lasted some space: and PRISCVS and he met and spake together concerning an agreement. After all this, CAYANVS with his Auares and Slaouons entered *Dalmatia*, and did great harme, robbing and spoiling many townes there. But PRISCVS coming to relieue them, he retired to his losse, and altring his course took his way towards *Thracia*; and marching without stay, came within few daies iourney of *Constantinople*. And as the report and feare is usually greater then the danger; so hee strake so great a terror into the citizens of *Constantinople*, as they were of the minde to haue abandoned the citie, and to haue passed ouer that arme of the Sea, to *Asia*, as the *Annales of Constantinople* doe testifie. But the Emperour MAVRICVS (as in truth hee was valiant) commanded all the people to be put in Armes, and the gates of the citie to be shut, and order to be taken in all things that were needfull, yfing infinite diligence; and gaue direction for the defence of the countries through which CAYANVS was to passe. But all this needed not, for at that instant there fell so pestilent a mortallitie in CAYANVS his Armie, that in one day seven of his sonnes (for he had many) and a great number of other people died of the plague: wherefore he was constrained to return into his countrie: And the Emperour sent for General another Capitaine, whose name was COMENCIOVS, who ioyning with PRISCVS, obtained certaine victories against CAYANVS. But he was of so haughtie a minde, and therewith so politicke, that notwithstanding that hee was ouerthrowne, yet within very few daies hee euer reinforced his Armie, in such sort that he put his enemies in greater feare, then at the first; and in the end at the request and entreatie of the Lombards which liued in *Italy*, he resolved to warre in *Slauonia*, drawing neere vnto *Italy*: where, although that he found some resistance, yet the Slaouons which came with him sealed vpon a great part of that countrie, and remained there: and in procelle of time it left the name of *Myrrion*, and after their name vntill this day is called *Slauonia*; and so from henceforth we will call it. From this nation (as BLONDVS, VOLATERRANVS, and others asseme) the Bohemians and Polonians are descended: for part of them tooke those countries; and vpon sundrie occasions took these names.

As matters stood vpon these rearmes, the Lombards in *Italy* and their King AGISVLPHVS, knowing how much the Emperour hated the Pope, resolved to besiege *Rome*; which they did with a very great Armie, and the Pope was therein besieged aboue one whole yeere, and by his industrie only the citie was defended, for from the Emperour came no reliefe at all: whereupon he wrote him certaine letters, which are yet extant, out of which is drawne great part of this historie. But notwithstanding all this, the Emperour MAVRICVS would not relieue him, but rather wish his destruction: but yet both he and the citie escaped, and at the yeeres end AGISVLPHVS raised his siege and departed.

It is written, that vpon a day about noone, in the citie of *Constantinople*, in the open market place of that citie, there appeared a man to the Emperour in the habit of a Monk, holding a sword in his hand, who speaking with a lowd voice, said, The Emperour MAVRICVS shall die by this sword: and this man presently vanished amongst the people, so as no man could say whence he came, nor who he was. This is written by Pope GRIGORIUS, which you may beleuee if you will.

They

They also say, that in his sleepe he saw a souldier whose name was PHOCAS, who murdered his wife and his children, and afterwards slew him also. With this dreame he was so much troubled, that he presently commanded his sonne in law PHILIPPICVS to be sent for, who was charged by him to haue had a determination to rebell against him; and hee (not without accusation wherewith he had slandered him, asked him whether hee knew any man of account in the Armie called by the name of PHOCAS: whereto he answered, that he knew a Centurion in the Camp of that name, whom hee had a little before made Pouruoier for the Camp. MAVRICVS again demanded, what manner of man he was: Quoth he, He is a cholerick, licentious yong fellow; but therewith fearfull, and a coward. Whereto they say, the Emperour (being much troubled and in despair) replied: If he be a coward, of necessity hee must bee cruell, and desirous to shed blood: and so, shedding many tears, he told PHILIPPICVS what he had dreamt; who was therewith also much troubled. In the mean time there came messengers vnto him, which he had sent to certain religious persons to desire them to pray for him; who in some sort did recomfort him, perswading him to bee of good cheer: for, God would haue mercy on his soule. But yet he neuer ceased to beuail his sinnes, and liued in continuall sorrow and contrition. And PHILIPPICVS perswaded him to vse some great liberality to his Armie and men of warre, thereby to winne their loue, and the better to liue in safety from them. But he followed not his good counsel: and so within fewe daies after, his death was praedicted, in such manner as followeth.

He commanded his brother PETER, whom he had made General of his Armie, against the Slaouons in *Slauonia*, that to auoide charge and expenses, in any case he should winter in the same prouince, and lodge his Armie in such villages and other places, where he might most annoy the enemy. Whereto notwithstanding that PETER answered to the contrarie, and entreated that hee might not doe so, alleging that the Armie should sustaine intolerable trouble and extremitie in those mountaines; yet he continued so obstinate in his command, as PETER of force must obey, although against his will: and the Armie tooke this in so ill part, that without any respect of dutie and allegiance they mutined, and chusing the aforementioned PHOCAS for General, they marched against PETER, who was lodged about a daies iourney from *THEODOSIUS*, the Emperours son, and GERMANVS his father-in-law. But I heerein follow the Commentaries of *Constantinople*, and ZONARAS, which seem to be more conformable to the truth: for, they write, that the whole Armie sent an Ambassage to *THEODOSIUS*, willing him to come vnto them, and they would make him Emperour; and if he would not that then GERMANVS should come: but, they refusing, or not daring, to accept their offer, the Armie chose the same PHOCAS for Emperour; and he took his way towards *Constantinople*. Which when the Emperour MAVRICVS vnderstood, calling to him his sonne *THEODOSIUS*, and GERMANVS his father-in-law, with COMENCIOVS, PHILIPPICVS, and other great Captains, he began to take order for the defence of the City, and to leuie souldiers, and to make preparation for the warres. But, as this reuolt hapned through the permission and ordinance of God: so the people mutined in such manner, that nothing could be done to any purpose; and there were many great tumults in the Citie. And among the people, and the Emperours owne kinned also, some laid the fault of what was befall, vpon others; and some were in hope to be Emperors if MAVRICVS lost the Empire: and others took part with PHOCAS the new Tyrant or Emperour.

Phocas chosen Emperour.

During this confusion and hurly-burly, PHOCAS, as fast as hee could march, came to *Constantinople*, accompanied with all the men of warre: and MAVRICVS, who (vntill then) had euer bin so mightie against all nations, hauing now no sufficient power to defend himself, fled out of the City, and took shipping in a small Bark, with his wife and children, and passed over the Streight called Saint GEORGE his Chanell, and, entering into the Citie of *Calcedonia* (which is on the other side) was there overtaken and apprehended by PHOCAS his souldiers, who was already come to *Constantinople*. And, being brought back again, PHOCAS commanded him to be put to death: but he first made his two sons, three daughters, and his wife the Emperesse, for his greater torment, to be slain in his presence, which he saw and endured with admirable magnanimity: and, as a faithful Christian, recommending himself to God, he called vpon his holy Name, many times repeating these words; *Iustus es Domine, & rectum iudicium tuum*. And so he patiently suffered death, and had his head stricken off.

The Emperour Maurice fled frō Constantinople

The death of the Emperour Mauricius.

Hee

Mufacius King of the Slaouons taken prisoner by Priscus, General of the Emperours forces.

Cayanus invaded the Kingdom.

A great plague in Cayanus his camp, whereof seven of his sonnes died in one day.

Myrrion called Slauonia.

The origins of the Bohemians and Polonians.

Prodigious vision appeared to the Emperour Maurice, predicting his death.

Heeded in the 63. yeere of his age, and the twentieth of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord (after most writers) 603. Some write that when he fled from *Constantinople*, he sent his sonne *THEODOSIUS* to the King of *Persia*, there to be kept, and that afterwards he was delivered into the power of *PHOCAS*. And so ended and was extinguished the whole house and lineage of the Emperour *MAVRICE*. There were also put to death, by *PHOCAS* his commandement, the Emperours brother, *PETRA*, and other principall men. In the time of this Emperour there were warres betwene the Kings of *Spain*, and *France*, and betwene the Saxons and the Sueuians, betwene the French and the Auares, and some others: which for that they concerne not my historie, I omit. In this time also the Turkes began to be knowne in the world: for it is found written, that they made warres in *Asia* against the Persians. Then also began the name of the Bulgarians to be knowne in *Europe*, a fierce people, of whom wee will speake hereafter.



THE
LIFE OF PHOCAS, ONELY
OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-
SCORE AND THIRD RO-
MANE EMPEROVR.
(*)



After the manner as I haue before declared, was the Emperour *MAVRICE* put to death: who, as he was valiant, wise, and venturous in the wars, if he had bin bountifull and liberal, hee had been accounted for a good Prince, and had longer enjoyed the Empire. For all authors affirme, his couetousnes and sparing to haue bin the cause of his death, I meane of his corporall death: for the waies and iudgements of the Lord are vnsearchable and incomprehensible. And to say the truth, couetousnes is one of the most dangerous and hatefull vices wherewith a Prince can be infected: for besides that it maketh him ill beloued and odious to his subiects, it is the fountaine and roote of greater euils in those which are rich and mightie: for from thence grow violence, wrongs, rapine, briberie, extortion, crueltie, intolerable taxes, and impositions, no reward for seruice, condemning the innocent, abolishing the guiltie for money, coueting other mens goods, without warre, and shamefull peace. Finally, in Kings and Potentates couetousnes is the mother of all euils, and a vice which maketh their raigne and government short and miserable: as may be proued by many examples. And to the contrary, liberalitie hath been the occasion that many (notwithstanding that they were wicked) raigned longer then others. And forasmuch as I haue not time to make any long digression, I conclude that the couetousnes and miserable sparing of the Emperour *MAVRICE*, made *PHOCAS* so mightie, as to be able to bereaue him both of his Empire and life. And the same vice was afterwards the cause of his death also: as we will shew you, as soone as we shall haue related what happened in the Empire. When the Emperour *MAVRICE* was dead, there was none that

durst

durst lift vp his hand against *PHOCAS*, and therefore he was generally obeyed of all men (excepting *NARSSES*, the generall commander in the East, before named.) This *NARSSES* when he vnderstood that *PHOCAS* had caused *MAVRICE* to be slaine, he with an Armie went into a citie of *Arabia*, called *Edissa*, with a resolution to yeeld him no obedience, but with the aide of the Persians to make himselfe strong against him.

But *PHOCAS* was crowned in *Constantinople* by the Patriarch thereof with great solemnitie, and great ioy and gladnes of the people, who are euer desirous of innouations: And as they suddenly desire them, so they as suddenly abhor them. And the like happened in *Rome* vpon the newes of his election: for the Romanes hated *MAVRICE*, for the enmitie betwene him and the Pope whom they loued. As soone as Pope *GREGORIE* vnderstood that *PHOCAS* was made Emperour, he wrote vnto him a notable epistle, which vntill this day is extant; wherein he admonished and counsellth him what he ought to doe, to be a perfect Emperour.

The first thing that *PHOCAS* did, was to send into all the prouinces and nations of the Empire, priuiledges, exemptions and kind letters, with new garisons and souldiers where need required: all which he did with such expedition and in so good order, that he made himselfe well beloued of his subiects, and respected and feared by strangers: but both in the one and in the other it continued but short space. And to *GERMANVS* who was Pretor and gouernor in the East, he sent commandement presently to goe and besiege *NARSSES* who rebelled against him. In the meane season, *AGISVLPHVS* King of the Lombards (who in the troublesome time wherein *PHOCAS* was chosen, and before his election, had taken the cities of *Cremona*, *Mantua*, and *Folturnia*, and therein had done irreparable harmes, as well in the walles and buildings of the citie, as among the citizens, the inhabitants, and their goods) for feare of the new Emperour concluded a truce with *SMARAGDVS* the Exarch, and with Pope *GREGORIE*, and with all *Italy*, for one yeere. And from thenceforth to be the better able to liue in security, he fought to match his eldest son *ADDAALDVS* with the daughter of *THEODOBERTVS* King of *France*. And so *PHOCAS* raigned in great prosperitie the first yeere; vntill hee began to discouer his base condition, and little worth, together with his extreme couetousnes, and negligence in all things; by means whereof he became little regarded and esteemed by all men, whereof ensued warres and troubles. In the second yeere of his raigne died Pope *GREGORIE*, and *SABINIANVS* succeeded him, who also tooke truce for another yeere with *AGISVLPHVS*, which was afterwards prolonged for other three yeeres more, by Ambassadors sent by *AGISVLPHVS* to the Emperour *PHOCAS*. And in the second yeere also of the raigne of *PHOCAS*, began the warre against the Persians, which in all mens iudgement was

warre with the Persians.

least to be feared, considering how greatly *COSROES* King of *Persia*, stood bound to the Emperour *MAVRICE*, and to the Empire, for restoring him to his kingdom. The cause of this warre is written so diuersly, that I therefore leaue to set it downe: in the beginning whereof, *GERMANVS* the Generall in the East, leuied an Armie to make head against him, and they fought a battaile, wherein *GERMANVS* was ouerthrowne, and the greatest part of the Imperiall Armie slaine: he being wounded escaped by flight, and within eleven daies died thereof. When *PHOCAS* vnderstood of this losse, he then gaunted the peace, which we spake of, to the Lombards, and procured the like with the Bauares, with the Hunnes, and with the Slauians. With great diligence and little discretion, he sent the greatest part of his power into *Syria*, for the waies in the East, vnder the conduct of very good Captaines, and commanded *NARSSES*, and *MAGNATES*, who were two of them, to make warre vpon *NARSSES*; who vpon the faith and securitie giuen vnto him yeelded himselfe: but *PHOCAS* breaking his faith and promise, made him most cruelly to be burnt. His Armie in the East had yet another battaile with *COSROES*, and was againe overthrowne with great dishonour and confusion. Whilst the Emperours Captaines lost these battailes, there grew very great tumults and factions in *Constantinople*, and in many other cities in *Asia*, which rose of very light and frivolous occasions. Which were, that as in auncient time, in *Rome*, and afterwards in *Constantinople*, they vsed certaine sports and games of running with chariots, and on horse backe, after a kinde of turneying; as heretofore in the life of *DOMICIANVS* we haue declared: so now some clothing themselves in greene, and others in gray, the common people which saw the same (as their manner is) affected some the one colour, and some the other; and this so much encreased, that (as in times past there had been great scandales, and murders done vpon the like occasions) so it pleased God to permit, that in the time of *PHOCAS*, the matter grew to that extremitie, as there were infinite slaughters and murders committed, in *Syria*, in *Egypt*, in *Gracia*, and in many other prouinces:

G g

Phocas violating his faith made Narses to be burnt.

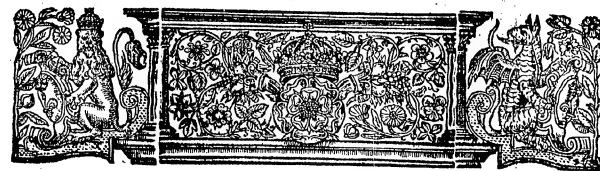
uinces : which the Emperor by his letters and commandements was not able to prevent. For notwithstanding that he was very cruell, and did wrongfully put many to death ; yet was there small account made of him ; for all men knew the basenes of his mind, and his disordinate vices, and couetousnes, and how that he applied himselfe to nothing, but to his pleasure amongst women, and to seeke new meanes to encrease his tributes, and to heape vp money : by reason whereof euery where were tumults, confusions, and riots ; and the princes and nations bordering vpon the Empire knowing this, determined to rise vpon such part thereof as they could. CAYANVS with the Bauarians and Hunnes, coming from *Noricum* (by them called *Bavaria*) and from the countreies of *Hungarie* and *Austria* ; after they had enlarged their territorie, concluded to make warre vpon the Lombards (which was the onely thing that kept the Empire in peace) and fighting a battaile with a great Armie, and a Captaine of them, the Bauarians obtained the victorie. After which CAYANVS took by force a citie called *Forum Iulij*, which hee wholly destroyed, and hauing done much harme and taken great spoiles in the province of *Yennice*, he returned to his kingdome. Then the Slauiens who before had made themselves Lords of a great part of *Illyricum*, in this time took all *Illyricum*, and *Dalmatia*, which now contains all the coast and countrey from *Friuli* to *Durazzo*, by them called *Slauiens*. In this meane time, COSROES King of *Persia* was not idle, but entred with a mightie power into *Mesopotamia*, and took it all, and part of *Syria*, where, in battailes and conflicts, he wholly defeated the legions and Roman Armie. On the other side, his men of warre made themselves Lords of *Armenia* and *Cappadocia*, and did much hurt in other prouinces of the Empire. Whilest these things passed in these parts ; In *Africa*, which of long time (euen since the death of the Emperour *Valentinian*) had been in peace, and in the seruice and obedience of the Empire ; HERACLIVS whom some call HERACLIVS, who for the Emperour PHOCAS was gouernour thereof, seeing his pusillanimitie and euill gouernment, began to leaue his seruice and to doe what best pleased himselfe, without any respect or regard to his decrees or commandements. And to the end the mischief should be generall, in the citie of *Antioch* in *Soria*, the Infidels rose against the Christians, and slew a great number of them, together with the Patriarch of that citie ; vpon whom PHOCAS commanded great punishment to be inflicted. Finally, in all the prouinces there was great disorder and little iustice, and those prouinces which bordered vpon the enemies were spoiled, and a great part of them lost. And the matter came to this issue, that one of these two things of necessitie must ensue, which were, that either the Empire must be rent in sunder, and wholly lost, or else PHOCAS must die. Whereupon the principall Captaines, and his chiefest friends, seeing it expedient for the common good, and the estate of the Empire, conspired against him, and resolved to kill him. Among which was his greatest fauourit PRISCVS, who by letters agreed with HERACLIVS (who gouerned *Africa* and rebelled, and to whose daughter PRISCVS was married) to kill him, and waite his sonne HERACLIVS which was his wiues brother, Emperour. There were also confederates in this treason (if it may be said to be treason to kill a tyrant and a traitor) PATRICIVS, and other principall men. And as PRISCVS was in great credit with PHOCAS, so he faigned to reduce his father in law HERACLIVS to his seruice ; and vnder this pretext, hee first brought his brother in law HERACLIVS to *Constantinople*, for a pledge and assurance of his fathers loyalty. This treatie was double ; for his father was presently to come to *Constantinople*, with the greatest power that hee was able to make, vnder colour to passe into *Asia*, against the King of *Persia* ; and according to this rumor hee did so, and came with a very great Armie, and suddenly landed in *Thracia*, which coast is now called *Romania*. And his sonne who remained in *Constantinople* with the fauour and in companie of PRISCVS, and many others, entred the palace and slew PHOCAS ; and then presently arriued his father with his forces, and according to the agreement betwene them, young HERACLIVS was made Emperour, and generally obied. In the manner of PHOCAS his death, authors which write thereof make some difference : but they all concur in this, that hee was slaine through the conspiracie of the Captaines, and great men before named ; in the eight yeere of his iaigne, and of the incarnation of our Sauour CHRIST six hundred and cleuen, without leauing any sonne to succede him in the Empire.

Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Cappadocia taken from the Romans by the Persians.

Had conspired for an Emperour.

Phocas slaine by Heraclius after his being succeeded in the Empire.

THE



THE
LIFE OF HERACLIVS, ONLY
OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-
SCORE AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPE ROVR.
(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

HERACLIVS having slaine the tyrant Phocas, without any contradiction was made Emperour who found the Empire very weak and in great combustion. In the beginning of his gouernment, the citie of *Ierusalem* was taken by COSROES King of *Persia* ; and the crosse of Christ which was left there by Helena mother to Constantine the great, was caried away. He obtained victorie against Iohn Campanus a Captaine of his, which rebelled against him, and made himselfe a tyrant ouer part of *Italy* ; by another of his Captaines whose name was Flutherius, who by reason of this victorie grew so proud, that he also dared to rebel, and to call himselfe King of *Italy* ; but he was presently slaine by the same Captaine which took his part. And having concluded a peace with the Bauarians, he made his sonne Constantine, Caesar, and his companion into the Empire, and leaving him (for that he was very young) vnder good keeping in *Constantinople*, he went against COSROES, who had taken from him a great part of the Empire. To which warre he went himselfe in person ; and having given his enemy two great overthrowes, he constrained him to flie. When he had expelled COSROES, and recovered many countreies of the Empire, he made peace with COSROES sonne, who rose against his father, for an iniurie receiued from him ; which peace was a great helpe to the Empire, and very hurtfull to COSROES ; but by meanes thereof, the same breaued the father both of his kingdome and life. In these times began the sect of Mahomet, against which Heraclius in the beginning made no resistance, making no account thereof ; but afterwards he began to feare the same when hee could not suppress it. This Emperour made a great exchange from vertue to vice ; so as when he grew old, he became superstitious, an hereticke, and libidinous, giuing himselfe to pleasure, as a young man, when it had been more requisite and more honorable for him to haue liued grauely, as an old man ; and took to wife a young woman, giuing himselfe more to carnall delight, then for his yeeres, and the dignitie of so mightie an Emperour was fit. But falling into the dropsie, he died suddenly, when he had reigned twentie yeeres.



THE life and conditions of PHOCAS were odious to the world, and his reigne fo vnhappy and infortunate, that the Imperiall scepter and dignitie was likely to haue wholly falne and to haue come to ruine ; so all men reioiced at his death. And forasmuch as HERACLIVS was the actor and executioner thereof, they very peaceably and ioyfully receiued him for Emperour ; who was a man fortunate in the warres, and obtained many noble victories, and possessed the Empire many yeeres, although that in the end many things happened contrarie, for his finnes and little constancie in the Christian faith ; as in his historie we will relate, as briefly as possibly we may. PHOCAS and those of his partie being put to death, HERACLIVS was with great ioy and solemnitie crowned in *Constantinople*, by the hands of SERGIUS, Patriarch thereof ; his father HERACLIVS being there present, with PRISCVS and other great men, who had bin confederates in the conspiracie against PHOCAS. And vpon the same day hee solemnized his mariage with a great Lady, whose name was EVDOKIA, who afterwards in the second yeere of his reigne died in childbed, of a sonne called CONSTANTINE ; and he married for his second wife wiua nece of his owne called MARTINA, which also bare him a sonne called HERACLIVS.

Gg 2

This

In what place
Heraclius
found the Em-
pire.

At what time
Mahomet be-
gan to grow
mighty.

This Emperor HERACLIVS found the Empire in such combustion, and so rent in peeces, as it seemed impossible to continue. The affaires of the East were in such case, as wee told you, where COSROES had defeated all the armies, and entering into the Empire, daily tooke townes and forts. In the province of *Arabia Petrea*, which bordereth vpon *Egypt* and *India*, the Sarazins rebelled; with whom he accursed MAHOMET afterwards made himself very mighty. CAYANVS and the Bavarians which inhabited *Bavaria*, *Austria* and *Hungarie*, seeing the Empire so weakened, came into *Thracia*, and made warres there. In *Syricum* or *Slaunia*, the Slaoues were of great power: and in *Italy*, although there was peace with the Lombards (for they were defeated and weakened by the ouerthrowes which they had receiued from the Bauarians and Slaoues) yet there wanted not combustions and tumults: for PHOCAS before his death had bereaued SMARAGDVS (oftentimes before named) of his Exarchat and gouernment, and had sent thither another Captaine called IOHN; who coming to *Raenenna*, with his wife and family, and a great number of Iudges and officers for all *Italy*, PHOCAS was by that time dead; and IOHN being more earnest in demanding tributes, and other exactions then hee ought to haue been, the people were therewith so much incensed as they slew him: and so *Italy* remained without a gouernour. And at that time the Church of *Rome* being without a Bishop by the death of Pope BONIFACE, and by reason of discord among the Clergie, that feat being void the space of eight moneths, a Captaine which liued in *Naples*, called IOHN CAMPISINVS, who gouerned that citie with the territorie thereof, determined to rebell and make himselfe Lord of *Pulia*, *Calabria*, *Campania*, and of a great part of that countrie, which at this day is the kingdom of *Naples*; imagining that the new Emperour should haue enough to do to defend or to recover the rest, and so he might make himselfe King of *Italy*.

HERACLIVS coming to the Empire so tome and dismembred; to encounter with so many extremities, in the beginning vsed not such diligence, as was requisite, neither had hee power or means. For as all Authors write he found the Empire so disarmed & vnurnished of men of warre, as there were neither old souldiers, neither experienced legions left, but they were all daime and scattered. Neuertheless he began to make Capitaines, and to leuie men of warre, and sent CRISPVS with such forces as he could get, together with such as his father brought him out of *Africa*, into the provinces of *Asia* the lesse (now called *Turkie*) to guard and defend the same, seeing they were not able to giue battaile to the Persians; and hee caused his father to returne into *Africa*, which was all that the Empire peaceably enioyed, together with *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*; and he himselfe remained in *Constantinople*, procuring peace with the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, by all possible means, as well by gifts as entreatie. But these things were so long adooing, that COSROES King of *Persia*, as master of the field, taking some Cities by surprise, and others by force, came conquering all *Syria*, and from thence into *Palestina*, and so to the Citie of *Ierusalem*; not the old *Ierusalem*, for that (as is already said) was destroyed and laid waste by TITVS and VESPASIAN, but to that which the Emperour ADRIAN new builded, in the same place, or at least nere vnto it, as already is declared; which then was a great and an excellent City. And entering it by force he vsed great cruelty, and did much harme to the Christians; so as therein (as it is written) were slaine 80000 persons; and taking the wood of the crosse of Christ, which HELEN mother to CONSTANTINE the Great had left there, and carrying it thence with him, he set it with great reuerence vpon the top of his chaire, or royall Throne, made of fine Gold, set with many Jewels and Pearles. He likewise carried with him prisoner ZACHARIAS the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*, who was an excellent Prelate.

This taking of *Ierusalem*, some Authors write to haue happened about the end of the raigne of the Emperour PHOCAS: but the most certaine and true opinion is, that it befell in the time of HERACLIVS, wherein I place the same. CRISPVS who was sent by the Emperour, and then was in the province of *Cappadocia* in *Asia* the lesse, endeouored to leuie souldiers, and to provide (so much as in him lay) for the defence of those Countreies, against the great power of the Persians: but it auailed not at that time. And for as much as it was bruited that the Persian meant to goe into *Egypt*, and thence to make a conquest of *Africa*; HERACLIVS father to the Emperour being then in the City of *Carthage*, leuying a great number of men of war, departed thence, marching along the Sea coast, to goe into *Egypt* to make head against the Persians; where we will leaue him, and tell you first what ensued after that IOHN CAMPISINVS rebelled with the City of *Naples*, and all that Prouince.

The Emperour being much moued with his audacious rebellion, sent a Captaine into *Italy*, whose

whose name was ELEVTHERRIVS, with a good number of souldiers; which captaine was of a great and noble familie, and very wife and expert in the warres. He as soone as he arriued at *Raenenna* with his fleet, was receiued and obeyed there; and vnderstanding who they were which had conspired in the rebellion and insurrections past, he punished some of them, vsing greater clemencie then seueritie. And therewithall hee speedily assembled such forces as remained in the gouernement of *Raenenna*; with which, and with those which hee brought with him, he purposed to take his way against CAMPISINVS, who lay in *Naples*; and by the way went to *Rome*, where he was well entertained and honoured by DEVS DEDIT, who then was Pope. And marching towards *Naples*, CAMPISINVS considering that by prolonging the warre he daily lost, and the Emperours partie increased; with the greatest and best power that he was able to make he took the field, and neer to the citie of *Naples* they two fought a cruel battell, but ELEVTHERRIVS obtained the victorie, although very hardly; for CAMPISINVS fought valiantly, and died fighting.

After this battell, ELEVTHERRIVS with small difficultie recovered all that CAMPISINVS had vsurped, and returned with victorie to *Rome*; and for his better securitie, and to bring to effect such things as he had protected (which we will presently tell you) he praiched to prolong the peace with AOSVLPVS King of the Lombards, which was concluded for other ten yeers. And he procured and leuied money, wherewith he payed and contented his souldiers and men of warre: for which his doings so valiantly and so speedily accomplished, the Emperour HERACLIVS sent him the authoritie and title of Exarch and Gouernor of all *Italy*; wherewith he came to *Raenenna*, which was the seate of the Gouernors, leaving all *Italy* in peace and in quiet subiection (*Lombardy* excepted, and the rest which the Lombards possessed) by means whereof he grew so proud and so ambitious, as without the feare of God, or respect to the Emperour, knowing himselfe to be greatly beloued by his souldiers, he rebelled against his soveraigne Lord, and tooke vpon him the title of King of *Italy*, and presently departed with his Armie from *Raenenna* towards *Rome*, meaning to make himselfe Lord of all the countrie. But it pleased God to giue him speedy punishment: for the same Capitaine which advanced him, and vpon whom he had grounded his disloyaltie; the same I say, to shew themselves loyall to the Emperour, within few daies journey from *Rome* slew him, when he nothing suspected any such matter; and the Armie approoued his death; and they altogether returned to *Raenenna*, and sent his head to the Emperour to *Constantinople*; who being aduertised of what had passed, was very well pleased with what they had done. Then he sent for a new Exarch, a Noble Constantinopolitane, called YSANTIVS, who was very well entertained. And at the same time died the valiant AOSVLPVS king of the Lombards, and his son ODOALDVS being a child of tender age, was made their King; and the wife and Christian Queene THEODOLINDA his mother, took vpon her the gouernement, and gouerned that kingdome very wisely and discreetly, and obserued and renewed the peace made with the Italians, and the Imperialists; and so *Italy* remained for some space in rest. But in the warre against the Persians, matters hapned to the contrary: whereof we will make a briefe relation, and what end it had.

HERACLIVS the Emperours father, who was Gouernor of *Africa*, marching with great power towards *Egypt*, to make head against the Persians, being very ioyfull, and of great power, by the way died of an infirmity. By his death all was out of order and came to nothing: for there was not any man amongst them capable of the gouernment, or fit to leade an Army. This hapned in the sixt yeer of the raigne of the Emperour HERACLIVS; who all that time remained in *Constantinople* giuing himselfe to pleasure and ease. When the King of *Persia* understood of the death of HERACLIVS the gouernour of *Africa*; with the greatest haste hee could make, hee sent a very mighty armie into *Egypt*; and as that kingdome was vnurnished of men of warre, and the Persians became victorious, so in few daies they made themselves absolute Lords thereof: and the same yeere passing further, they conquered *Africa* euen to the citie of *Carthage*; for no citie neither people were of power able to make head against them. Which HERACLIVS vnderstanding, hee sent Ambassadors to King COSROES, with milde words entreating him for peace, desiring him to desist from shedding so much blood, and to rest satisfied with what he had done. To this Embassie the Infidell made answer, so haughtily, and with such pride, that among other things he sent him word, that he would grant no peace to HERACLIVS, except he would renounce the Faith of IESVS CHRIST, and adore his Idols. With this answer the Ambassadors returned, and the Persians the yeer following (profecuting their warres) besieged the Citie of *Carthage*, and tooke it, with the marches thereof,

Eleutherius
sent by the Em-
perour against
Iohn Campis-
inus.

Campisinus de-
scribed, and
slaine by Eleu-
therius.

Eleutherius re-
belled, and called
himselfe king of
Italy.

Eleutherius
slaine, and his
head sent to the
Emperour.

The death of A-
githulphus king
of the Lombards

The death of
Heraclius.

The insolent an-
swer of the king
of Persia to the
Emperour Hera-
clius.

The City of Car-
thage taken by
the Persians.

and leauing gouernours and Garrisons in that country, returned into *Asia* most richly laden with spoiles.

HERACLIVS having obserued how much of the Empire hee had lost, resolved with himselfe to goe in person to recouer the same, or to lose the rest; whereat the Bauarians and their King CAYANVS, were a great hinderance. But to the end that the reader may the better vnderstand the matter, let him know, that these Bauarians (in former time called Hunnes Auares) of a long time called their Kings CAYANI, as the Egyptians called their Kings PHARAONES, and as many other nations gaue their Kings ordinarie and peculiar names. I say then, that CAYANVS returned with his forces to infest the countrie of *Thracia*, which till then had free passage. And this was the cause that the Emperor HERACLIVS was detained two or three yeeres, after that which happened in *Africa*; vntill at length he fought all waies and means to come to a peace with CAYANVS, although to his dishonor & with losse of reputation. Finally, it was concluded and confirmed with great othes and promises: and so leauing all *Italie* and *Gracia* in peace, he resolved to march against the Persians, and to that end he named and ordained for CÉSAR and his companion in the Empire, his sonne CONSTANTINVS, to make his abode in the citie of *Constantinople*. And forasmuch as hee was very yong, hee appointed SBRIGVS, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and BONVSVS a wife and noble gentleman, for his gouernours and tutors. Which being ordained, preparing the greatest power and munition that hee was able, with many priers and solemne processions, he departed from *Constantinople* with great solemnitie, and embarking himselfe with his people, hee passed ouer into those prouinces which were vnder his obedience in *Asia*, and entertained into his pay many other nations. And forasmuch as his souldiers were but newly raised, hee thought it not fit presently to march vntill that they were better practised and trained. Which being done, calling vpon the Lord for aide, he entred into his enemies countries. This his journey was so much bruited and obserued by all the nations of the world, as there was no man but had an especiall eye thereto.

COSROES K. of *Persia*, being well informed, how valiant & good a captain HERACLIVS was & how resolute an armie he led, resolved not to giue him battel, but retired himselfe within his countrie, and made all the victuals to bee withdrawn and carried away, and the tressos bee cut downe, and laid athwart the waies where hee supposed the Emperor would passe. And on the other side, hee sent an huge armie of very expert old souldiers; vnder the leading of a capitaine called SARAVAGVS, or SALVARYS (for in these names the authors euer vary) to the end that hee should charge the Emperor; either on the flanke or on the backe, who with great resolution and in good order marched against King COSROES; and by the way recouered and wonne many cities. But holding it for no assured course to leaue so great an armie behinde him, hee tooke another way, and fought out SARAVAGVS; and hauing passed the great mountaine *Taurus*, the two armies approached the one neere the other, not far from a riuer: before which time there passed many conflicts and other accidents between them, which I cannot possibly set down at large. The conclusion therof was, that they came to blowes: and as the Persians of long time had been victorious, and made full account of the Romans (I alwaies call those Romans which were of the Emperours armie: for although that the seat of the Empire was in *Gracia*, yet the Emperours euer tooke a glory to bee called Romane Emperours, and their armies, the Romane armies) and as the Imperialists holding themselves for disgraced and dishonest, had a great desire to be reuenged (the presence and great valor of the Emperor being a great helpe thereto) both the one and the other fought with so great courage and obstinacie, as the battaile continued long, and was very cruell. And although that in the beginning it was very doubtfull, yet in the end the Emperor obtained the victorie, and made great slaughter of his enemies. With this victorie the Imperialists were so much incouraged, as they abandoned the feare, which vntill then had possessed them; and the Emperor was wonderfull ioyfull to see himselfe victorious. And forasmuch as winter drew on, he purposed to retire himselfe, being laden with exceeding rich spoiles, and many prisoners, intending to returne the next spring with greater force, which was in the eleuenth yeere of his reigne.

But on the contrarie side, COSROES was very sorrie, and much grieved; and imputing the fault to his General, deposed him from his charge, purposing to haue caused him to be slaine, and made another General, called SAIN, or SATHIN, a very valiant man and of great account: and gathering together the remainder of the last Armie, he commanded him to raise

Heracilius made his sonne Constantine, Caesar.

Heracilius in Asia.

A battell betweene the Romans and the Persians, with the success.

one farre greater; and that he should follow the warre with a greater resolution and vehemencie. The Emperour who had not shaken off all care that was needfull, although he would willingly haue accepted of peace, conditionally that he might haue had that restor'd which was taken from him (which he attempted, but could not obtaine) after that he had made his beneuolent praiers to God, courageously returned to the warres. And as this SAIN desired to excell his predecessour SARAVAGVS, and to recouer what he had lost, without delaying of time, he went to meete the Emperour, and desiring to come to a battaile with him, he drew his Armie neere vnto his, which wanted neither force nor courage to fight.

The next day in the morning (seeing themselves so neere together) they began to set their people in order: but their troupes of either side were so great, as they spent almost one whole day. Whereupon they took truce, vntill the next day, to auoide fighting by night: so resolute was either partie, and so they slept in the same place, and in the same order as they were set. The next morning by sunne rising, the one Armie began to moue toward the other; and there began one of the most bloodie and cruell Battailles that had beene scene, which continued most part of the day without any signe of aduantage or victorie of either side, fighting at equall hand: but by that time the Persians had so oppressed the Romanes, as they began to shew their weaknes; and the Emperour was in feare to haue beene ouerthrowne: but it pleased God miraculously to relieue him, for suddenly fell so much raine and haile, with so terrible winde and tempest, beating vpon the backs of the Romanes, and in the faces of the Persians, which did so much trouble them and put them out of order, that in a very short space they were broken and ouerthrowne, and turning their backs ranne away. The Emperour HERACLIVS remained with the victorie, maister of the field, when he had slaine thirtie thousand of his enemies in the battaile; although with no small losse of his owne people; hauing obtained two so great and notable victories against the Infidels. The Emperour sent to make all this knowne in *Constantinople*, in *Italy*, and in all the other prouinces of the Empire; for which euery where was made great ioy: and in the meane while hee himselfe was not idle; but reinforcing his Armie, and encouraging his people, he recouered a great part of *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*, which hee had lost; part in his owne person, and part by his Captaines, and hee still followed his victorie, vntill that the great waters, by reason of the winter staid him and forced him to returne, and to winter that yeere in the prouince of *Albania*. COSROES King of *Persia*, as he was a mightie prince, and his dominion great, so the losse of these two battailes, was not such as to bereaue him of meanes againe to make head against his enemy: for gathering together his whole forces, he leuied men of warre, and issuing his treasure, raised a greater and a more mightie Armie, then any of the former; and made a prudent and resolute Capitaine called RAZATENS General thereof; who being very valiant, was not afraid to draw neere to the way, where he knew the Emperour was to passe the nex spring.

Finally, after many skirmishes and effusion of much blood, and such like casualties of the warre, HERACLIVS putting his whole trust in God, sought to come to a battaile, which the Persian refused not; so as with equall mindes, and in a manner, with equall force and Armies, two squadrons first began the fight in the morning, and afterwards others, and in the end all, and this battaile continued vntill about sun-set: wherein the Imperialists in power and courage surpassing the Persians, constrained them to turne their backs, and to yeeld themselves for ouerthrowne. And RAZATENS as a good Capitaine, failing in no part of his office, died fighting, for that he would not liue being overcome; after that many thousands of men were slaine and wounded of the one side and the other. In these three great battailes; and in many other of lesse account, it is written, that the Emperor himselfe in person, shewed great valour; especially in this last, where he slew with his owne hand, three men of great esteeme which he encountered in sundrie places of the battaile, besides others which hee slew and wounded of lesse account.

By means of this victorie, HERACLIVS grew so powerfull, and COSROES so weak, and his forces were so much diminished, that daring no longer to defend that which hee had usurped in *Armenia*, and *Mesopotamia*, hee abandoned the same; and passing ouer the riuer *Tigris* fled into *Persia*: HERACLIVS also passed that riuer, and ouerran the countrie burning and spoiling great cities. In this manner conquering the kingdomes of COSROES, and COSROES not so hardie as to defend the same, but by flight hiding himselfe; for his refuge and defence in his life time he made his second sonne whose name was MHDARSES, against all equitie and reason, equall with himselfe in his kingdom; for hee had an elder sonne, a man of

A truce for one night betweene the Persians and the Romanes.

A miraculous victorie.

The Persians the third time ouerthrowne by the Emperour: and their generall slaine fighting.

Cosroes abandoning what hee had usurped fled into Persia.

Cosroes made his second son equal with him in his kingdom, whereby he lost the same together with his life.

greatest spirit, and of more discretion, called **SIROES**, and (as it often happeneth to the wicked) by the same means whereby he thought to haue defended his kingdom, he lost it together with his life: for his eldest sonne took this iniurie done to him by his father in so ill part, as he persecuted to bereaue him both of life and kingdom. To which purpose he began by Letters and secret messengers, to treat with the Emperour, entreating his fauour, and to bee at peace with him: in requittall whereof, when he should be established in the kingdom, hee promised to yeeld vnto him what he should require, if it were in his power. In conclusion, briefly to see down the Composition, they agreed vpon these conditions: That hee should resign to the Emperour all those lands and countries which his father and predecessors had vsurped in the provinces of *Asia*, and all that which they had gotten by conquest in *Africa*, and all the treasure of his fathers royall house. And that he should resign the two inuincible fortresses, which the Persians held in the principall passages of the river *Tigris*, with the crosse, and the Patriarch which they brought from *Ierusalem*, and that hee should bee a perpetuall friend and allie to the Emperour.

This league being concluded, **SIROES** was so magnanimous, and therewith so well beloved, as within few daies, with the aid and fauour of **HERACLIVS**, and such forces as hee sent him, he gat both his father and his brother into his power, whom hee caused to be slaine; and thoroughly performed all that which he had agreed vpon with **HERACLIVS**; and so enjoyed the kingdom in peace, although of lesse power then his father was. And **HERACLIVS** returned, leaving all the provinces of the Empire restored and furnished, and all the passages of the river *Tigris* fortified, the most ioyfull and honoured Prince that then liued in the world. Being come to *Ierusalem*, he sent his Captaines into *Africa*, which he wholly recovered, and reduced the same to a quiet gouernement. This was in the sixt yeere after that he began the warre in his owne person, and the sixteenth and seventeenth of his reigne; although in these computations there be euermore difference betweene authors. When he came to *Ierusalem*, hee restored **ZACHARIAS** the Patriarch thereof, and the crosse which had been foureteen yeeres in the power of **COSROES**, and came into the citie bearing the same vpon his shoulders, with the greatest ioy, feasting and solemnitie that could be made: and this restitution of the crosse was so highly esteemed, as it was afterwards solemnized euery year vpon the fourteenth day of September, which is called the exaltation of the crosse.

Heracles restored the crosse to Ierusalem, The exaltation of the crosse.

The successe of the false Prophet Mahomet.

In those daies the false Prophet **MAHOMET**, the deceiver and seducer of the greatest part of the world, with his illusions and tromperies, in the countrey of *Arabia* drew many to his sect, and grew a mightie tyrant; whom **HERACLIVS** might then easily haue defeated: but making small account of him, he contented himselfe with the taking of a certaine people from him called Sarazins, which falsely boasted themselves to be descended from **SARAH**, **ABRAHAM**'s wife; who were also called Scenites, and liued in the fields, as the Arabians doe at this day: and giuing them pay, the Emperour sent them into other provinces, which at that time seemed to haue been a sufficient redress. Having taken order for his affaires in those quarters, he returned to *Constantinople*, whither hee came with the greatest triumph that could be made. Herein is some difference: for some authors write, that before his going to *Ierusalem* he returned to *Constantinople*; but it importeth not whether were the first; but in the end the Emperour came to repossesse himselfe in *Constantinople*, with very great honour and reputation amongst his subjects, and was by all other Kings and Princes at that time much beloved and feared.

In *Italy* all was in peace with the Lombards in those daies, **ODOALDVS** reigning with his mother **THEVDOLINDA**; and she dying, the subjects making no account of him, for that he was a very childe, denied him their obedience, and chose **ARTOLVS**, who was of the blood royal; and he maintained the peace with the Empire in as ample manner as did **ODOALDVS**; and **THEVDOLINDA**, **HERACLIVS** hauing so good successe in all things, as aforesaid, prosperitie (as ordinarily it worketh in many men) made him proud and carelesse, forgetting God, and those workes and exercises of pietie whereby he had attained to that prosperitie. For in steede of prayer and contemplation, he gaue himselfe to pleasure, to augurie, soothsaying and diuination, prognosticating things to come, by superstitious and vnlawfull Arts and means; and from one to another fell into heresies: for being seduced by two wicked Prelates, the one called **PIERVS**, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and the other a Bishop called **CIATVS**, he came to beleue that there was a will onely in Christ, and so consequently hee denied the two natures, diuine and humane. Neither could the admonitions and Letters of Pope **HONORIVS** auail to dissuade him from that heresie, who banished **PIERVS** into *Africa*. It pleased

Heracles became an heretic.

pleased God to permit, in his secret & incomprehensible judgement, that **MAHOMET** began to prosper and preuaile in his proceedings, that **HERACLIVS** began to stand in fear of him, of whom in former time he made small account: for he had daily news, that he leuied men of warre, which came vnto him as well out of *Arabia*, as out of *Persia*; some deluded through his allurements and suggestions, others, to enjoy the great liberty which hee gaue them to rob and steal: for these were the miracles wherewith in the beginning he planted his diuinish sect. And it followed that the Sarazins, which we said **HERACLIVS** had gotten from him, by reason of the Emperours ill pay and entertainment, mutined, and went to **MAHOMET** into *Arabia*. So as he went out of *Arabia felix*, where he first gathered head; and, making himself Lord of the three *Arabia*, went into *Egypt*, and afterwards into *Syria*, and into *Mesopotamia*; and had so good successe, that with those Sarazins, and such other forces as he could get, hee resolved to make himself King of *Persia*. Whereunto, this was a great help, for as much as that Kingdome was much wasted and weakened, as well by ciuill dissension, as through the great slaughter made therein by **HERACLIVS**; and besides this, the Inhabitants of meer lightnes revolted to **MAHOMET**.

Mahomet his successe.

There reigned at that time in *Persia* a great man whose name was **HORMISDA**, allied to the fore-passed Kings: for, **SIROES** (who was **HERACLIVS**'s friend) reigned but one year in that Kingdome; and after him his sonne **ADHRSR** likewise but a yeer. By the death of which two, **HORMISDA** attained to the Kingdome; but not in peace, nor without great tumults and contradictions.

At that time **MAHOMET** marched towards *Persia* with his Sarazins, and much other people; against whom came **HORMISDA**: and they two fought a very great battell; wherein **HORMISDA** was ouerthrowne and slaine. Yet some write, that **MAHOMET** was first ouerthrowne. This onely battell, and the illusion and deceit of his sect and superstitious religion, brought all *Asia* vnder his obedience, together with all *Africa*, *Babylon*, and all the other Provinces subject to the mighty Kings of *Persia*. And he wholly subuerted that Empire; so as from that time forwards it had not any title of a Kingdome: but all those Nations lost their names, and from thenceforth were called Sarazins and Mahometists, after their false Prophet and Leader; whereas in truth they ought to haue bin called Agarenes, Ismaelites: for, **MAHOMET** descended from **ABRAHAM**, by **AGAR** a bond-woman, and his son **ISMAR**.

The originall of the Sarazins: obtain successe.

The Emperour, vnderstanding of these victories, applied not himself to resist the course therewith such magnanimity as he ought to haue done, notwithstanding that he knew he returned into *Syria* and *Palestina*, with a resolution to take *Ierusalem*; but hee sent thither onely to fetch from thence the Crosse of **CHRIST**, and to bring it to *Constantinople*: from whence afterwards in proceesse of time it was brought to *Rome*. **MAHOMET** then came, and took many great Cities in *Syria*, wherein he found small resistance; and among them, the City of *Ierusalem*, publishing himself euery where to be the Prophet of God. Yet some write, that *Ierusalem* was not taken by **MAHOMET**; but, by his Successors, after his death: but it imports not greatly whether it were taken by him or others.

The death of Mahomet.

Within few daies after these victories, **MAHOMET** deceased, being of the age of two and forty yeers; but, leauing disciples of his wickednes, his sect and superstition died not, nor took any end; but continueth vntill this day, and will continue vntill it shall please God for his mercies sake to cure this contagion. For, his Successor remained, a great Arabian Captain called **CALPHA**; and him others succeeded, who conquered *Africa*, and other Countries; as in the proceesse of this History shall be expressed.

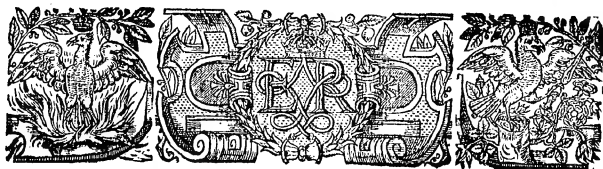
Calipha, Mahomet's successor.

While these things passed in the East; in *Italy*, notwithstanding that there was peace with the Lombards, as it is often seen that foraine peace breeds ciuill warre; so **MAVRICE CARTVLARIVS**, who was President of *Rome*, making small account of the Emperour, or of his Exarch **ISANCIVS**, rebelling made himself a Tyrant. Against whom, **ISANCIVS** came from *Ravenna*, and after many adventures apprehended him, with many other his confederates; and, carrying him to *Rome*, smote off his head: and shortly after this, **ISANCIVS** died. And the Emperour **HERACLIVS** sent a Noble-man, called **THEODORE GALLIOPA**, to be Gouernor of *Italy*. But none of all these things could moue the minde of **HERACLIVS** to leuie any Armie against the Sarazins; he gaue himself so much to his pleasure and licentious living, marrying in his old age with his brothers daughter, who was a yong damself, called **MARTINA**: and so it pleased God that vpon a time he was taken with the dropisie; whereof hee died suddenly, when he had reigned thirty yeers, in the year of our Lord 641. Others say, that hee died

The death of Heracles.

died of a disease called *Priapismus*, a strange sickness, and such as with modesty cannot be expressed. He left behinde him two sonnes, and one daughter, which hee had by his first wife. His daughters name was *EPIPHANIA*: one of his sons was called *HERACLIVS*; the other, *CONSTANTINE*, whom he made *CÆSAR*, when he went to the wars in the East against the Persians. By his second wife he had one sonne, a childe of ten yeeres old, called *HERACLIVS* also. And so ended this Emperor: of whom it may be said, that two Emperors might well have been made; one very good, and the other passing ill, considering the contrariety in his actions.

At what time the Emperor *HERACLIVS* died, the Empire of the East was much decayed; for, all the Provinces of *Syria*, *Meſopotamia*, *Egypt* and *Arabia*, were in the power of the Infidels. In *Italy*, *THEODORE GALLIOPA* was Gouverner: and in *Lombardie*, through the death of *ARIOLOVS*, *ROTARIVS* was King. The Slauios possessed *Illyricum*: and the Hunnes and Bauarians held *Hungarie*, *Baniere*, and *Austria*. In *Spain* reigned the Gothes: and the French prospered in *France*; and in *Germany* sundry other Princes. So as the Empire contained *Thracia*, the Provinces of *Græcia*, the Isles of *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and the greatest part of *Italie* in *Europe*; and in *Asia*, *Armenia*, *Asia* the lesse, *Cilicia*, *Pamphilia*, *Galacia*, *Bythinia*, *Cappadocia*, and other Provinces, with all *Africa*: which I haue set down of purpose, to the end the Reader may the better vnderstand what shall be said hereafter.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND FIFT ROMAN

Emperor; And of his Brother *HERACLIVS*.

(***)



THE History of the liues of the two sonnes of the Emperor *HERACLIVS*, *PAVLVS* *DIACONVS* and *BEDA* seem to dissent from other Historiographers; first placing the Empire of *HERACLIVS*, who was younger than *CONSTANTINE*, and sonne of his second wife *MARTINA*; but I follow the opinion of other authors. The Emperor *HERACLIVS* being dead and buried, there was no open contradiction that might hinder his eldest son, born of his first wife *EVDOKIA*, who died in childe bed of this *CONSTANTINE* (which *CONSTANTINE* had a yong man to his sonne, called *CONSTANS*) from obtaining the Empire; as well for that he was made *CÆSAR* in his fathers time, as also for

that in right he ought to haue it, being his fathers eldest sonne, and of full age; and also for the hope which they conceived that he would proue a good Prince. He was then presently accepted and crowned with great joy and solemnity; but to the great discontentment and grief of his

his mother in law *MARTINA*; whose wickednes did so shorten the raigne of her sonne in law, as there can be no worthe action written of him, that hee either did, or that passed in his time; sauing that he gaue good signes and shewes of a good Empror, and began to be beloued by his subiectes; which encreased the hatred of that mischieuous woman his stepdame; and he reposing his trust in hir, she gaue him poison in his meate, whereof he died in the fourth moneth of his raigne: and they also say, that it was done by the direction and counsell of *PETER* the hereticall Patriarch of *Constantinople*. The Emperor *CONSTANTINE* being thus wickedly made away; the murderesse *MARTINA*, with such fauour and aide as she procured, made her sonne *HERACLIVS* Empror, brother to him whom she had poisoned, being of the age of eleuen yeeres; and she took vpon her the gouernment: but this villany could not long continue, for the Nobility detesting so detestable a fact, rose against *MARTINA* and her son, when he had reigned scarcely two yeeres: in which time I finde not anything written to haue been done of importance; and therefore I cannot diuine ought, sauing that in this yeere the Sarazins took the city of *Cæsaria*, which they had besieged the space of seuen yeeres, and therein slew seuen thousand soldiers of the Empire. The Senate and Nobility ioyning with *CONSTANS*, son of the deceased *CONSTANTINE*, and Nephew of the Emperor *HERACLIVS*, made him Empror; apprehending *MARTINA* and her sonne *HERACLIVS*: and so ended the vnluckie and vnfortunate raigne of those two brothers, which scarcely merit to be accounted amongst the Emperors. When as the mother and sonne were apprehended, the mother had her tongue cut out, and the sonne his nose cut off, and both were exiled into the prouince of *Cappadocia* in *Asia* the lesse. Also *PIRHRVS* the Patriarch which came from banishment out of *Africa*, and came to intrude himselfe into these counsels, died likewise, as an hereticall Wolfe clad in shepheards rayment; and in his place was chosen *PAVL*, who in the end proued like to his predecessor. Which befell in the yeere of our Lord six hundred fortie fower.

The Emperor
Constantine
the third, was
murdered by his
step-mother
Martina.

Heraclius
succeeded his
brother
Constantine in
the Empire.

Heraclius
and his mother
Martina were
thorne out of
the Empire, he
having first his
nose cut off, and
she her tongue.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANS, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SIXT

Romane Empror.

(***)



THE making of *CONSTANS* Empror (whom some call *CONSTANTINE*) by the Senate of *Constantinople* (which we may call *Romane*;) and the death of his vnkle *HERACLIVS*, of whom we now left writing, was all at one instant: and the great wickednesse vsed by *MARTINA* in poisoning his father, made the raigne of the sonne more firme and assured. But *CONSTANS* proued not such an oncas they hoped, and as indeed was needfull for the present estate of the Empire; for he was infected with the *Arrian* Heresie: and concerning the affaires of the East, he contented himself to make head against *MAHOMET'S* successors, by placing garrisons in the passages of *Cilicia*, to keep them from entering into *Asia* the lesse; and so they remained Lords of those prouinces which they had gotten in

the East. Pope *THEODORE* vnderstanding that *PAVL* the new Patriarch of *Constantinople* held

Constans by
some called
Constantine.

held some erroneous opinions of the Christian faith, wrote vnto him certaine louing monitory Letters, perswading him to amendment, and to conforme himselfe to the truth. But when hee perceiued his labour to be in vaine, he proceeded otherwise against him, and depriving him of his dignitie, he commanded him to be banished; but the new Emperor would not permit it, but rather shewed himselfe to be of the same opinion; which made a generall confusion euery where; for the head being sicke, the rest of the members ill execute their office.

In *Constantinople* and in *Græcia*, the catholike Christians were much afflicted with the new heriticks, for that the Emperor took their part; and in *Asia*, they held warres with the Mahometicall Sarazins. In *Italy*, although there were peace with the Lombards, through the good government of the Exarch THEODORVS, and the care and endeavour of the Pope, yet the diuall after his accustomed manner fowed tares among the good feede; which was, that by the meanes of some of his disciples, he perswaded ROTHARIVS King of the Lombards to leane to the opinion of his ancestors, which was the Arrian heresie; and the more earnest the catholike Christians were in resisting the same, with so much the greater obstinacie he placed in euery citie an Arrian Bishop, where before had been catholike Bishops. Pope MARTIN who succeeded Pope THEODORVS, against the new heresie held by the Emperor and some prelates in the East, assembled a councell of one hundred and fise Bishops; wherein they which held those opinions, were condemned and proclaimed heretikes, and he deprived the said Patriarch and sundry Bishops of their prelaties and dignities; wherewith the Emperor CONSTANS was highly offended, and did that which hereafter shall be declared. On the other side, the Pope by all meanes sought a reformation in the Lombards, which hee could not effect during the life of ROTHARIVS; for he made warre against the Imperialists, after they had liued many yeeres together in peace: which warre was very resolutely begun with great preparation, by ROTHARIVS of his party; and by the Exarch THEODORVS of the other side. The Exarch comming from *Rauenna* drew his forces to an head in the citie of *Bologna*; for now the cities of *Italy* by reason of their long peace and rest, were growne rich and populous; and ROTHARIVS leiued no lesse an Armeie in the citie of *Parma*; and the one taking his way against the other, they came to ioyne neere the citie of *Modena*: where (as SIGEBERTVS and PAVLVS DIACONVS doe report) after some encounters and skirmishes, they fought a very cruell battaile, wherein the Romanes were ouerthrowne, and leauen thousand of them slaine; and the Exarch THEODORVS escaped by flight.

ROTHARIVS hauing obtained this victory, came to the coast of *Genoa*; and assaulted and tooke many Cities, which vntill then he could not doe, and so marched victorious, vntill that THEODORVS the Exarch gathering together those which were scattered, leiued a new Army: wherewith he entertained the enemy, and victualled his frontier Garisons. The Emperor CONSTANS vnderstanding hereof, tooke no care to relieue his Exarch, but being very much offended with Pope MARTIN, he put THEODORVS out of the government of *Italy*; and in his place sent another called OLIMPIVS (as very an Hereticke as himselfe) giuing him direction, to seeke to bring all the Bishops in *Italy* to hold of his opinion; and if that he could not bring it to passe, that then he should vse his best meanes to get the Pope into his hands, or to kill him. With which commission and resolution being arriued in *Italy*, he departed from *Rauenna*, and tooke his way towards *Rome*, vnder colour to goe visit the Pope; accompanied with many Souldiers and men of warre; first procuring an agreement and truce with the Lombards. Being come to *Rome* he sought how to apprehend the Pope, but being vnable to effect the same, he agreed with a desperate bold Souldier to kill him, which tooke no effect.

During the time that these things passed in *Italy*, the Infidels (MAHOMETVS successors) were growne so mighty, as they now contented not themselves with *Egypt*, and those pouldices which they held in the East; but preparing a great Fleet in *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, they waied the Ile of *Rhodes*, and took it, and afterwards other Ilands in those Seas; and from thence came spoiling and robbing through all the *Leuant* Seas, euen to the Ile of *Sicilia*, wherein they took some towines vpon the coast, and landing their Armeie, there burnt and spoiled the countie in the maine land: whereof when OLIMPIVS the gouernour or Exarch of *Italy* was aduertised, within whose government *Sicilia* was contained; comming first to an agreement with the Pope, he took his way towards *Naples*; whither he had commanded to be brought, the greatest number of men and ships that could be gotten from all parts of *Italy*: and finding himselfe sufficiently furnished, he went to seeke his enemies, resolute and in very good order: and they

A councell held
in the time of
Pope Martin.

Warres be-
tweene the
Lombards and
Imperialists.

The victorie of
the Lombards.

Spoile made by
the Sarazins.

vnderstanding of his coming, assembled themselves, with resolution to fight with him; which he refused not: And so, when as the two Nauies came within sight one of the other, they set themselves in order, and each Generall animated and encouraged his people, and the fight began with great furie, and was maintained with such resolution, as many thousands of men of the one and other side were slaine. Notwithstanding, in the end the victorie seemed to encline to the Imperialists; yet before they could obtaine it, they had lost many men and ships, that although the Exarch might haue driuen the enemies out of the land, and haue recovered what was lost; yet he was so beaten and distressed, as it seemed not that he had overcome. And (as Historians affirme) he endured so great toyle, and was so tired in the battaile before and after it, as he fell so extremely sicke, that within few daies he died.

The Emperor CONSTANS vnderstanding of this victorie; Being then in great care and suspense, forgetting to amend his leud life, to leane his heretical opinion, and to giue God thanks for this victorie, he grew very proud, resolving againe to procure the destruction of the Pope; and to that end gaue the charge of the government againe to THEODORVS, from whom he had taken the same. In the end he sent THEODORVS into *Italy*, with a secret charge, to doe that which he afterwards performed, and I will discouer: and for his comfort and companion therein, another aduenturous fellow whose name was PAVLVS PELLARIVS. In this time died ROTHARIVS King of the Lombards; and another called RODOLPHVS succeeded him; who shortly after falling in loue with a great mans wife, and being taken with her, was slaine by her husband; and ARRIOPERTVS succeeded him. All which obscured the peace with the Empire. And the new Exarch THEODORVS comming into *Italy*, and with him his friend and companion, was very well entertained afterwards in *Rome*: for from the first time of his being there, the people were well content with his government. Remaining certaine daies in *Rome* with his people, and concealing his purpose, he went one day to the palace, as though he had gone to visit the Pope; and seising thereon, apprehended him, and deliuered him to his associate PVLL: who presently departed with him towards *Rauenna*, and speedily took the Sea and went to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor held him for certaine daies prisoner, and then banished him to *Gheriona* in *Pontus*, which was in the confines of the Empire, where he afterwards died, when he had been Bishop of *Rome* six yeeres. A little before this, died the king of the Lombards ARRIOPERTVS, who (as I said) succeeded RODOLPHVS.

This ARRIOPERTVS left behinde him two sonnes, which but young, the one called PERTHERIVS, and the other GYNDIBERTVS; betweene which (each desiring to be absolute) there grew dissension and discord: and GYNDIBERTVS which was the younger rose with *Adrian*; the elder brother which ought to haue been King, remaining in *Paulia*, then the head of that kingdom. When this came to the knowledge of one GRIMOALDVS, a great Captaine of the Lombards, Duke and Gouernour of *Beneuent*, and other towines; he leauing his son ROMOALDVS with a good garrison therein, came to the citie of *Paulia*, which he centred by force, and draue out the young King PERTHERIVS, and took such order in all the rest, as the two bretheren were driuen to abandon their countie; and he remained in their place a mightie King.

The Emperor CONSTANS in *Constantinople*, surmizing that by meanes of the wars which the Lombards made amongst themselves, he comming with any great power might driue them out of *Italy*; this his desire he resolved to put in execution, and to that effect made his sonne CONSTANS his companion in the Empire; that he might remaine in *Constantinople*. And lo preparing a great fleet by Sea, and a great Armeie by land, he came into *Italy* to the citie of *Tarentum*; where landing his men, he marched therewith to ioyne with the ordinarie companies which THEODORVS commanded: GRIMOALDVS the tyrant King of the Lombards (more like a wise and proud Prince, then one that was any way fearful or a coward) had by that time leiued all the power that he was able to make, both to defend himself and to offend his enemy. After many adventures in this warre, the Emperor went to besiege ROMOALDVS the sonne of GRIMOALDVS in *Beneuent*, and did put him and the citie to great distress: shewing himselfe very valiant; he published that he came to restore *Italy* to her former libertie; and that he would againe make *Rome* the seate of the Empire; alleging that it was greater reason to honour the mother, then the daughter. Whether this were faine, or in earnest, I know not; but I am sure the Kings sonne being besieged, sent to his father for aide, who (as I said) was not careless thereof, but daily increased his forces, that hee might bee able to fight with the Emperor. But he staying longer then ROMOALDVS would (for so was the son called)

The death of the
Exarch Olim-
pius.

Theodore sent
into Italy.

The death of
Rotari, king of
the Lombards;
whom Rodol-
phus succeeded.

Pope Martin
apprehended
and sent to
Constantinople.

Pope Martin
died in exile.

The death of
Arriopertus
king of the
Lombards.

Grimoaldus
made king of the
Lombards.

The Emperor
Constans
made his sonne
Constantine
his companion
in the Empire.

The Emperor
Constans in
Italy.

he wrote certain pitiful Letters to his father, by one who was husband to her which had nursed him at her breast: whom the father, meeting vpon the way, sent back again to certifie his sonne of what he had seen, and to tell him that he came to visit him. This man, seeking to gette into the City, was apprehended by the Emperors souldiers: and being brought into his presence, and examined, and his reports found conformable to that whereof he was otherwise aduertised, the Emperor being in great fear, resolved not to abide his coming, desiring first to do some notable exploit, whereby he thought to haue taken the City; but it hapned contrary to his expectation: which I haue thought good to relate for an example to others which are seruants and vassals to Kings and Princes; which was thus:

CONSTANS, promising great matters to his Nurse, requested him to go to the wals; and that, calling the besieged Prince, he should aduise and counsell him to giue vp the City, for that his father was not able to relieue him. And heerewithall he threatned the Nurse, that if hee did not so, hee would presently cause him to be slain. The Nurse, seeing that there was no other way left for him to encourage the Besieged, saining a desire to satisfie the Emperor, promised to perform his command. Whereupon the Emperor, the next night following, commanded him to be brought neer to the wall, with a guard which held him fast bound: and hee, coming thither, called aloud to those within, willing them to call ROMOALDVS to him, for that there was a man which much loued him, desired to speak with him. ROMOALDVS, as soon as he was aduertised heereof, came to the wals, and with a loud voice asked who would speak with him. His Nurse, knowing him well by his speech, and hee him also, answered: It is the Nurse which bringeth you an answer from your father, who willet you to be of good cheer for, this day he arriueth at the River *Satrica*, and within these three daies will bee heer with an infinite Army. I can say no more: for, I am in the enemies hands, who already begin to murder me: I recommend vnto thee my wife and children.

Having said these words, those which were within the City were therewith greatly encouraged: and those without were so much despised, that they presently slue him, by the Emperors commandement: who, not daring to stay any longer (to his great shame and dishonour) raised his siege from before *Beneuent*, and took his way with his Army towards *Naples*. GRIMOALDVS, being comm with a very great Army, sent an excellent Captain cald VITOLIA, with the best and most choice men of the Army to pursue the Emperor: and hee, marching a great pace, ouertook him at the passage of a river called *Calora*. The Emperor, being already passed with the greatest part of his Army, VITOLIA charged his arrieregard: and there began a fierce battell; wherein the Emperors people (for that they could not be seconded by reason of the river) were ouerthrowne, and the most part of them slain: and so the Emperor was driven to retire to *Naples* both with losse and dishonour.

Being to depart from *Naples* to *Rome*, he commanded a Captain of his whose name was SABVRVS, born in *Naples*, that he with twenty thousand chosen men should stay behind to guard that City and Prouince: who more hardy than wife (the Emperor being gone) with the Army aforesaid drew foer to the Lombards, that the Kings sonne, ROMOALDVS, desiring his father to giue him leaue, came with his forces to fight with him; in such sort, that with equal desire of both the Captains the two Armies joynd, with Ensignes displayed: and, after great slaughter of men of the one and other side, the Lombards obtained the victory, and following the chace slue SABVRVS the Generall, and many of his men. The Emperor with all his troops was solemnly receiued into *Rome*, as well by VITILIANVS who then was Pope, as by the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; but he continued there but twelue daies: and when hee had visited the whole City; not as an Emperor and their Lord, but rather like an enemy, hee commanded to be carried out of the City all the best statues of Marble and Metall, of most excellent and curious workmanship, and much gold and siluer, and other rare things: all which being brought aboard his Ships and Gallies, he commanded them presently to depart; and he himself went from *Rome* to *Naples*, without making any prouision against the Lombards: by reason whereof, they became mightier than before.

The Emperor came to *Naples*, purposing to passe ouer into *Sicilia*: and, being past with much people, he went to the City of *Syracusa*, now called *Sarragossa*, hauing (to no purpose) all his Army together in Arms, as though hee had meant to haue done some great exploit; so as men greatly suspected it, and were of sundry opinions. But he did it to no other end, than, vnder colour to repair the harms which he had receiued, with excessive greedinesse to gather the rents and seruices of all the Prouinces of the Empire; and to impose new taxes and tolls in *Africa*, in

The loyalty of a Nurse.

The victory of the Lombards.

Italy, in the Isles of *Sardinia* and *Sigilia*, and in all the rest of his dominions: which as it usually happeneth vnto all Princes which doe so, without iust cause or reason, he grew to be extremely hated through all the Empire; and was afterwards the cause of his death. He remaining thus in the Ile of *Sicilia*, continually feasting and banquetting, neuer leaving to require loanes and imposts, and to lay new impositions vpon the people, reasoning and pilling them through out all the land, and in *Africa* and *Italy* in like manner; and being hated of all men, the *Sicilians* adu ventured vpon a day (he being in a bath) to kill him; by the direction and commandement of a Captain of his called MICELENTIUS, or as others write, MEZENCIVS and MAORNICIVS, a bold audacious fellow and well beloued, more for the constitution of his body (which was very comely, tall, and well proportioned) then for his valour, or no billicie.

This happened in the leauen and twentieth yeere of his reignes, and in the yeere of our Lord, six hundred sixtie and eight. CONSTANS left behinde him three sons; CONSTANTINE who remained in *Constantinople*, for CESAR and gouernor, HERACLIUS and TIBERTVS. About this time in *Italy* dyed King, GRIMOALDVS, whom we but now said to haue made warres with the Emperor; and he being dead, thither came out of *France*, whither before hee had fled for refuge, PARTHARIS, of PARTHERITYS King ARRIOPERTVS sonne, whom GRIMOALDVS had throwne out of *Paule*, and deprived of his estate, as we haue already related.

Constans slain by the Sicilians in a bath.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND SEVENTH ROMANE EMPEVOVR.

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HE Emperour CONSTANS (as I haue sayd) was slaine in *Sarragossa* in *Sicilia*: and as soone as he was dead, MEZENCIVS who caused him to be slaine, or (after some) whom he himselfe slue, with the fauour of those which assisted him in that action, tooke vpon him the title of Emperour, and for the present, all the rest of the people of *Sicilia* approued and confirmed the same, more for the desire of innovations which are euer pleasing, then for any good liking they had to his person. Whereof the Emperors son CONSTANTINE was soone aduertised, who then remained in *Constantinople*, and held the name of Emperour, and had done so euer since his father departed thence; and was therewith so much perplexed & in such feare, considering the strangenesse of the accident, as he for the time not

Mezenicus made Emperour.

only had not the heart to doe ought in reuenge of his fathers death, but was also in feare to haue lost the name of Emperour, which he then held; and therewithall scarcely durst maintaine what he possessed in *Grecia*. The like in a manner befell THEODORE the Exarch or gouernor of *Italy*: for notwithstanding that hee had a good troope of souldiers, well trained, and of good experience; yet he durst not seeme to bee greatly grieved for the death of his sovereigne LORDS; neither to attempt ought against MEZENCIVS. The cause was for that

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all

all the people greatly reioyced at his death; for he was generally hated for his couctousnesse.

In this confusion all things passed for some daies; all men expecting the successe of the new tyrant; not daring to declare themselves either for the one or other partie; for he had with him many good men of warre. But as his entrie was by treason, and grounded vpon an ill foundation; and in him were neither the vertues nor merites requisite in an Emperor, the Captaines and men of warre began to murmur as what hee had done, and to wish his death; which was speedily published, and it gaue all men occasion to take heart, and to seeke reuenge for the treason and murder committed vpon the person of the dead Emperor **CONSTANS**: The first were the Italians; and so **THEODOR** the Exarch began to stirre, leuying and mustering forces, therewith to passe into *Stilia*, as he did; and the companies which were in the prouinces of *Africa* did the like; whereto the peace with the Sarazins and other nations, was a great helpe, for it seemeth, that **CONSTANS** being in *Stilia* so accompanied with men of warre, they durst not make warre against him. These great forces comming into *Stilia* against **M. ZENCIVS**, and he being slenderly supported by his owne people, was in short space taken and slaine; and many of his friends which were with him, were taken and caried prisoners to *Constantinople*, to the young Emperor **CONSTANTINE**; who presently after this victorie began euery where to be obeyed and held for Emperor, and tooke vpon him the resolution and courage of a Prince. Some also write that he went into *Stilia*. And notwithstanding that afterwards hee proueda good and virtuous Emperour; yet in his beginning he committed a most cruell fact, which was; to put to death his younger brothers, thereby to liue assured that they should not seeke to deprime him of the Empire; and some also write that he caused the toppes of their noses to be cut off: but the truth is, that he commanded them to be slaine; and so he became Lord of the whole Empire, without any difficultie.

But the Sarazins, Mahometits, and **PHADALAS** of *SOPHIA*s their King, seeing this combustion, and the fit oportunitie to invade the Empire, by reason of the before recited accidents in *Stilia*, and also for that it seemed that **CONSTANTINE** was not yet firmly settled in his throne; they as closely and covertly as might berigged a mightie naue at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*; with a resolution to invade *Thracia*, and *Gracia*; and if the dissenion happened which they expected, then to take those prouinces: but afterwards as matters proued better in *Constantinople*, then was hoped for; they altered their determination, and invaded *Stilia*, which was full of people of men of war: and they came with such force and power, as they entered the citie of *Sarragossa*, and some other towne; where robbing and spoiling, they continued certaine daies; and it seeming to them an hard matter to hold those places, carrying away with them an infinite number of prisoners and great richesse of gold, siluer, and other iewels; they returned to *Alexandria*.

In the Constantinopolitane Commentaries I find this warre written more at large; where it is affirmed, that they first made warre on the borders of *Thracia* and *Gracia*, the space of many daies, and tooke many places; and that in the end being repelled thence by the Emperor, they went to *Stilia*, so writeth **ZONARAS**: but after the first manner, writeth **PAVLVS DIACONVS**, an Author neere to that time, and afterwards others of lesse antiquity. I sometimes set downe the sundry opinions of Authors (although it shall not beneedfull alwayes to doe so;) to satisfie the curious Readers, that they may not condemne my History, finding therein any thing contrary or differing from that they shall read in some others. But although that I doe not alwayes thus, let them rest assured that I follow an Author, which writeth it as I relate it; for in the diuersity of opinions, I follow that which seemeth to be most true and probable, weighing all coniectures: and when I cannot or desire not to doe so, I briefly set downe both opinions; as now I haue done. That which to mee seemeth to be the most certaine, is, that they first invaded *Stilia*; and did as I haue related; and afterwards raising greater power through their successe and victory, there ensued that which these Authours set downe, which is, that they a long time made warre on the Coast of *Gracia*, and the confines of *Constantinople*; where they tooke many places; out of which by the diligence and valour of the Emperour, they were driuen by force: this warre lasted full sixe yeeres.

All authors affirme that **CONSTANTINE** herewith not contented, sent a great Armie by land against the Mahometicke Sarazins, into the prouince of *Soria*, which is the antient *Syria*, which fought with all their whole power, and the Christians obtained the victorie; and of the infidels were slaine thirty thousand. And they were brought to such distresse, as their

Prince

Prince or King, whose name was **MAVIAS**, sent to intreate the Emperor for peace, offering very profitable and honourable conditions; and thereby bound himselfe to pay yeerely to the Emperour, a great number of pounds or markes of golde; and for the present, to releafe many thousand prisoners, which he held captiues: whereupon the peace was graunted and confirmed by **CONSTANTINE**, to ease himselfe of that trouble; that he might apply himselfe to the reformation of some other matters concerning the Christian faith, for hee was concerning what hee ought to beleue, a very good Christian. This was concluded in the tenth yeere of his reigne.

But there presently ensued another trouble and a warre equal to the former; which was, that a certaine people of the prouinces of *Scythia* (the fontaine of many others before mentioned) called Bulgarians; not those which I heretofore spake of, but others, of the same name and nation, came downe into *Thracia*, being in number aboute one hundred thousand persons; and they began to make warre in the Empire, with a desire to take some good countree, wherein they might dwell and inhabit, as many other nations before them had done. For the Northern countries are barren and ill inhabited; yet by reason of the cold, men multiplie and encrease in them exceedingly; as we daily see by experience, and **PAVLVS DIACONVS** noteth the same. The furie wherewith this people came, was so great, as they did infinite harme; and they made themselves Lords of some especiall countries; which being made knowne to the Emperour (in whom there wanted not the courage of a valiant Prince) he raised his forces, and in his owne person went to defend his subiects; and the war for some daies was very sharpe and cruell; and the Bulgarians sought to fight with him in the plaine field: which he (presuming much of his people) as a valiant Prince, refused not; so as they fought with banners displayed, which battaile was exceeding terrible. But it seemeth that through some his ill direction, or the great force of his aduersaries, the Emperour was ouerthrowne, and many of his people slaine, and he himselfe was constrained to vse the common remedy of those which are overcome, which is to flee; by that meane to escape and to saue his life. And as in the battaile he had done what he was able; so afterwards gathering his people together, he retired with great good order and discretion. But it pleased God that at what time, as it seemed, and when it was feared, that the Bulgarians would haue brought the Empire into great distresse, merely of their owne accord they sent to the Emperour, and suing for peace desired him to giue them some place where they might inhabit, and they would become his friends, yea and his subiects; whereto he gaue care (considering his present estate,) with a very good will. And so treating of the matter for a certaine space, the prouince of the lower *Asia* was assigned vnto them, and was (after their name) called *Bulgaria*; wherein they haue quietly and peaceably inhabited, vntill that of late yeeres they were subdued and conquered by the Turkes; a new scourge and plague to the Christians, after **MAHOMET**.

While these things passed in *Stilia*, in *Gracia*, and in *Asia*, which was during the space of tenne yeeres; in *Italy* although there were peace betweene the Lombards and Italians, yet there failed not other miseries and persecutions: And there happened so great and so many tempests and alterations in the air, as it seemed that the foure elements had conspired against mankind: for the windes were so furious and violent, as they ouerthrew many buildings, and rent vp many trees by the rootes: and the raine likewise was so great and tempestuous, as it destroyed all their tillage, as well for bread-corne as all other kind of heabes and feedes: And therewith fell an infinite number of thunderbolts, and fires from heauen, which slew a great number of people: and the earth with these so great alterations became so corrupt, as there ensued many contagious diseases. Wherefore the people repenting them of their sinnes, made their prayers and supplications to God, that it would please him to cease these so great calamities: but yet the reliques thereof remained a long time after.

At this time died Pope **DEODATVS**, and by reason of his death the seate was voided foure months: making a new election in *Rome*, **DOCVS** onely so called, was chosen Pope, who was held for a Saint, and liued two yeeres and a halfe (as satir **PLATINA**). In his time **THEODOR** Archbishop of *Ravenna* wholly submitted himselfe to the Church of *Rome*, whereas some of his predecessors, with the fauor of the Exarchs or gouernors had before him denied the same. Others (amongst which is **BLONDVS**) affirme, that this hapned in the time of his successor **AOCTHVS**, wholued two yeers & a half: in which time, although but short, he treated with the Emperour concerning a general council to be held, principally against the heresy of the Monothelites, which was disperised ouer all the Churches of *Gracia*, which confounded the

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two

Mexenius
flaine.

Constantine
made Emperour.

The Sarazins
made warre in
Stilia.

Mauis King of
the Sarazins
fought with the
Emperour Con-
stantine for
peace.

Warre be-
tweene the Em-
perour and the
Bulgarians.

A battaile be-
tweene Con-
stantine and
the Bulgarians,
wherein he was
ouerthrowne
and put to
flight.

The Bulgarians
sue to Con-
stantine for
peace.

The prouince
of *Serua* giuen
to the Bulga-
rians, and there-
fore called Bul-
garia.

Wonderfull al-
teration of the
elements in
Italy.

A Council held
in Constan-
tinople.

Victory of the
Christians a-
gainst the Saraz-
ins.

two Natures in CHRIST, Humane and Diuine; affirming that in him was but a will only. And so for this time the Greeke Church remained vnited with the Latine: but it pleased G.O.D afterwards to suffer it to come (as wee now see) into the power and subiection of Infidels.

In this Councell were many other matters handled concerning the reformation of the Church and the Ceremonies thereof; and this was the sixt of those Councels vvchich for their excellencies were so renowned and famous, and among the rest called Vniuersall. Great was the reputation which the Emperour CONSTANTINE purchased to haue celebrated this Councell in his time, and to haue finished so holy a worke. Within few dayes after, Pope AGATHVS dyed, by whose authority it had been called; and LABO the second borne in Sicillie succeeded him, who was worthily aduanced, being learned, eloquent and of a holy life: he ordained the Paxe to be giuen in the Church, which is obserued in the Church of Rome vntill this day. He being dead, BENEDICT the second succeeded him: with whose election the Emperour was so well pleased, as after he had confirmed the same, he renounced the right and custome which the Emperours held to confirme the election of Popes; to the end that from thenceforth, as soone as by the Clergy they were chosen, they might vse their authority, without any need of the Emperours confirmation, or of their Exarchs or gouernours, as of long time they had vsed.

CONSTANTINE living in this prosperity, had peace with the Sarazins; and the Provinces of Africa, and the Ile of Sicilia were in quiet, and so was Italie: for the Lombards being at variance and dissension among themselves, very firmly maintained the peace with the Empire: and the estates of Gracia with the territorie of Constantinople, were all in very quiet subiection. But this good forme and manner of gouernment, was disturbed by the Emperours death, which shortly after ensued, when hee had reigned seuentene yeeres, and had protected and defended the Empire which he inherited, with iustice and equity, reforming exours in the Christian Religion, as aforelaid. And thus it was, that falling grieuously sicke in Constantinople, and the incurableness of his disease being in short space bruited abroad through the World (as vually it happeneth) in some parts his death vvvas published before that hee was dead: vvhereof GIZET King of the Sarazins, vvhom they called AMVRA-RES, being aduertised, and beleeuing the same to bee true, with all haste leuied a very great Army both by Sea and Land, which hee forth-with sent from Egypt, and conquered all the coast of Africa to Carthage: wherein, by reason of the Emperours death, hee found no sufficient resistance.

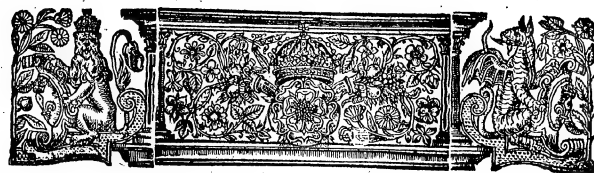
Warres made by
Gizet King
of the Sarazins.

The death of the
Emperour Con-
stantine.

The warres of Africa proceeding in this manner, the Emperour dyed before hee was able to provide for the same, as hee would haue done if hee had liued. Hee departed out of this World in theyere of our Lord, fixe hundred fourescore and fixe; his wifes name was ANASTASIA, by whom hee had lawfull Heires; of which IVSTINIAN and IVSTIN succeeded him in the Empire; as presently shall be declared.



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THE
LIFE OF IVSTINIAN, THE
SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND
THRESCORE AND EIGHT
ROMANE EMPEVOVR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.

His Emperour attained to the dignitie being very young: in the beginning of his raigne he made warres against the Turkes, and constrained them to sue for peace: which for that he maintained not, it so hapned that losing a battaile in the second war, he was driven to sue for peace and returning home with disgrace was depose from his Empire, hauing his nose and his eares cut off: and in his place LEONCIUS, a captaine of his was made Emperour. Afterwards another of his Captaines, whose name was TIBERIUS, rose against LEONCIUS, and depose him from the Empire, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, with a determination to haue put him to death with greater torment. Which TIBERIUS, was likewise driven out of the Empire by IULIANIAN who with the aide of his father in law the King of Buanaria, returned and recovered the Empire: vvherein vvhen hee had but little good success, he was compelled to returne home, to his great shame and dishonour. And beginning to stand in feare of one PHILIPPICUS, vvhom TIBERIUS had banished, and seeking meanes to kill him; PHILIPPICUS rebelled against him, and being made Emperour came to a battaile, vvherein both Iulianian and his sonne TIBERIUS miserably ended their tragedies, represented in this scene of the world vvith such varietie of fortune, as neuer any other Emperour was so much tossed and turmoiled as hee was: and hee gouerned the Empire at both times fixe and twentie yeeres.



It is a rule in Rhetorike, obserued by great Orators, in the beginning of what they purpose to treat of, whether in writing, or pleading, to procure the attention, and willing audience of their hearers, or readers: which is principally done when they extol or magnifie that which they haue to say; letting them know that it shall be very pleasing or profitable: for vvith a desire to know some great matter, or moued vvith the greedines of profit, or allured vvith the hope of the delight and contentment which is promised; they attentively heare, or willingly reade what is proposed: yet the author must vvayles be carefull to performe what he doth promise, and that in his speech he come not short of the expectation held of him.

Comming now to write the life of the Emperour IVSTINIAN the second, I come to the Emperour CONSTANTINE the fourth, vvith an imagination to bee found true in vvhat I shall say, and that he vvich shall reade the same shall not be deceived, I entreate the reader to be attentive. And although I tell not vvonders and marvellous things happened in the heavens and on earth: yet truly he vvich vvith attention shall reade the historie of fifteen yeeres succeeding, shall see a pleasant and strange Comedie, vvich Fortune, or (to say better) the world represented in those times. The principall and chiefe parts vvhereof, we may say, vvcre acted in the

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person

A rule in Rhetorike.

B 36

Iustinian his
warre.

person of I V S T I N I A N ; who sometimes as an Emperour, and sometimes as a private man, came vpon the stage : I may very well say so, seeing that hee was twice chosen and obeyed, and twice also vterly depriued and bereaued of his Empire : so as it seemed hee went in and out, making a shew vpon the theatre of the world : and with him other two or three Emperors or tyrants, which were in his time : as L E O N C I V S , T I B E R I V S , and P H I L I P P I C V S : which like actors in a tragedy did nothing but put off and on their masks : for sometimes you should see them come in with a nose, and sometimes noselesse : sometimes by force, and sometime by fauour, the one supplanting the other. Finally, I say that in my opinion, this historie seemeth to be like an old viues tale, or a fained fable, only to depaint some strange adventures, or great misfortunes, it being for certaine a most true history : from which may be drawne a notable example of the inconstancie and vncertainty of the estate of this life, and lightly to account thereof ; and to the end that men leaue to toyle and to take such care for the obtaining of riches and soueraignie ; and that they grow not proud when they haue attained the same, neither be greened or dismaied when they lose them, but alwaies account them for doubtfull, without any firme continuance : considering what perill and danger they vndergoe in getting them, and how little assurance they haue to enioy them.

Comming now to our historie, it passed thus : After the death of the Emperour C O N S T A N T I N E , as he held the Empire in good order and government in his life time ; so his sonne I V S T I N I A N after his decess found no difficultie, but was gladly received and obeyed of all men ; and notwithstanding that he was very young, being but sixteene yeeres old, yet he began peaceably to gouerne his Empire ; saying that in *Africa* in the time of his fathers sickness, and after his decess, the Sarazins became Lords of a great part thereof.

In the beginning of his raigne hee commanded great forces to be leuied, for the defence and recouerie of *Africa* ; and as to a new Prince, so many and so good men of warre made reparaire vnto him, as the Sarazins stood in feare of him. Wherefore V A L D V L A their King and Captaine which succeeded G I Z T B (the authois differ much in these names) sent to him for peace : and for as much as he offered very large conditions, I V S T I N I A N granted the same for ten yeeres. The first of which was, that he should restore all that which hee held in *Africa* ; which was the Citie of *Carthage*, and all that which lieth betwene that and *Egypt*, neere vnto the Sea side, besides other contributions of money and horses, which were to be paid vnto him yeerely : and this peace being confirmed, there was generally peace through the whole Empire, without any suspicion of warre : yea and some Historians report, that there was an vniuersall peace through all the world : so as neither the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, nor *England*, neither the Princes of *Germany*, or the Kings of the *Bavarians*, of *Slauonia*, of *Misia*, of *Bulgaria*, neither the Hunnes which inhabited *Hungarie*, among themselves had any warres, or were at contention with any others : The like was in the estates and Prouinces of the East. Which peace and concord I V S T I N I A N through pride and euill counsell disturbed, by warring contrary to his promise and agreement made with the Sarazins which hee began very resolutely with great preparation : and after that he had sent L E O N C I V S for his Generall, he went in person and did much harme, and recovered some Countries in *Soria*, and entred *Mesopotamia*, where the Sarazins reinforcing their troupes, and repairing their Armies, gathered together an infinite number of them, and came to giue him bataille : which the yong Emperour refused not ; but yet after great slaughter of his people he was overcome, and driuen to flic, and to abandon what he had recovered, being brought to such extremitie, as he was forced to sue and entreat them for peace : which after many treaties and demands was concluded, & the Sarazins for that time remained in quiet. In this time died T H E O D O R Exarch or Gouvernor of *Italie*, and in his place was sent another prime man called I O H N , and Pope C O N O N afore sayd also dyed : after much controuersie about the election of a new Bishop, for an Archbishop called T H E O D O R E , and another called P A S C A L , sought to haue been Popes, and with money had bribed the Exarch I O H N , to assit them with his voice and fauour ; the matter being likely to haue come to blowes, they all agreed to chuse one whose name was S E R G I V S , borne in the Citie of *Antioch* in *Syria*, who was chosen and obeyed for Pope : yet afterwards there were some tumults about that matter, which concern me not.

In those daies died C A M P E R T V S , who then was King of the Lombards, and there succeeded a sonne of his called L I M B E R T V S , of whom we haue not made any mention, for that they liued in peace with the Italians and the Emperours subiects. The Emperour I V S T I N I A N being returned out of *Asia* or *Constantinople*, with great losse and disgrace for the warre afore-
said

Iustinian con-
trary to his
league, made
warres against
the Sarazins,
and what
ensued.

said ; repairing his losses received, and making new provision with little discretion and worse direction, resolved to begin the war againe : wherein he had no better successe then in the former : And this was against the Bulgarians which inhabited *Misia*, with whom his father had made a perpetuall league of amity ; and I V S T I N I A N (as a light inconstant young man) breaking the conditions, entred their Country with a great Armie, with such power and fury, as neither the Bulgarians, nor their King durst take the field to giue him bataille, but retired, and abandoning many places, fortified themselves in the strongest ; which so much emboldened the Emperour ; as he prosecuted this warre with lesse heede and circumspection, then so important a case required : which when the Bulgarians perceived, recovering courage, they assembled a multitude of men : & cutting off all victuals from the Emperours Army, & stopping the passages of certaine riuers, they brought him to such extremitie, that although he would retire, he found so great danger and difficultie therein, as he was compelled to sue to them for peace, against whom, of his owne minde, voluntarily and without reason he had made warre ; which they granted, vpon condition that he should restore to them all the prisoner, and the Townes and other things which hee had taken : And that hee should personally sweare, well and faithfully to maintaine the same, as well by himselfe as by all his Princes and chiefe Captaines.

I V S T I N I A N returning from this journey, with no more honour then from the first, caused a new Councell to be assembled in *Constantinople*, to disannull that which in the former had been determined, concerning certaine points in religion : The Pope being herewith discontented, sent his Legates to hold his place there, and to see what the Councell would treat of : wherein by the Emperours authoritie there were some things handled against the resolution of the last Councell : whereof the Pope being aduertised, he reproved and disannulled what was there concluded ; and confirmed the last Councell, and sent commandement to dissolve the present. Wherewith the Emperour was so highly displeased, as hee presently sent Z A C H A R I A S the Commander General of all his men of warre, to *Rome*, with commission to apprehend the Pope, and to send him to *Constantinople*.

Z A C H A R I E being arrived in *Italy* about this exploit, notwithstanding that he dissembled the matter, yet was it soone discouered, and S E R G I V S had so wonne the hearts of the people, that all the companies which lay in *Ravenna*, and the marches thereof, and in other parts of *Italie*, came with all speede to *Rome*, with intent to haue slaine Z A C H A R I E , and to haue released the Pope, whom Z A C H A R I E had already seized on. When Z A C H A R I E vnderstood with what furie these men of warre came against him, despairing of any other remedie, he yielded himselfe to the Popes mercie, whom he then held prisoner : And the Pope pardoning the offence, protected him, and hid him in his Palace ; then sitting in his Throne, holding a great state, he attended the comming of the Armie which came from *Ravenna*, together with the Roman people : who very earnestly desiring him to deliuer Z A C H A R I E into their hands, he made an Oration vnto them, perswading them to moderate their displeasure, seeing that he had pardoned the offence : whereto they all consented, and Z A C H A R I E , being brought into his presence, had leaue to depart, although with much shame and disgrace. And the Pope so cunningly handled the matter, that he brought the Emperour into such hatred, and made him so odious to the people, as their whole studie was how to depose him from the Empire : and as they were all willing thereto, the effect easily ensued.

I V S T I N I A N having represented (as I said) the first act of the Tragedie, a great Captaine called L E O N C I V S before mentioned, whom he had of long time held prisoner, resolved to rebell against him : and having secretly conferred of the matter with G A L L I C A N V S the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and with his other friends ; vpon a day hee suddenly came from his house, accompanied with many armed-men ; and gathering men together against the Emperour, he went to the Prisons, and set all the prisoners at libertie ; and the people very willingly accompanying him, he went to the Emperours palace, where he easily apprehended him : And proclaiming himselfe Emperour, depriued the other of his Empire ; and he was crowned with great ioy of the people, which euer delighteth in nouelties, but chiefly with the change of Princes, and great Magistrates ; for the present estate doth neuer please them, they euer commend that which is past, and still desire a new.

L E O N C I V S was crowned, and I V S T I N I A N had his eares and his nose cut off, and some say his tongue also, to make him seeme vgly and the more to be abhorred ; and having brought him to this estate, he banished him for euer, to the Citie of *Cherson* in *Pontus*, the further-
said

Warre made by
Constantine
against the Bul-
garians.Constantine
sued to the Bul-
garians for
peace.The Pope began
to contend with
the Emperour.
Pope Sergius
dissolved the
Councell assem-
bled by the Em-
perour, Constanti-
ne.Leoncius re-
belled against
the Emperour.Leoncius made
Emperour.

thermost bounds of the Empire. Which befell him in the tenth year of his reign; and in the yeere of our Lord G O D 696, yet some say more; where let vs leave him for some space, whilst that L E O N C I V S may in the meane time act his part of the Tragedy which we promised.

The great hatred which the people bare against the Emperour I V S T I N I A N, was the chiefe occasion that moued the Tyrant L E O N C I V S to rebell and take vpon him the name and state of Emperour: for I V S T I N I A N was brought into such hatred with the people, that they would haue accepted of any man that had dared to attempt to haue made himselfe Emperour; and much sooner of L E O N C I V S, who was a vallant and expert man of warre, and had held great charges and offices. In the beginning all things succeeded according to his desire; for I V S T I N I A N had heighth the heart nor meanes, during his banishment, to restore himselfe; neither was there found any resistance or contradiction in any other man in the Empire: and so L E O N C I V S began to enioy his Empire in peace. But the Sarazins or Agarenes and H A D I M I L E C H their King, who already had a resolution to subuert and wholly to ruine the Empire, seeing the dissension therein, and not holding the state of L E O N C I V S firme, with a great and mightie Armie from Egypt (as at other times they had done) they intailed the Prouinces of Africa, and took many Cities and strong holds therein: against whom L E O N C I V S, with no small feare and care, sent a singular Capitaine called I O H N, but he gaue him no such Army as he might be able to giue his enemies battaile; by reason whereof, he was constrained by policie and stratagems, to maintain the warres; so as he defended the Countrey for some time, daily soliciting the Emperour, to send him such supple of souldiers, as therewith he might be able to fight with them: and seeing that neither by Letters nor messengers, he could obtaine his suite, vpon a time when he thought his absence might be least prejudiciall; leaving his Army in the best order he could, and a very good Capitaine called T I B E R I V S A S S I M A R V S for commander in his place; he tooke his way towards Constantinople, to conferre with L E O N C I V S about the sending of some better supple for the wates of Africa, and coming suddenly thither, he found not that promise which he expected and was needfull, and therefore was driuen to stay longer then was expedient, for the Emperour busying himselfe about other matters of small moment, tooke least care for those things which were of greatest importance.

The Army in Africa seeing his long absence, began to murmur against their Capitaine, for so leaving them; and likewise against the Emperour L E O N C I V S: and from murmuring in speeches, they became so audacious, as to perswade T I B E R I V S A S S I M A R V S, (who was left for their commander, to make himselfe Emperour; and he was presently created and obeyed by the whole Armie. And as ambition and desire to command is a thing which chiefly inflameth the hearts of men; so T I B E R I V S to his owne ruine, accepted that which they offered him; as hereafter this Historie shall make manifest. But as he was neither carelesse nor a coward, so he speedily, when he had taken vpon him the title of Emperour, resolute to get the possession and gouernement thereof; and preparing with the greatest haste that might be to take the Emperour L E O N C I V S vnprovided, he departed from Africa, abandoning the same to the Infidels, which was the cause that afterwards it was wholly lost: and he with a very good fleet brought his people to the coast of Greece, where, with the aid and fauour of his friends and kined which were on Land, he took harbor, and came to Constantinople, wherein L E O N C I V S had fortified himself, thinking to defend the same: whereupon they came to blowes, without any just cause of either side; for, hee which came to deprime the Tyrant, did it to the end to bee so himself: but in the end he prevailed, and T I B E R I V S entred by force, and became Lord both of the City and of L E O N C I V S, although not without much trouble, and slaughter of many men. And vpon L E O N C I V S he commanded the same punishment to bee inflicted which he had giuen to I V S T I N I A N, which was, To haue his nose and ears cut off; and to be committed to perpetuall imprisonment; with an intent to haue shewed him greater cruelty; L E O N C I V S hauing reigned three yeeres only: which was about the yeere of our Lord six hundred ninety and nine. After this manner L E O N C I V S left the Theatre, and T I B E R I V S played his part, during the time that L E O N C I V S was in prison, and I V S T I N I A N banished; and vntill such time as I V S T I N I A N returned to the stage, which was as soone as T I B E R I V S had acted his part.

In such manner as I haue declared, T I B E R I V S tyrannized the Empire, and as it may be conjectured by Histories, had continued long, if he could haue bene contented, and not haue attempted

attempted more than was fit for him to haue done; so as he himself wrought his owne confusion. The first thing he did after that he was Lord and absolute, was, To command many of L E O N C I V S his friends to bee either slain or depouled of their goods; as Fauorites of a Tyrant. And truly he had reason on his side, if he had had authority to haue inflicted such punishment, and had not himself been guilty of the same crime, and been a Traitor and a Tyrant to him to whom he had sworn fidelity, as to his Emperour; and also to the Commander who left him in his place; punishing the treason wherein he himself had been a partaker, and had approved the same. And this his holy zeal extended it self so farre, that a great familiar friend of his whose name was P H I L I P P I C V S, and who had greatly aided him in his enterprize, and to bring him to that estate, only for saying that vpon a night in his sleep he dreamt that an Eagle alighted vpon his head (imagining that to prognosticate him to be an Emperour) he was by his commandement apprehended and banished into an Iland, where hee could haue no conference or society with any body; notwithstanding that hee was a Noble Gentleman, and of high parentage: from whence he afterwards sent him to the City of *Chersona*, whither the depouled Emperour I V S T I N I A N was also banished. We will tell you hereafter what hapned to this P H I L I P P I C V S: for, he was one of the Actors in this Comedie.

T I B E R I V S, hauing executed these his cruelties, sent his brother H E R A C L I V S with an Armie to aid the Armenians, who in antient time had been subject to the Empire, and now rebelled against the Infidels; where he won a great battell, and slue a great number of them: but it seemeth that he did not long enjoy the victory; for, the Infidels in proceesse of time prevailed, and their Empire greatly encreased. In *Italie* also there fell discord and dissension between the Lombards and Italians, who had liued together a long time in peace. The cause whereof was, for that T I B E R I V S, through the death or absence of I O H N the Exarch about named, sent into *Italie* for Exarch or Gouernor, a Chamberlain of his called T H E O P H I L A T V S; where with all *Italie* was much grieved: for, the greatest part thereof now pretended to bee subject to the Pope; or at least hated the gouernment and Empire of the Greeks. T H E O P H I L A T V S came not to *Rauenma* as his Predecessors vsed to doo, but landed in *Sicilia*, from thence to come to *Rome*: which when it was published, all the companies which lay in *Rauenma*, and in other places, came to *Rome*, attending his coming; rather as an enemy, than as their Generall: and so being arriued, if I O H N which at that time was Pope had not protected him, hee had been slain. But through his fauour he had liberty to depart and go to *Rauenma*, being out of hope to do what he had projected; for, in *Rome* they would not obey him. Whereupon he procured the Lombards to make war against the Romans, or at least against those Cities which the Romans held neere to *Rome*; principally *Beneuent*: whereof was Duke and Gouernor a great man called S I S Y L P H V S, who was therewith much annoyed; but the Pope repaired all his losses with his riches and treasure; and, buying peace, the estate of *Italie* recovered rest and quiet. But our Lord would not permit T I B E R I V S to rest in peace: for, waxing jealous of the Emperour I V S T I N I A N, which carelesse and noselesse liued an exile in *Chersona*, or, as some say, understanding that I V S T I N I A N intended to procure aid to recover the Empire, whereof hee was dispossest by the Emperour L E O N C I V S, hee began to practise his death; and to that effect sent some to deal with the Inhabitants of that City.

I V S T I N I A N being aduertised hereof, and standing in great feare of his life, in the best manner he could, took shipping; and sailing ouer the Sea called *Euxinum* or Ponticum, landed in *Europe*, and came to the King of the Bauarians, who was a very mighty Prince; by whom he was not only well received, but was also married to his sister or daughter. And he appointed him an house and estate, promising him all aide and fauour to restore him; so as there began to be a great alteration throughout all the Empire, seeing that I V S T I N I A N was now to returne to play his part vpon the Theatre of this world. T I B E R I V S being aduertised hereof, tooke it to heart (as indeede he had reason) and imagining that he should preuaile little by force, he practised to see whether money would take effect, which commonly can doe more then cyther sword or lance; and to that effect dealt with C A Y A N V S (for as I said so the Bauarians called their King) to deliuer I V S T I N I A N into his hands; for whom he would giue him a great sum of money. And this couetous and inconstant King, greedy thereof, agreed with him vpon the summe, and promised to accomplish his desire: and being ready to haue put it in execution, by chance I V S T I N I A N had intelligence thereof; and so alone pursued by him which was either his father in law, or his brother in law, he escaped by flight. About one yeer after that hee had long wandered, he went to the King of *Bulgaria*, whose name was T H E B E L L I V S; who pitying

The Sarazins
invade Africa.

Abimarus
created Emper-
our.

The issue of A-
frica.

Leoncius de-
posed by Tibe-
rius.

Leoncius had
his nose & ears
cut off.

Philippicus
banished for a
dream.

Theophilatus
Exarch of Italy.

Tiberius
sought to put
Iustinian to
death.

Iustinian fled to
the King of the
Bauarians, with
whom he made
alliance.

Tiberius prac-
tised with the
King of the Bau-
arians to deli-
uer Iustinian
into his hands
for money.

Iustinian saved
by the King of

the Bulgarian,
by whose aide he
returned to
Constantinople,
and put Leonicus
and Tiberius to death.

Iustinian made
Tiberius his
brother to be
hanged.

Iustinian made
the Patriarch of
Constantinople
his eyes to be
put out.

Iustinian
returned to his
Empire.

pitieyng his calamitie, gaue him great entertainment; and in short space made so great prouision of men and armes, as he took his way with him towards *Constantinople*, where were many which desired his returne, for the hatred they bare to *TIBERIVS*. To be briefe, in short time and with little difficultie, although with some effusion of blood, he came to the Imperiall citie, and entering it by force *TIBERIVS* fled: but being afterwards overtaken and brought backe into his power, he committed him to that prison wherein *LEONICVS* was, whom hee had deposed and cut off his nose and his eares: and making them both to be first carried through all the publike streetes of the citie, he caused them openly to be slaine, after that *TIBERIVS* had raigned seauen yeeres. Such are the rewards which the world giueth to those, who to beare sway and to commaund, forget God. And so ended these two mightie Emperors, or more properly, proud tyrants. And *IVSTINIAN*, not content to execute his wrath vpon those two alone, caused *TIBERIVS* brother to be hanged; and many of the friends to both of them, to be either spoiled or slaine: the Patriarch *GALLICANVS*, who conspired with *LEONICVS* against him, had his eyes plucked out. And they further report of him, that as often as hee would haue wiped his nose (if he had had it) he caused some of those which had been followers of his enemy *LEONICVS* to be slaine. And so the banished Emperor *IVSTINIAN* recovered his throne and Empire; and returned againe to the theatre, to act the rest of his tragedie, which was nine yeeres after that hee had been cast out of it, in the yeere of our Saviour *IESVS CHRIST* 706.

Presently after that *IVSTINIAN* saw himself restored and settled in his Empire, hauing executed such cruelties, as the like had seldome bin heard of, vpon those he supposed had offended him, he sent great and rich presents to *TREBELLIVS* King of *Bulgaria*, who had holpen him to recouer his Empire, with a very solemne and pleasing ambassage: but as it shall hereafter appeare, he continued but a while so gratefull. He also sent for his wife *THEODORA*, daughter of *CAYANVS* King of the *Bauarians*, from whose Court he fled, who lived in a certaine place absent from her father: for as some write, she aduertised her husband of the treason which her father pretended against him. And she being come, he made her to be honoured as Empresse and Augusta: and his young sonne whom he had by her in the time of his exile, he caused to be chosen and called Emperor. Other matters concerning his government and execution of justice, were corrupt and out of order: for as the Princes were wicked, so were the subiects; for such as the head, such are the members: so that so farre as I can coniecture, these were the most miserable and lamentable times, that euer the Christian Common-wealth endured since *CHRIST* was borne; GOD permitting it for a punishment of the wicked, wherewith the world did then abound; and for the greater reward of those which suffered amongst them: for besides the wars & troubles of the tyrannizing Emperors, there was so little faith and feare of God, that the Church lost then all the prouinces of *Africa*, wherein, in steede of Christ perfect God and man, *MAHOMET* is adored and worshipt vnto this day, without recouery. Which to relate in such manner as it passed, I neither haue time, neither find I it distinctly written: but that after that *TIBERIVS* went thence with the name of Emperor, and deposed *LEONICVS* from the Empire; the Sarazins seeing the countrie abandoned, came out of *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and other Prouinces of the East, and made a conquest thereof; finding so small resistance, that within the space of foure yeeres they became Lords of all the Countreies, from *Egypt*, vnto the Prouince of *Mauritania Tingitania*, and to that which now is *Cenia*, *Tangiar* and *Arzila*: wherfore we call those of *Mauritania*, *Mauri* or *Moorcs* and *Arabians*, for that they came out of *Arabia*; being 170 yeeres after that *Africa* was recovered from the Vandales, and had serued and been subject to the Empire. And within ten yeeres after, with the ioy of their victorie (*DON RODRIGO* then reigning King in *Spain*) they being ayded by a traiterous Earle called *DON IULIAN*, and others, they came ouer into *Spain*, and in three yeeres conquered almost all the countrie, slaying in battaile King *RODRIGO*, and the most part of the *Goths*, excepting some few which liued in the Mountaines of *Biscay*, *Galicia* and *Ouiedo*: from whence afterwards (although abandoned by the Christian Kings and Princes) they haue by little and little, not without great trouble and effusion of much blood, recovered their countrie: and finally about 100 yeeres since, the Infidels were driuen out of all *Spain* by King *FERNAND* and Queen *ISABEL*. So as if other Christian kings had done their parts as well as the Kings of *Spain*, it is to be thought that Christendome had not been so much diminished, but had againe recovered what it then lost, and had been restored to that greatnes wherein it was in the time of some ancient Emperors. But seeing it is the iudgement of God, we will leaue it to him, and re-

The Iustitie con-
quered Africa.

The conquest of
Spain by the
Infidels Moors.

turne

turne to our Historie, which is of the Emperors onely. *IVSTINIAN* being in *Constantinople*, executing his cruelties against the friends and kinsfolks of *TIBERIVS* and *LEONICVS*, it so hapned that the subjects to the King of *Bulgaria*, which had beene so much his friend, fell at odds with some of the Emperors subjects of *Thracia*, a prouince of the Empire, wherein standeth *Constantinople*, about parting their bounds: which when he vnderstood (forgetting the benefits receiued) vpon this small occasion he raised an Armie against *TREBELLIVS* King of *Bulgaria*, and entering his Countrie, ruined many places, and committed great spoiles: wherewith the King, being greatly moued, gathered such forces together as he could, and came to fight with the Emperor; and they two fought a cruell battaile, wherein the Emperor was justly ouerthrowne, and fled out of the Countrie of the Bulgarians: and for this warre was ended his dishonor. But as God neuer made any thing without some goodnes; so this Emperor euer respected and reuerenced the Church of *Rome* and the Pope, namely *CONSTANTINE* who then was Pope, after the two *JOHNS*, the sixth and the seventh, which succeeded *SERGIVS*, who went to *Constantinople* to see the Emperor, and by the way met with *JOHN TOZOCOPUS*, who came to be Governor of *Italy*; and coming to *Rome* would haue taken vp the Church rents and goods, but he was resisted by the Popes ministers; some of which he slew: wherfore he grew so hatefull, as he was driuen to go to *Rauenna*; where for the same cause, or the hatred which they bare against the Exarchs and former gouernors, the people vpon a day mutined, and killed him. The Pope was with great honor receiued by the Emperor, and when they had seene one the other, the Emperor prostrated himselfe vpon the Earth, and so much abused himselfe, as to kisse the Popes foote, with wonderfull shew of obedience: for as it may be gathered by this Princes doings, he was both fearfull and reuengefull, which are vices usually going together. Hence it sprang, that in his greatest prosperity, he began to stand in feare of *PHILIPPICVS*, who liued in exile in *Pontus*, by the commandement of the tyrant *TIBERIVS*; and for no other cause, but for saying that he had dreamt of an Eagle. And *IVSTINIAN* desired also to be reuenged of the City *Cherson*, alleging for his reason, that the Citizens had abused him when he lay there in the time of his banishment: wherfore he commanded a great Army to be leuiued, and a Navy to be rigged, to go and ruine that City, and to kill *PHILIPPICVS*, who liued there merrily and well content with his banishment, if they would haue suffered him to haue been at rest. But it pleased God to order matters in such sort, that what *IVSTINIAN* did to assure himself in the Empire, was the cause of his ruin, and the losse therof: for *PHILIPPICVS* vnderstanding that he came against him, and acquainting those of *Cherson* therewith, who also expected their owne destruction, he resolved to take vpon him the name of Emperor, and to die like a souldier fighting. Before which there passed other matters, which I omit: but the conclusion is, that seeing no other remedy, they all consented together, and the Army and Captains, sent by *IVSTINIAN* against *Cherson*, forsaking him reuolted to *PHILIPPICVS*, who by his surname was called *BARDANVS*. And he seeing himselfe fitted with power for his purpose, instead of being assailed, resolved now to giue the assault; and therefore in great haste, with a very great power, he went towards *Constantinople*, where *IVSTINIAN* expected him: for after that he vnderstood what passed, he had raised a new Army, and encamping himselfe about twelue miles from the City, attended the coming of *PHILIPPICVS*: who as soon as he heard of set himself in order of battell, and *IVSTINIAN* did helike; and they fought the greatest part of the day very resolutely: but in the end the victory remained with *PHILIPPICVS*, and *IVSTINIAN* was ouerthrowne and slaine in the battaile, and together with him his son *TIBERTVS*, being but a very child, with much people of eyther side. And so ended the cares and Empire of the most unfortunate Prince *IVSTINIAN*; seeing that in his time were so many disasters and calamities: whose life and acts were such as I haue shewed you. And if the Reader haue attentively obserued what I haue written, I guesse he will not holde me for a lyer, in that which I said in the beginning, that the History of his time, for the variety of changes which then hapned, was as a fained Comedie; or to say more properly, a Tragedy, considering the beginning and end thereof. Hee died in the yeere of our Lord 712 little more or lesse, and in the 27 yeere after he first began to reigne.

Iustinian made
warre vpon the
King of Bulgar-
ia, and was ou-
erthrowne in
battaile.

Iustinian and
his sonne slaine
in a battaile ag-
ainst Philip-
picus.

THE
LIFE OF PHILIPPICVS,
ONELY OF THAT NAME,
AND THRESCORE AND NINTH
ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)



THE Emperor IVSTINIAN being ouerthrowne and slaine, PHILIPPICVS called also BARDANVS or BARDANUS, remained Emperor: of whom there is little to be written, for that he enjoyed the Empire so little, and for that the Authors which I follow, make small mention of him. And of that little which we know of him, the first is, that as soone as he came to *Constantinople*, and was there sworn and crowned, he began to hold certaine doubtfull opinions of the Christian faith, aswell concerning the Diuinity of Christ, as some other matters, contrary to the resolution of the first generall councill, holding with the Monothelites: and hereupon he assembled certain Bishops in *Constantinople*, banishing CYRVS the Patriarch thereof, and in his *Rome* placing a Monke called IOHN. And therewith not satisfied, he wrote his Letters and sent an Ambassage to the Pope, requiring him to approue his opinions. Which the Pope not onely refused to doe, but for answer, commanded him vpon great curses and excommunications to renounce the opinions which he held: and in *Rome*, in the Cloysters, and the Porches of Saint PETER'S Church, he commanded the Conclusions of the first generall Councell to be written, to the end that all men might know and beleue the same. Whereof when the Emperor was aduertised, he presently commaunded that painting and writing to be rased and defaced, and the like to be done to all the crucifixes, images, and pictures of CHRIST, of our Ladie, and of the Saints, which he affirmed were not to be adored, or to be set vp in Churches. But his commandements were little regarded by the Pope, or the Roman people; for by a generall decree they proclaimed him a schismaticke and an Heretick: and the Pope further commanded that in their diuine seruice he should not be prayed for, neither should there be any mention made of his name in any publike act or proclamation; which was executed accordingly: by means whereof he became odious and hatefull to the people of *Rome*, and generally of all *Italy*, wherein the Empire and gouernement of the Greekes began to be of small authority; by reason of the great power of the Lombards, and the great command and Authority of the Popes. For as much as the Emperors were contrary to them in some points of Religion, the people abhorred them, and denied to be their subjects: but PHILIPPICVS, notwithstanding the Popes fulminations, would not be diuerted from his determination; wherefore and for some other occasions, certaine principall men secretly conspired against him; the chiefe of which, was one ANTHEMVS; which succeeded in this manner. The Emperor resting himselfe vpon a Whitsonday euen, after certaine disports on horsebacke, vsed in those times, the conspiratours violently rushing into his lodging apprehended him, and carrying him thence to another place plucked out his eyes, and leauing him blind and imprisoned, refusing to kill him, they depriued him of his Empire, when he had reigned but one yeere and a halfe: and they advanced the same ANTHEMVS to the Empire, and gaue him to name, ANASTASIVS. This happened in the yeere of our Lord, seauen hundred and fourteene.

Cyrus Patriarch of Constantinople banished by Philippicus.

Philippicus excommunicated by the Pope.

Philippicus being deposed, had his eyes put out.

THE

THE
LIFE OF ANASTASIVS,
THE SECOND OF THAT NAME,
AND THRESCORE AND TENTH
ROMAN EMPEROR.



For the malice and libertie to sinne in those times had not taken such roote, ANASTASIVS had bene an excellent Emperor, and had well gouerned the Commonwealth; for he was a vertuous and iust man, and of a deepe vnderstanding and iudgement: But by reason of the former gouernement, the wicked were so accustomed to the libertie of ill dooing, as they could not endure to be ruled by any one that should minister and execute justice. For, as in a body diseased and so full of corrupt Humors, that the naturall vertue is therewith oppressed and overcome, being vnable to resist the humor, no Physicke can preuaile or worke any effect, but is rather loathsome and cast vp againe: euen so it happened to ANASTASIVS; and to THEODOSIVS the third also, who was his successor: for men were then so hardened and nouised in doing ill, and so accustomed to escape without any punishment for the same, as it seemed an hard and intolerable matter for them to endure their good gouernement, for the small time they liued in subiection: as in their places shall appeare.

As soone as ANASTASIVS was Emperor, of two things he tooke especial care; the first and principall was for the Christian faith and religion, wherein some of his predecessors had erred: the other was to take order for the defence of the Empire, which he found ill guarded and out of order.

Touching the first, he sent his Letters and Ambassadours to the Pope, whereby he protested to beleue and to hold that faith which the Church of *Rome* beleueed: and approuing and ratifying the generall Councils, hee commaunded all his subjects to hold and beleue the same. And as concerning the Empire, knowing that the greatest harme that it receiued was from the Sarazins (MANOMETS Disciples) who then had conquered all *Africa*; against them only he resolved to employ all his whole force and power, seeing that hee could not obtaine the peace which he had first procured. And thereupon hee speedily leuied Captaines and Souldiers, and made a man of great esteeme (whose name was LABO) General of his Armie for the defence of the frontiers against *Soria*, for from thence the Infidels invaded *Asia* the lesse. And for the Seas, he rigged a very great fleet, and therein ship-

Anastadius his chiefest care.

II 2

ped

ped his mightie Army with an intent to sayle into *Egypt*, and to make a Conquest thereof, attempting first, the Citie of *Alexandria*. All which being set in order, and sufficient provision made of all things necessarie, the Emperor being very ioyfull, hoping that some great exploit would haue beene done, the fleet departed from *Constantinople* and sayled to *Alexandria*, where the fleet with the inhabitants were stricken, was greater than the hurt they received. For the Imperialists, having besieged the Citie, through want of certaine necessities (either in feede or faine) raised their siege, and returned to their shippes, sayled to the Ile of *Rhodes*, and some say to *Phoenicia* in *Asia* the lesse, to take provision of Engines, and other necessities, which they said were needefull for the battering of *Alexandria* and other Townes. Whereof when the Emperor had intelligence he was greatly displeased, and reprehending his Captaines, sent them new provision of all things necessarie, commanding them presently to returne to the warre which they had already begunne. But in that age military Discipline was as much decayed and corrupted as other Sciences; and as I said in the beginning, The people being accustomed to liue licentiously after their owne fantasie, and being discontented with the gouernement of a good Emperour, the Armie mutined, and agreed among themselves to leaue their enterprise against the Infidels, and to turne head against the Emperour ANASTASIVS. And taking land in *Asia* the lesse, the greatest and chiefeest part of the Armie marched ouer land: and imagining, that without an head and leader, the Army could hardly be well gouerned, they made choice of one to be their Emperour, whose name was THEODOSIVS, a man of meane parentage, but yet honest and of good behavior, and well knowne to them all, for he had beene treasurer or receiuer of the Exchequer, and of the reuenues of the Empire: Who, for his good conditions, was well beloued of all men, and him they chose and made Emperour againe his will.

In my judgement hee had reason to refuse it: For in truth the estate of the Empire and the faith and obedience borne to the Emperours in those times was such as not onely those which were unworthy ought not to accept of the Empire, but even those also which were capable, and most sufficient and of greatest power, had reason by all waies and means possible to eschue the same.

ANASTASIVS vnderstanding of the Rebellion of his men of warre, and how they had chosen THEODOSIVS for their Emperour, made little account thereof (for hee disdained him for the baseness of his birth, and the small experience he had in the warres) neuertheless he raised a great power, and went into *Asia* to seeke him: and meeting him neere vnto the Citie of *Nicea*, the principall Citie in *Bythinia*, they fought a battaile, wherein through the secret judgement of God, ANASTASIVS was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner, when he had reigned one yeere and three moneths onely, yet some say three yeeres: And the new chosen THEODOSIVS obtayned the victory, together with the Empire, and ANASTASIVS being deposed, remained prisoner and in his power, whom he made a priest. Which after the computation of ABAS WESPERGENSIS, and of MATHEV PALMERIVS, was in the yeere of our Lord, seuen hundred and seuentee; PHILIPPVS being yet liuing; whom ANASTASIVS had deprived of the Empire; so as he was his companion both in estate and fortune.

It seemeth that in the time of this ANASTASIVS, the Infidels made an end of the conquest of *Spain*.



THE

THE
LIFE OF THEODOSIVS,
THE THIRD OF THAT NAME,
AND THREESCORE AND ELE-
VENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.



THEODOSIVS: seeing himselfe such as hee neuer thought to haue beene (obeyed, and sworn Emperour, without any resistance or contradiction) went to *Constantinople*: and as he was noble in bountie and goodnesse, so he lost no iote of his good conditions, by being advanced to the greatest and height of the Empire, but rather seemed to haue encreased the same. First he would not suffer ANASTASIVS to be put to death, neither to be any way grieved in his person; but onely to be assured of him, he caused him to be made a priest, and gave him exhibition, wherein he continued vntill the time of the Emperour LEO, when by perswasion of a certaine captain he sought to haue recovered the Empire: which cost him his life, as hereafter we wil recount, if so it shall be expedient. THEODOSIVS hauing

seematters in order for the generall, he particularly commanded the images and pictures which PHILIPPVS had caused to bee raised and defaced; to be repaied and new made; and in other matters concerning religion, he commanded his subiects to obserue and hold that which the counsels had decreed, and the Church of *Rome* maintained, and so made shew of a pleasing Emperour. But fortune neuertheless shewed herselfe his enemy; for LEO whom his predecessour ANASTASIVS had made Generall for the defence of *Asia* the lesse against the Sarazins, and who yet had not done him any homage; vnder the pretence and colour to restore his master ANASTASIVS, ioyned himself with ARTHASDV another captain, which in the confines of *Armenia* commanded the ordinarie garrisons of the Empire, and they both with all their whole power came against THEODOSIVS; and coming to *Nicomedia* they apprehended a son of his which was there, and from thence marching forwards he began to vlturpe the name of Emperour: Against this force and violence wherewith LEO came; THEODOSIVS durst make no resistance; but vpon assurance that hee should not be put to death, or receiue other wrong in his person, he yelded himselfe into his hands, and chose to liue a religious life in a Monasterie, and taking the habit remained therein, before that one yeare was expired, after that (against his will) he had been made Emperour: so as now with him there were three Emperours which liued deposed. The first was PHILIPPVS, whom ANASTASIVS had cast in prison, and had plucked out his eyes, whose end what it was I finde not written: the second was ANASTASIVS, whom (as I said) this THEODOSIVS made to take religious orders and habit: and now the third was the same THEODOSIVS, who yelding himselfe to LEO, made choise rather of a religious life than to stand to his defence. Wherein if voluntarily hee did it, or at least endured it with patience, (as is most likely) seeing that he was made Emperour perforce and against his will, truly he was in the right, and chose the better part and left the worse to LEO, which was the Empire: which he most wickedly gouerned, as hereafter shall appeare. This was in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and seuentee.

717

Theodosius made Anastasius to become a priest.

Leo enticed himselfe Emperour.

Three Emperours liued at one time deposed.

Theodosius became a monk.



THE LIFE OF LEO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND THRESCORE AND TWELFTH ROMANE EMPEVOVR.

(*)



Hilest that these Emperors of a yeeres standing, as Consta-
bles of Countre villages, or (to speake more properly) Ty-
rants, did strue to subuert one another, they had no care to
make head against the Sarazins and Infidels, which daily
increased, and grew more mightie, so that Christendome
was now despised and oppressed: for besides that which
happened in the Empire, which now was of small force in
the Kingdomes of *France* and *Germany*, were also warres be-
tweene the French and the Burgonians, and likewise be-
tweene the Frizons and the Sueuians, and betweene the
Saxons and the Bawarians, and other Nations too long to
be recited in this Historie. At which time CHARLES
MARTEL in *France* (through the fame of his noble acts)

grew to be very much esteemed, and conquered and subdued some, or the most part of all
these said Nations. This CHARLES MARTEL was Pretorian Prefect, or rather High
Constable of *France*, which was the highest dignity in that time next to the King; who by rea-
son of the insufficiency of King CHILDERICVS, who afterwards was deposed, and of his
owne great valour (although the other had the name) he had the authority of King. And in
Italy also were some innovations, so as the Infidels daily more and more preuailed: and hauing
conquered the greater part of all *Spain*, they extended their power thence into *France*, and
tooke *Catalonia*, and afterwards *Narbon*, and besieged *Auignon*, which was within the bounds
of the Gothish kings of *Spain*. But those Countreies being afterwards recovered by the Kings
of *France*, they continued in their subjection. These heathen Princes also conquered the Isles
of *Maiorica* and *Minorica*, and other Islands in that Sea, with the Isle of *Sardinia*. Presently after
that THEODOSIUS was deposed from his Empire, and that LEO the third of that name,
was receiued and established, being unworthy thereof; ZVLEMON (whom some call after
another manner) King and Captaine of the Sarazins, and now Lord of *Asia*, of *Africa*, and of
Spain, making small account of LEO, or of the decayed and weakened Empire; resolved with
himselfe wholly to subuert the same; And to that effect vsed all the means and deuices
possible, to leuie men and provide shipping, to goe or send against the great Citie of *Constan-*
tinople, together with all *Thracia* and *Gracia*. The provision which he made was so great, that
some authors affirme, he had in his fleet three thousand saile of shippes, and an incredible
number of men of warre, which he sent vnder the conduct of two Generals, the one called
MARGILDVS, and the other SOLEMAN.

These Armies came into Europe, and passed the Streight of *Constantinople*, without any resis-
tance: for although that the Emperor LEO had intelligence of their comming, yet was hee
not able to talfe so great power as might suffice to keepe them from landing. Wherefore hee
thought

thought it a better course to defend the City; and so suffered himself to be besieged, rather than
to abandon it to the enemies, who made themselves Lords both of Sea and Land, and besieged
the City round both by Land and by Sea, for the space of three yeeres continually. And not-
withstanding that the Besieged valiantly defended it, yet it was thought for certain, that it
would haue been lost, if in the Besiegers had been such valour and policie as was to haue been
expected in such men; but, through a desire to rob, they dispersed themselves to ouer the land,
that they were thereby greatly endamaged, and the City was the lesse distressed, and had the
better opportunity to provide such things as were wanting. And particularly some Capitaines
with part of this Army, seeing that no man made resistance against them, waied vp & downe
the Countrey ouer all *Thracia*, killing and robbing vntill they came into *Bulgaria*, which in an-
cient time was called the lower *Misia*; for defense whereof, the King of that Countrey sent so
good an Army, that he not onely defended his Frontiers, but ouerthrew his enemies, and slue
of them (as some Historians haue written) two and thirty thousand. But their power was so
great, that all Christendome stood in extreme fear of them, and held the Emperor LEO and
all *Gracia* for lost.

At that time there was so much ambition and so little charity among Christians, that they
could not be induced to giue ouer the warres and priuate contentions among themselves: for,
in *Italy* the Lombards enlarged their dominion, and took all such towns as they could get either
by force or policy. The Frenchmen and other Princes did the like; and euen their owne Cap-
tains and seruants failed them in this extremity: for, SERGIUS, who was Pretor or Gouernour
for LEO in *Scilia*, holding the Emperor for lost, with the consent of some others chose one
GABORIE for Emperor; and, making him to change his name, they called him TIBERIVS:
what end he made I will tell you hereafter. Onely the Bulgarians assisted the Empire:
for, in truth they had interest therein, considering the danger that hung ouer their owne heads
if the Sarazins preuailed. And the Christians which in *Constantinople* were besieged, made such
prayers and supplications, that it seemed the Lord took compassion of them, and protected them:
for, no humane power was sufficient to haue resisted so great forces. Which, as Historians af-
firm, was manifestly a diuine miracle, that in so long time as the siege lasted, the whole Empire
had not been lost, comparing the garrison which was within to defend the City, with the mul-
titude and power of those which besieged it: to whom, by Gods appointment, befell so many
misfortunes and disasters, that without any mans help they were ruined. First, in the time of
the siege died their King ZVLEMON, whom they also called AMURATH; and about the
choosing of a new King they fell at so great variance and dissension among themselves, that they
were disordred, and the Besieged greatly recomfited; vntill at the last AMINTHAS HY-
MAR was chosen, who followed the warre more faintly and retchlesly than before: and there
afterwards followed such colde weather, such storms, and so many plagues of famine and pesti-
lence among them, that the greatest part of them died, as well by Land as by Sea. Besides this,
there followed so many tempests and violent windes vpon the seas, that in the best and safest
harbours their ships were ouerfet and cast away; in such sort, that the Infidels were so much di-
minished and decaid, that the City of *Constantinople* was not only freed and deliuered from that
siege, but also fewe of them escaped with their liues from before it: for, of three thousand saile
which they brought thither in the beginning, so fewe returned with their people, that it seems
to be a matter incredible: and, besides those that were cast away by foul weather at sea, the Hi-
storians write, that very many of their ships were burnt by one mans industry. Finally, all that
great multitude and number of men and shipping, which seemed to haue been sufficient to haue
ouerun the whole world, and to haue laid the same waste, in little more than two yeeres was
lost and consumed: and LEO remained the sole absolute Lord of all that which before he pos-
sessed, who shewed not himself so thankfull to God for his so great benefits as he ought to haue
done. He had also no lesse good hap against TIBERIVS a Tyrant, which rebelled in *Scilia*,
who in short space was brought to confusion: for, the Emperor LEO sending from *Constanti-*
nople the Captain of his horsemen called PAUL, with the title and authority of Gouernour of
Scilia, and with Letters to the Captains and souldiers there; PAUL by a stratagem got into the
City of *Syracusa*, now called *Sarragosa*: where he shewed his authority to those of the City &
of the Army; and they all, knowing that the Emperor whom they held for lost, was aliue and
at liberty, obeyed his command; and with such fauour receiued and entertained their new
Captain, that they apprehended their new King, and deliuered him into the power of this
PAUL, who put him to death: and SERGIUS the Pretor of *Scilia*, who was the Author and

*Constantinople
besieged by the
Sarazins.*

*Bulgaria which
hath called lower
Misia.*

*C Gregory call
and chosen Em-
peror.*

*The death of
Zulemon, King
of the Sa. arazins.
Aminthas Hy-
mar chose, king
of the sarazins.*

*Tempest, famine
and pestilence,
fell in the army
of the Sarazins
by sea and land.*

*The original of
Charles Mar-
tell.*

*Zulemon king
of the Sarazins
made warre a-
gainst the
Empire.*

*Paulus Gre-
gory to death.*

Original of this rebellion, fled into *Italy* to the Lombards; and so that land remained in peace and obedience to the Emperor.

The Emperor L E o being freed from so great distress and oppression, ought truly to have applied himself to the service of God, and to have rendered thanks for the same, and to have relieved his poore subjects and vassals, of the losses and harmes by them sustained: but hee to the contrarie, vnder colour to recouer the charges which he had been at, laid new impositions and taxes vpon the people, and tooke order that the Churches should haue been rancked, against which Pope G R E O R I E, to the vttermost of his power, opposed himselfe. By reason whereof (dislike growing betweene them) the Emperour fought to haue made away the Pope, or to haue taken him prisoner, and to that end he sent thither for Governour one M A R T I N V S, and afterwards the Exarch P A V L, where there happened many accidents which I omit, vntill that at last the Pope found reliefe where he neuer thought to haue had any, which was in L A V T P R A N D King of the Lombards. After this, the Emperor seeming desirous to bear peace with the Pope, requested him to cause the images to be taken from the Altars, and to be put out of the Churches and temples, in such manner as he had done in *Constantinople*: where the Pope making a presumptuous answer, with great authoritie sent his Letters and Bulls through all Christendome, excommunicating the Emperour, and commanding the images to be honoured and had in reverence. The pontificall command of this Pope G R E O R I E, was of such authoritie, and the Emperour was thereby brought into such disliking with the people, as most of the cities in *Italy*, and the men of warre in *Raenna* tooke part with the Pope against him; and there was so great debate and disension in *Raenna*, that they slew the Exarch P A V L, and desired the Pope to depose the Emperor L E o, and to chuse another in his place. This disension gave occasion and oportunitie to the Lombards (contrarie to the peace) to take the citie of *Bologna*, and many other cities and townes in that quarter. Which the Emperor perceiving, he desired and practised the Popes death or imprisonment, and to that end sent a new Exarch or governour into *Italy*, called E V R I S T I V S; who landing at *Naples* (to be neerer to *Rome*) endeouored either by force or policie to execute his commission, writing letters to many his friends in *Rome* and else-where, to that effect: which put the Pope and his friends in great feare and perplexitie, seeing themselves of the one side oppressed by the Emperor, and on the other standing in feare of the Lombards. Wherefore they fought by all meanes to be at peace with them: which L A V T P R A N D their King in consideration of his owne aduantage and benefite, granted, and came to *Rome*, hauing occasion to passe by it with an Army against certaine Captaines which rebelled in *Spoleto* and *Beneuent*: so as the Emperors practice was the second time made frustrate, but he had his will in throwing downe and burning all the images: and for as much as the Patriarch G E R M A N V S would not consent thereto, he depozed him from his prelacie, and placed another in his roome. Matters standing in this estate, Pope G R E O R I E died, who was the second of that name; and another of the same name borne in *Syria*, succeeded him, who commanded a generall councill to be assembled in *Rome*, whither came many Bishops; and therein the vse and veneration of images was againe approoued and ratified, and the Pope proceeded against the Emperor, in such manner, that he was excommunicate and Anathematized by the councill. In that time hapned many terrible earthquakes, whereby many cities in *Asia* the lesse, and in *Gracia*, were ruined: and the Sarazins came out of *Syria* into *Asia* the lesse, doing much hurt, and tooke certaine cities in *Cappadocia*. Before this, the Emperor made his eldest sonne being a young man, whose name was C O N S T A N T I N E, C A S A R, and nominating him his successor, married him to the Kings daughter of *Bamaria* called Y R E N T. This seemeth to haue passed in the seauenteenth yeere of his reigne, all which time with the rest of his Empire, which was in all foure and twentie yeeres, he gouerned with greater rigour then becomed a King or an Emperor: and notwithstanding that he wanted neither valour nor policie to maintaine himselfe in the Empire, yet matters were carried with such violence and contentions, that in his time were great warres. In *Italy* the Lombards took many cities, and besieged *Raenna*: and the people within it, once againe slew their Exarch or governour. In *Asia* the lesse the Infidels entred the countie, and robbing and spoiling the same, carried away an infinite number of captiues, and made conquest of a great part of the countie. And all the provinces thereof, with *Gracia*, *Italy*, the Isles of *Sicilia* and *Creta*, now called *Candia*, which were in his subiection, were greatly oppressed with tributes, imposts, and other intolerable exactions; in such manner, that many reioiced at his death: which happened in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundreded and one and fortie, he dying of a *Dysenteria*; and in his place remained his son C O N

Leo sought to
kill or imprison
Pope Gre-
gorie.

The Emperor
Leo excommu-
nicated by the
Pope.
The Popes ful-
minations.

The Emperor
sought the
Popes death.

The Kingdom of
Aurica
erect.
The Emperor
Leo excommu-
nicated by the
council held
in Rome.

Leo made his
young Con-
stantine
Cæsar and
his successor in
the Empire.

The death of
Leo, Emperor
of Constantinople.

C O N S T A N T I N E the fift of that name, who was very like to his father. The house and kingdome of *France* in these daies greatly encreased, through the valour and wisdom of C H A R L S M A R T E L; who conquered and annexed to that Kingdome the Countie of *Friesland*, *Saxony*, *Austria*, *Burgundie*, and other great estates. The City of *Venice* was now very great and famous, and began to be gouerned by Dukes.



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND THIR- TEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



Constantine, being established in the Empire, made present preparation for the warres against the Infidels in Egypt; but he was molested and hindred by Artaxius a Tyrant, who took Arms against him, and intituled himself Emperour: wherefore he returned, notwithstanding that he was already arrived at Alexandria, and took Constantinople by force, and punished the tyrant, although not with such severity as his offense deserved. At that time, Aistolphus King of the Lombards making warre against Rome, Pope Stephen, seeing to the Emperor for aid, but hee provided no such Army as the importance of the case required, thinking to pacifie Aistolphus by Letters and Ambassages. Whereupon the Pope, seeing the delay and little regard of the Emperour, called the French into *Italy* to relieve him; and they, coming, twice freed the City of Rome from the hands of the Lombards: wherevnto Constantine (vnderstanding what the Pope had done) was displeased, and sent him an Ambassage promising succour; which came not in time: for the French, being already passed the Alps, had compelled Aistolphus to render the Citie, which Pepin gave to the Church of Rome. A Councell was called in Rome, and the Emperour was condemned for an Heretick about the pulling down of Images: and at that time also ended the Kingdom of the Lombards vnder Delidertus their King. And Constantine, making warre against the Bulgarians, fell sick of a kind of Leprosie, called Elephantia; and, dying, left the Empire to his son Leo, whom he had gouerned the same 35 years.



Notwithstanding that L E o was but a bad Emperour, and therefore ill-beloued; yet, as soon as hee was dead, his sonne was receiued and obeyed, in hope that he would haue proued better than his father, or else for that in his fathers time he was growne so mightie, that they durst not attempt to make choice of any other. But hee proued so good a scholar to his father L E o, that in all things hee excelled and surpassed him much, and liued longer than he; so as these seem not to be the lines of Emperors which we now relate, in comparison of those which are past: but, like as in great vessels wherein wine or some other good liquor hath been kept, as it consumeth, so it becometh of a worse taste, and in the bottom there remain some lecs and dregs; so befall it in the Eastern Empire, wherein had been verie great and mighty Princes, whose beginning was such as you

you have seen, and whose end we may say drew neer; seeing that within fewe yeers the title & dignity of the Empire was translated from them to the French and Germans; notwithstanding that in *Greece* there remained Emperors a long time after.

Pope Zacharie sent his Legate to Constantinople with a letter to be hid and beleued.

Presently after that CONSTANTINE was crowned; to giue some signe of a future good Emperor, hee provided a great Armie and a Nauy, their with to go in person into *Egypt*; and Pope ZACHARIE, vnderstanding thereof, sent him two Ambassadors to congratulate his coming to the Empire, according to the custome of his Predecessors; dissuading him from his fathers opinions, and exhorting him to beleue as the Church of *Rome* did: and hee therewith sent him in writing the Articles which he would haue him to beleue.

These Ambassadors staid so long vpon their way, that, when they arrived at *Constantinople*, the Emperor was already departed with his fleet towards *Egypt* against the Infidels; thinking to haue surpris'd the City of *Alexandria*, and afterwards to haue conquered the whole Countrey; for, in that Kingdome, and in other Prouinces, which were but lately lost, liued many Christians, which continued therein a long time; and in some Cities were Bishops, by the permission of the Sarazins.

Arthausius took upon him the name of Emperor.

Within fewe daies after the Emperor was embarked, an eminent man which remained in *Constantinople*, whose name was ARTHAVSTVS, being assisted by many which took his part, rose with the City, and was called Emperor: whereof CONSTANTINE was speedily advertised, euen at such time as with his fleet hee was comm within sight of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*. Having certain notice thereof, without any longer stay he returned towards *Constantinople*; and ARTHAVSTVS, who was in possession thereof, put himself in Arms, with much people to defend the same. But CONSTANTINE, landing, besieged the City, and, cutting it by force, apprehended the Tyrant, and commanded his eyes to be plucked out, and to be perpetually banished; which in my opinion was too small a punishment for so great a treason: but then was vsed so much disloyalty, that it was not punished accordingly as it deserved. This beeing soon ended (although not without bloudshed) he heard the Popes Ambassage, finding his Ambassadors there in that confusion: which he answered with good words, but without performing what they required; persisting in his opinion concerning the abolishing of Images, and other points which his father held; and therewith hee desired that the Church of *Rome* should doo the like: which put the Pope into a great agony, as well by reason heerof, as of the tyranny and wars of the Lombards. And the Emperors succours failing, it pleased God to send it from other parts; all which, from the roote and ground, passed in this manner:

Constantine put out Arthausius eye.

At that time the Christian faith and religion flourished in the Kingdome of *France*, principally among the Princes & great Lords thereof; wherein by the death of CHARLES MARTEL, who as we said was high Constable of that Kingdome, his two sonnes, whereof the one was called CARLOMAN, and the other PEPIN, remaining in their fathers place, came to the government as absolute Lords of the whole Countrey. Which Kingdome was then much greater than now it is (although it be yet very great): for, besides that which the French now hold, they then possessed a great part of *Germany*; as, *Austria*, *Saxony*, *Flanders*, *Burgundie*, *Suavia*, and other Prouinces. The elder of these two brethren (which was CARLOMAN) making no account of the world, wherein he had such part, determined to leaue it, and went to *Rome* to Pope ZACHARIE, who gaue him Church-orders, and he became a Monk of the Order of S. BENEDICT, wherein he continued and died. His brother PEPIN remained alone in the government of the Kingdom of *France*, and did many noble feats of Arms, enlarging that kingdome against the enemies thereof; and he gouerned the same so well, that there was no speech or mention made of King CHILDERICK. Wherefore, forasmuch as in truth the King was a man of small discretion, and altogether incapable of the gouernment, Pope ZACHARIE deposed him from the Kingdome, and confirmed and approved the election of King PEPIN, as, THOMAS AQUINAS, ROBERT GAUVIN, and PAVLVS EMBELVS, French Historiographers, write. CHILDERICK became a religious man, and in him ended the line and lineall descent of the Kings of *France*, extract from the blood of the famous Francos: and the Crown passed to the line of this PEPIN, wherein it continued almost two hundred and forty yeers, vntill such time as there happened another change; as shall bee declared when time and place shall permit. This PEPIN was father to CHARLES the Great, who afterwards was Emperor: wherefore it behoues me heere to make mention of him.

Carloman became a Monk.

Pope Zacharie deposed Childerick King of France from his crown.

The state of *France* standing in this manner, in *Italy* died Pope ZACHARIE, and STEPHEN the second of that name succeeded him: in the beginning of whose Papacy, AISTVLPHVS

was

was King of the Lombards; and, as we may say, of all *Italy*: for, his brother RACHISVS, who was King, became a Monk of the Order of Saint BENEDICT. This new King, seeing the small care the Emperor took for the affairs of *Italy*, breaking the peace whereto hee himself was sworn, raised a great power (as a man that had sufficient means) and cruelly harried the Land, and then besieged, battered, and took the City of *Ravenna*, which of long time (excepting *Rome*) had been the principall City of all *Italy*, and the seat of the Exarchs or Gouerners: and he also wonne many other Towns, which vntill then had valiantly defended themselves; so as there remained no more but the City of *Rome* and the Territorie thereof: for, in a manner all *Pulia* and *Calabria* were held by them. Which when Pope STEPHEN the Second saw, hee sent to giue the Emperor to vnderstand thereof, plainly manifesting to him, that if hee did not speedily send relief, all *Italy* would come into the power of the Lombards.

Rachisus, king of the Lombards renounced the kingdom, and became a Monk.

The Emperor in this case made not such prouision of an Army and men of warre as the necessity of the cause required, and sent but onely an Ambassador to the King of the Lombards; and other Ambassadors were sent by the King to the Emperor, and long treaties and many speeches were spent about the matter: but AISTVLPHVS, without respect of any person, sent to the Pope, requiring him to giue vp the City of *Rome* into his power; if not, that hee would then come and take it by force, and cut off the heads of all such as he should finde therein. The Pope seeing this, after long consideration and consultation had about the matter, with the consent of the whole City, seeing there was no other remedy, resolved to send to PEPIN King of *France* for relief; which was done with the greatest secrecy that could bee, hee seeking by other means to entertain King AISTVLPHVS with presents & promises. The King of *France* willingly heard his Ambassage, and promised to doo what he required; and therewith sent to the Pope, counselling him for his more safety to come into *France*.

King Aistulphus his message to the pope.

In the mean time returned the Ambassadors which were sent to the Emperor to *Constantinople*, who brought no other relief, but direction for the Pope to go in person to King AISTVLPHVS, and to entreat him for peace. The Pope, having already fully determined of his journey, must of necessity passe through AISTVLPHVS dominions, and therefore resolved to do both; and so departed from *Rome*, accompanied with the Ambassadors of both the Kings, and of the Emperor, and came to *Pavia* where the proud King AISTVLPHVS then lay; but could not come to any composition with him: for, he required to haue the dominion and rule of *Rome* and the rest of *Italy*, and that they should yearly giue him a certain peece of gold for euery head. And notwithstanding that they treated of peace, yet he daily made preparation for the warres: so as the Pope, in the best manner he could, took his leaue of him, and by long journies came into *France*, holding his way towards King PEPIN'S Court; who commanded his eldest sonne CHARLES, who afterwards was Emperor, that as soon as he were com into *France*, he should conduct and accompany him; and he himself afterwards came three miles from *Paris*, where he then held his Court, to meet him: and, alighting from his horse, he kist the Popes foot, and would ride no more; but led the Popes horse by the bridle. And in this manner, with too great humility, he conducted him to his Palace; where he was magnificently receiued, and royally entertained: and there he confirmed King PEPIN'S election, and so anointed and crowned him King of *France*.

King PEPIN, after many matters which passed about this business, resolving to relieue the Pope, caused an Armie to be leuiued: but hee first sent Ambassadors to King AISTVLPHVS, to treat with him concerning a settling of peace, offering him reasonable and honourable conditions. Whereto he answered with greater pride than befit him: for, making small account of King PEPIN, hee reposed his chief trust in the multitude of his men. The peace beeing broken, and the warre resolved, PEPIN commanded his troops to march; whose Vauitgard, in passing the Alps, fought with AISTVLPHVS his forces which guarded the passages: which being broken and scattered, the King passed with his whole Armie; and, AISTVLPHVS, staying in the Plains with the rest of his power, and vnable to make head against him, was forced to retire: whom King PEPIN pursued, vntill hee had shut him vp in the City of *Pavia*, where (being Master of the Field) he besieged him: during which siege, many rapines, robberies and outrages, were committed. Pope STEPHEN seeing what ill was befalling, notwithstanding that hee apparently saw the victory, and that hee himself was the procurer of the war, yet he laboured for peace, and dealt with AISTVLPHVS to that effect, perswading him to resigne what he had taken, and to binde himself by oath to maintain the peace, and to giue hostages and security for the obseruing of the same.

Wars between King Pepin and Aistulphus King of the Lombards.

Peace between Pepin and the Lombards.

AISTVLPHVS being thus besieged, and hearing these newes, in outward shew praised God, faining great humilitie and thankfulness to the Pope; and extolling him, he promised and sware to his most obedient son, and so a peace was concluded: for King PEPIN pretended nothing, but restitution to be made to the Pope, and the quiet of the Church of Rome: and as it seemed that he had effected the same, taking with him fortie men of account, which AISTVLPHVS delivered vnto him for hostages and pledges, for the performance of his promise, he within a certaine prefixed time, raised his siege from before *Pania*, and returned towards *France*, leaving a great Noble-man called *Vernarius* to see the conditions performed: whereof the Pope holding himselfe assured, departed also towards *Rome*; and AISTVLPHVS accomplishing some matters of small importance, with faire words deferring the principall (which was the rendring of cities and townes) temporized, vntill that King PEPIN was returned into his countrie. Afterwards contrarie to his oth, he would performe nothing of what he had promised, but went to *Ravenna*, and thither sent for the greatest part of his forces; and continuing his pretended purpose, within a very small time after, took his way towards *Rome*, where the Pope was; and encamping himselfe before it, held it besieged the space of three moneths, in which time (as all histories beare record) hee did greater harme in the fields and territorie thereof, than had beene done before in three hundred and fortie yeeres, by the Visigothes, the Ostrogothes, the Heruli, the Lombards themselves, or any other nation. In the beginning of this siege, what passed I have not time to set downe; but that the Pope sent his Ambassadors downe the river of *Tiber*, and thence by sea to king PEPIN into *France* who was then the Popes only refuge, to entreate him to come to his reliefe; whom they found busie in making preparation for his voyage, notwithstanding that they had not requested him: but with their coming farre greater halte was made. Whereof when AISTVLPHVS had intelligence, he raised his siege from before *Rome*, and came into *Lombardy*, with an intent to have stopped king PEPINs descent from the Alpes; where we will leave them for a while, to the end hereafter to make an end of the storie. And let vs now speake of *Constantine*, of whom this Historie treats, whom we have not without reason forgotten: for in truth it hath bin to give light to the reader, to understand the cause and reason why the Pope transported the Empire into the Westerne parts, and first into the house of *France*; for which cause it was requisite to declare what is said; and what shall be spoken hereafter: for although it be not directly of the Emperours, yet it is very expedient for the historie, and the cleerenes and order of what we shall write hereafter. I say then that *CONSTANTINE* was not idle all the while that these things passed in *Italy*, but attempted to make warre against the Infidels, sometimes in *Egypt*, and sometimes in *Syria*, but ever with ill successe.

His Empire was also much distressed and weakened, by reason of a great pestilence, which fell among the inhabitants in those parts, which was so terrible, that it was feared the land would have beene dispeopled; which, as *HOO FLORIACENSIS* writeth, began in *Calabria*, and from thence passed into *Sicilia*, and afterwards into *Gracia*, and to *Constantinople*, afflicting those countries. So as it is thought and held for certaine, that if there had not happened to arise new and vnexpected enemies against the Sarazins, the East Empire had beene in great danger to have beene lost. But in the time of this calamitie the Turkes descended, in a most huge multitude, out of *Scythia Asiatia*, for being in a manner innumerable, and in a cold and barren countrie, moved thereto through the fame of the wealth of *Asia*, they came into the province of the Alanes, and afterwards into the countries of the *Caldi*, and from thence descended into *Armenia*; and lastly into *Persia*, and so into *Asia* the lesse, spoiling and subduing those countries: in such sort that the Mahometists could not attempt ought against the Christians, neither were of power sufficiently able to defend themselves, and therefore concluded a peace with them: and so the Turkes remained Lords of a great part of those provinces, and afterwards received the accrued seat of *Mahomet*, which they found in the countries by them subdued.

The Sarazins being much troubled in this warre, suffered *CONSTANTINE* to live in peace. But the Turkes did him much harme, for they took from him certaine provinces in *Asia* the lesse and therein, and in the rest of *Asia*, continued a long time after, mixed with other nations, having no rule or dominion, but lived obscurely, vntill that about two hundred and fiftie yeeres afterwards, (as when time shall serue we will tell you) one amongst them whose name was *OTOMAN*, began the dominion and Empire which they hold this day. This nation of the Turkes (setting a part all other opinions) had their originall beginning in *Scythia in Asia*: Of all the ancient writers, only *PLINY* in his sixt booke, and *POMPONIUS MELA* in the end

Rome besieged
by the Lombards.

The origine of
the Turkes.

Ottoman King
of the Turkes.

of his first booke, make mention of them, and place them amongst the Sarmates in the confines of *Scythia*, over the Caspian passages in the *Hyperborean* mountaines; and they say that they lived dispersed in the fields, by that which they could get by hunting; so as they were vnknowne (yet some mention was made of them) vntill this their descent in the time of *CONSTANTINE* the fift; and so for almost other five hundred yeeres, there was no great account made of them. The opinion of those which say that the Turkes descended from the Troians, is merely false, and shall not neede to be reproued, or impugned, for that it is ridiculous, and not to be regarded: for what is before said is true. But returning to my storie, I say that the affaires of the East remaining in this estate, and the Emperor knowing that AISTVLPHVS King of the Lombards had besieged *Rome*, and that the Pope had sent to the French King for aide, and that hee made preparation to come to relieue him; being greatly grieved therewith, in great haste he sent two of his fauourites to the Pope, requesting him not to retaine the succours of *France*, for that hee himselfe would assist him. But thisooke no effect, for as much as they spake too late, and also for that the Pope and state of *Rome* had no good conceit or hope of him: so as the Emperours Ambassadors staid not in *Rome*, but went to the French court, where they sought to haue deterred the King, and to haue dissuaded him from going into *Italy*. But King PEPIN relented not, but rather with a greater and better Armie passed the Alpes; in which passage were many skirmishes, and many men were lost of the one side and the other. But in the end AISTVLPHVS durst not abide the bataille; but setting all matters in the best order that possibly he could, he retired himselfe into the citie of *Pania*, which was the head and royal seat of that Kingdom, wherein King PEPIN againe besieged him, and he presently began to treat of peace, offering to render whatsoever he had taken. The Emperours Ambassadors solicited, that *Ravenna* and all that government might be restored to the Emperor, and the rest to the Pope: Wherein King PEPIN answered, that he came to that war, onely for the defence of the Church of *Rome*, and that all that therein was conquered, should be her inheritance, and no bodies else. Finally, a peace was concluded: and AISTVLPHVS, before the siege was raised, rendered vnto the Pope, *Ravenna*, and all the cities which in those warres he had taken, in that Exarchate, or out of it; amongst which were *Bologna*, *Mantua*, *Cesena*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, *Parma*, *Placentia*, *Ferraria*, *Fauencia*, and many other cities and townes, whereof King PEPIN made to the Church of *Rome* a perpetual donation; as a thing by him conquered and gotten.

The Emperours Ambassadors seeing this (being out of hope) returned, and the peace was confirmed. So as the government and dignitie of the Exarches was wholly ended and extinguished in *Italy*, the which had continued one hundred threecore and fiftie yeeres, and the Popes remained sole Lords of all those countries, and possessed the same together with the citie of *Rome*, and the rest. King PEPIN being returned into *France*, King AISTVLPHVS which detened the deliuerie of certaine places, thinking to haue effected some inuolution, was overtaken by death, the manner whereof is written diuersly. And after his dectast one *DESIDERIVS*, a great man among the Lombards, was chosen for their King, who was Duke of *Hetruria*, now *Tuscany*. And notwithstanding that some great men perswaded *RACHISIVS*, brother to AISTVLPHVS, who of long time had been a Monk, to take vpon him the name and title of King, yet thisooke no effect: and *DESIDERIVS*, with the fauour of Pope *STEPHEN*, to whom he promised to be a perpetual friend, remained King, and so the peace was established: Pope *STEPHEN* applied himselfe to the government of his Church, and the estate thereof. But when he was most busie about those matters, hee was taken with an infirmity; whereof he died, and *PAVL* the first of that name, a Romaine borne, succeeded him.

In the mean while that K. PEPIN made warres against the Lombards in *Italy*, the Emperor *CONSTANTINE* endeavoured to put the Images out of the Churches, and made peace with *HADALIA* King of the Sarazins, to the end that he should induce the Christians to doe the like, which were in *Armenia*, *Palestina*, *Soria*, and in all the other Provinces in his subiection, which were infinite, and continued in those countries a long time after, and it is sayd that many liue there vntill this day. This Emperor is reported to haue restrained the liberty of the Monks and Prelates very much, without respect to their immunities and priuiledges; amongst which he cut off the head of *CONSTANTINE* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, for opposing himself against him, and therewith suppressed certaine Monasteries.

In this time there grew warre and dissension betwene him and *THESSALIVS*, King of *Bulgaria*, who entred *Thracia*, and did much harme, spoiling and waiking the lands of the Empire; against whom *CONSTANTINE* leuied an Armie, and fighting with him obtained

King Pepin
came the Je-
cond time into
Italy.

King Pepin his
donation to the
Church of
Rome.

The Exarch
abolished in
Italy.

The death of
King Aistulphus.

The Emperor
made peace
with Hadalia
King of the Sa-
razins.

Constantine
caused the Pa-
triarke of Con-
stantinople to be
beheaded.
There was
Constantine
The first King

of the Bulgarians and the first thereof.

tained the victory; and THESSALIVS returned by flight, with losse of many of his men: for which disgrace, and for his euill carriage in the battell, his people rose against him, and slue him; and chose another called SABINVS for their King: who, to make the Emperour his friend, consented and agreed with him to deface and calt the Images out of the Churches, wherewith his Subjects were so much discontented, that, if hee had not escaped from them by flight, they had slain him: but he went to the Emperour, and was there protected; and the Bulgarians chose another for their King, whose name was PAGANVS.

At this time, CONSTANTINE made his eldest sonne, called LEO, his companion and succesor in the Empire: this LEO was afterwards absolute Emperour, and the fourth of that name.

The death of King Pepin, Charles, surname the Great, and his brother Carloman, succeeded their father.

Whilest that CONSTANTINE was busied about these matters, Pope PAUL in Italy continued in peace with the Lombards and their King DESIDERIVS, according to the composition made and established by King PEPIN of FRANCE; who within short space after died, having bin one of the most excellent Princes of the world. After the death of PEPIN, CHARLES and CARLOMAN his sonnes succeeded him, which diuided the Kingdome between them, and, by the death of CARLOMAN, it came wholly to CHARLES.

Pope Constantine deposed and made a Monk.

Presently after that King PEPIN was dead, Pope PAUL also died, whose death caused a Schism in the Church of Rome: for, DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards, sending a Captain of his with certain troops of souldiers to Rome, procured his brother CONSTANTINE to be made Pope, who, without regard of the order of election, took possession of the Palace, and held the papall state for the space of one year: and others of a contrary faction and opinion, chose another Pope, whose name was PHILIPPICVS; but, CONSTANTINE being of greater power, PHILIPPICVS was deposed. But, as all was done by force and violence, so by the like force it was determined: for, the people and clergie agreeing together made choice of STEPHEN the Third, who was a Sicilian born, and compelled CONSTANTINE to resigne the Papacy, and put himself into a Cloister.

The Emperour condemned by the Pope and his Council.

The first thing that the new Pope did, was, Again to set vp Images in Churches; and to that effect wrote to the two sons of PEPIN the deceased King of FRANCE, to send to the Emperour some of the Prelates which were in their Kingdome, which then was so great, that it extended itself from the Alps to the Pirenean Mountains, and thence so far as to HUNGARY, and on the other side to the sea: so as these two Brothers were Lords of all that which we now call FRANCE, together with FLANDERS, FRISLAND, BRABAND, and on both sides of the riuer Rhine, of AUSTRIA, BAVARIA, and other Prouinces of GERMANY, besides what rebelled in his time, which was a great part: all which, this CHARLES conquerd and pacified, although not without great traucell, and made himself absolute Lord of the Whole. The Pope by their consent summoned a Councell to be held in Rome, wherein the Emperour CONSTANTINE was again condemned; and all that he and his father had commanded to be done in CONSTANTINOPLE, was reprobred and disannulled: but this took small effect, for he little regarded it.

The death of Pope Stephen.

The Councell being dissolved, DESIDERIVS King of the Lombards sought to haue caused some alteration in Rome and in Italy, by means of one ANFIARATA the Emperours chamberlain, who then was in Rome: wherein although there were no Gouerners for the Empire as in former time (for, it now seemed, that the Popes had the sole gouernment) yet was this ANFIARATA of great authority; who (with the assistance of DESIDERIVS, which sought to procure the Emperour to haue some footing again in Italy, thereby to weaken the power of the Pope, and of the French) apprehended certain Romanes; and committed them vnto prison.

Three years past in these matters; and, Pope STEPHEN dying, ADRIAN the first of those which were so called was chosen: who at his first entrance released those out of prison which were committed in the time of Pope STEPHEN by ANFIARATA. Whereupon King DESIDERIVS, seeing how much the papall power by means of FRANCE increased, sought to haue made a league with him: which the Pope refused, alleging that hee would not beleue him who had no better held his word.

At this time died CARLOMAN King of FRANCE; and his brother, who afterwards for his great acts was called CHARLES the Great, made himself Lord of that Kingdome: and the widow Queen, wife of the deceased King, went with her sons to King DESIDERIVS into Italy; who, being glad of her coming, receiued and entertained her very honourably, thinking to haue raised some trouble & diffension among the French; and to that effect practised with Pope

ADRIAN,

ADRIAN, to make the eldest sonne of King CARLOMAN King of that part of FRANCE which his father enioyed, with intent by that means to haue sed him and King CHARLES, at variance, whom hereafter we will call CHARLES the Great, whereunto the Pope would not be induced, and DESIDERIVS purposing by force to bring it to passe, began to make warre, on euery side. The first was against the Citie of RAUENNA and the marches thereof, and besooke the Citie of FERRARA, RAVENNA, and other Townies: and the Pope by Ambassages and letters entreating him to desist from those warres, he threatened to beseege Rome it selfe, and to take his way thitherward. Whereupon the Pope sent three Bishops to meete him vpon the way; and by them sent him a decree, wherein he charged him not to passe any further, neither to presume to come within the bounds of the territory of Rome, vpon paine to be presently excommunicated. And notwithstanding that DESIDERIVS was a very resolute man, and of an haughty spirit, yet as soone as he had received this decree, without setting one foot further, he returned with his forces to the Citie of PAVIA; but the warres ceased not. For all which the Emperour CONSTANTINE was nothing forie, he so much quied the Popes greatness; and in CONSTANTINOPLE he caused one STEPHEN to be slaine, for defending the ambition of the Romish Prelates. About this time he rigged a very great flecte of about two thousand saile of shippes, to transport his Armie ouer the sea called ADRIATICK, against the King of BULGARIA; which flecte was outbreiue with so great a Tempest, as the greatest part thereof was cast away and sunk.

The Pope knowing that by the Emperour he should not be relieved in his warres against DESIDERIVS, sent to CHARLES the Great for aide, who with very great forcesooke his way towards Italy: but he first required DESIDERIVS by Ambassadors to make satisfaction for the harmes which he had done, and to be at peace with the Church: And seeing that hee would not, he marched forwards with his troups; and DESIDERIVS engrossed his forces to stop his passage: but being vnable to compasse it, he sent the wife and children of CARLOMAN to PERONIA, fortified PAVIA, and suffered himselfe to be there besieged. Wherein hee ill aduised: for by reason thereof the greatest part of his gouernours and Captaines, seeing him thus distressed, losing all courage, sent to yeelde their obedience to the Pope, and desired to be receiued for his friends and vassalles; and giuing vp their holds, many of their people went to Rome, to dwell and abide where the Pope should appoint. CHARLES the Great leauing an vncle of his at the siege of PAVIA, went against PERONIA, which he tooke without any great diffieultie, together with his sister in law, and nephews which were therein; and from thence went to Rome to kisse the Popes foote, and to hold the Feast of Easter, where hee was receiued with all the solemnity that could be deuised.

At this his coming thither he confirmed to the Church and to the Popes of Rome, the donation which his father had made, of RAUENNA, and other lands; and made another of many other places, amongst which is reckoned the Isle of CORSIKA, and all the coast of GENOA, with the Citie of PARMA, ANCONA, VERONA, and many other Townies, which BILLOTHECARIUS fetterd downe, besides Rome and the territorie thereof; which the Popes had already in possession, whether by the pretended donation of CONSTANTINE the Great, or by the donation made by the said King PEPIN, or by common consent or ancient prescription, I know not. So as to the Emperours remained but only that part of Italy, which was called MAGNA GRACIA, which is part of CALABRIA, and of PULIA, and a great part of that which now is the Kingdome of NAPLES. CHARLES the Great hauing been only eight daies in Rome, returned against DESIDERIVS; who, after fixe moneths besieging in PAVIA, yielded vpon Composition, and CHARLES carried him with him, and banished both him and his sonnes into a certaine Iland; and then tooke MILAN, and all the other Citie in LOMBARDY, which is the ancient Gallia Cisalpinna, where he placed Frenchmen for Dukes and Gouernors; and in other Duchies and Citie of that Kingdome, he placed Dukes of the same nation of the Lombards, which became his subjects and did him homage; and so Italy remained in his obedience and subiection, excepting those Prouinces and lands which were left to the Church, and those which the Pope held in former time, but all in peace and quiet. And so ended the Kingdome of the Lombards, which had continued 204. years in Italy.

CHARLES the Great hauing ended these exploits, returned with triumph and victory into his kingdome of FRANCE; and within short space after there befell him a very dangerous war, against certaine nations in GERMANY, which rebelled against him, namely the Saxons and other people in those quarters, which he subdued, although it were long first, and with great traualle; but with great honor and the fame of an excellent captain. But for as much as it is tedious to

relate

The coming of Charles the Great into Italy.

Charles took Verona.

Charles his gift to the Church of Rome.

Desiderius King of the Lombards yielded to Charles the Great.

The end of the kingdom of the Lombards.

relate it, and also for that it hapned before that he was Emperour, we will speak no more thereof, to be the better able to relate what happened after he was Emperour, as shall be said hereafter. The Emperour CONSTANTINE, who now had reigned a long time, renewed the war against the King of the Bulgarians: which began between them with great fury and violence, but it lasted not long: for he was taken with a kinde of leprosie called *Elephantia*, whereof hee afterwards died: but he first concluded a peace with the King of *Bulgaria*. After which, his infirmity increased in such manner, that he died, leaving his son LEO, whom he had by his first wife YRENE (who already was in possession) for his successor, when he had reigned 35 years, in the year of our Lord 777.



THE
LIFE OF LEO, FOVRTH
OF THAT NAME, AND THREE-
SCORE AND FOVRTEENTH RO-
MAN EMPEROR.



IN the time of the Emperour CONSTANTINE, by his order and commandment, his son LEO was chosen Emperour, and his companion; whom hee had by the Kings daughter of *Bulgaria*, with whom he was married, whose name was YRENE. And LEO had to wife a woman born in *Athens*, whose name was also YRENE, which was the fairest woman of her time; and for wisdom and policy, one of the most Noble and excellent Ladies that euer was in the world. Wherefore without any contradiction he was presently held and obeyed as Emperour, in the place of his deceased father. In the beginning of his Empire he made shew to bee very devout and affected to the churches, and to religious persons of whatsoeuer order, seeking to aduance them to dignities. And he likewise made preparation of men and shipping against the Infidels, and went into *Asia* in person, and invaded the Prouince of *Soria*; but his journey took small effect: for, within short time after, hee returned, with losse of some of his people, and of his owne reputation.

This Emperour LEO had also other wars with the Infidels, by his Captains; wherein hapned many accidents, but not of any account. In this manner he past the first three yeers of his raigne; and in the fourth with this shew and apparance of a good Prince, he practised with his subjects, to chuse a yong son which he had, called CONSTANTINE (as was his grandfather) Emperour. And in the same yeer also, he, knowing that sundry of his Court were of the Romish Sect concerning the worshipping of Images, he made many of them to be apprehended, and openly disgraced, and depriued and deposed them from their dignities: whereupon he began to be hated, and held for an euill Prince. But by his wiles means, and his owne death which shortly ensued, it was mitigated: for, he died of a carbuncle which arose in his head; without leaving ought done by him worthy of memory, at least that I haue found written.

This

This hapned in the fift yeer of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred fourescore and two. He was much condemned for the taking of a Crowne of Golde, and certaine stones of great price, out of the famous temple of *S. Sophia*, which by the Emperour MARYICA were offered and dedicated to the Image of our Ladie in *Constantinople*, which hee tooke from thence, and put vpon his owne head.

In this time in *France* and *Germany* flourished CHARLES the Great, of whom (for that he was afterwards Emperour) I haue made this mention, as well in matters of war, as peace; who honoured and fauored valiant and hardie knights, and letters also and learned men: he procured iustice to be maintained in all his dominions, and that his gouernment should be just and vpright. Whereupon he created many Dukes and other dignities, and among them the twelue Peeres of *France*, which are so famous in all Histories. He also made and ordained the parliament at *Paris*: afterwards in the yeere 790, in the life time of CONSTANTINE sonne of this LEO, he founded an Vniuersitie in the same Citie, which hath bene famous and excellent; and is yet to vnto this day: and another in the Citie of *Pania*, which was the cause that both Chiuallrie and learning so much flourished in his time.

In the time of the Emperour LEO, of whom we now leaue to make any more mention, the said CHARLES came into *Spain*; where he was by treason ouerthrowne at *Ronceuaux*, and lost the flowre of his nobilitie and Chiuallrie: by means of ALONSO the Second, called the Chaste, aided and assisted by the Moores and Infidels which then liued in *Aragon*, and in the territorie thereof. In matters which preceded and succeeded this battaile and the causes therof, and which passed therein, there is great difference between the French and Spanish chroniclers, and among themselves of either Nation. Wherefore, and for as much as the acts of CHARLES the Great (before that he was Emperour) concerne not my Historie, I therefore leaue to speake any more thereof. And also for that we know that FLORIAN DE CAMPO hath written thereof at large in his generall Historie of *Spain*: of whose singular diligence there is no doubt to be made, but that he hath inuolably obserued the truth, without omitting any thing worthy of memory, especially in a matter so famous and memorab; and therefore referring the Reader to him, I will retorne to prosecute my journey.

The battaile of Ronceuaux.



THE
LIFE OF CONSTANTINE
THE SIXT OF THAT NAME,
AND THREESCORE AND FIF-
TEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

LEO being dead, his sonne Constantine (notwithstanding that he was but a child) succeeded him, and through the wisdom of his mother, and the oath of the men of warre, was obeyed: This woman was so discrete, that shee ruled the Empire ten yeeres, and was the cause of the Councell assembled about the controuersie for Images, and agreement to be made betweene the Greekes and Latine Churches. But the yong man coming to ripper age, became her of the gouernement; and made her to line apart from him; and became so displeasing, that his owne people conspired against him, although the conspiracy took not the wished effect. But he being still beloued, certaine of the principall men of the Empire incited her to resume the gouernement: and for setting aside the love of a mother towards her sonne, apprehended him, and caused his eyes to be plucked.

Kk 3

pluckt

The death of the Emperour Leo.

plucked out, as he had done by many others. This was the cause that the Eastern Empire was translated into the West; for the Pope seeing the East Empire to decline, and that it was governed by a woman, hee annointed and crowned Charles the Great, Emperour, with whom Yrene sought to have bene married: but itooke no effect, shee being dissuaded by the Princes of Gracia; but she made a firme and assured peace with him, which shee not long enioyed: for iudricie valiant men, which tooke in ill part to be ruled by a woman, conspiring against her, by a wile apprehended, and deposed her from the Empire, giving the charge thereof to a wry Noble man, whose name was Nicephorus,



When as Leo the fourth was dead, his sonne CONSTANTINE being little more then twelve yeeres old, was received for Emperour (notwithstanding his small age); whereunto his mothers wifedome and valour was a great helpe; and also for that the subjects of the Empire were sworne to him in the life time of his father, yet this could not be effected without difficultie; for some principall men disdaining to be commanded by a childe, and a woman, secretly practised to make NICEPHORVS Emperour, who was the young mans vncle, and brother to his father Leo: although that through forgetfulness, no mention was before made of him. But this was not so secretly done, but that YRENE had intelligence thereof, and tooke for good order,

that shee apprehended and banished those which were the Authors thereof, and made their hayre to be cut, which then was a great disgrace: yet vpon NICEPHORVS she inflicted no other punishment, but onely made him take a Monasticall habit; and so the Empire remained in peace to her sonne. But notwithstanding that the young man was Emperour, yet his mother commanded all, and (as all Authors write) very vprightly and prudently; for she was a wife and a very excellent woman, and about all was very much deuoted to the Romish religion, whereof this may serue for prooffe; for the seeing the discord betweene the Greekes and Latins about the worshipping of Images, and other points in Religion wherein they disagreed, endeouored very earnestly, that a generall Councell might be called; and her industrie tooke such effect (although somewhat long first) that a councell was assembled in the Citie of Nicene, in the Prouince of Bythinia, where other councells in former time had bene held; in which were three hundred and fiftie Bishops, and therein were handled many matters concerning the estate of the Clergie, and those were condemned for Hereticks, which denied the veneration of Images in the Church. So as during the government of YRENE, the Images and pictures of CHRIST, and our Ladie, and sundrie other Saints in the Easterne Churches were againe set vp; whereat the common people which euer delighted in nouelties, was very joyfull; and so was THEODORVS the Patriarch of Constantinople, which succeeded PAVL, who had fought & much desired the same. And for that he could not obtaine it of the Emperour, LEO, seeing himselfe growne old and sickly, before his death, he left his dignitie and made himselfe a Monk: who going to visite the Empreffe YRENE, she demanded of him the reason of so noble a change; she making an eloquent Oration, he tolde her, that he had left the world, for that hee could not resist the Emperour, and for that hee would not die separated from the Vnion and obedience of the Catholique Romish Church, beseeching her to procure the said Vnion, which could not be but by a generall Councell; for the effecting whereof, she should vse her Authority, & that for his part he would not lye out of the Church, but continue in his Monasterie to doe penance for his finnes, the which hee said was to discharge his Conscience before his death.

It is said, that this THEODORVS was he which principally moued YRENE so earnestly to sollicite the calling of a Councell; the resolution whereof concerning Images, is contained in two verses, which then were made, and at this day are placed in a Church in Venice, which in Latin are thus:

*Nam Deus quod Imago docet, sed non Deus ipsa,
Hanc uideas, sed mente colas, quod ceruis in ipsa.*

Which in effect is as much to say, as, That which this Image doth shew and signifie, is God; but the Image is not so: behold the same, but with the minde recuerence that which thereby is represented.

Having ended a matter of so great importance as that which I recited; in all the rest of the time

time of her government, both before and after the Councell which were some yeeres, shee bare herselfe farre more like a politick valiant man, than a delicate and beautifull woman as she was: but her sonne CONSTANTINE, who was now comen to mans estate, and like to his father, disliked his mothers government, and in the end deposed her from the same, and from the Councell also, making her to lye priuately, without any authority, when shee had with great wifedome governed in his name the space often yeeres, and maintained the Empire with iustice, in peace with all the world.

It is written, that in those daies was found in Constantinople, in a very old Sepulchre, a plate or leafe of gold vpon the breast of a corpse, which therein had bene buried: wherein were written these words, CHRIST shall be born of the Virgin MARY: Thou shalt see mee againe at such time as CONSTANTINE and his mother YRENE shall be Emperours. This was held for a great matter, and YRENE and her son made great account of this Table: for, it seemed to be written before the coming of CHRIST.

The Emperour, being now at liberty, began freely to vse those qualities whereto hee was naturally inclined; in such sort, that he became ill beloued, and they againe the second time conspired against him, seeking to make his vncle NICEPHORVS, Emperour. But, as to Princes (whether good or bad) most matters are commonly discovered: so this conspiracy was likewise reuealed; and he, knowing it, commanded some of those which had been practicers therein, to be apprehended, whom hee severely punished; and commanded his vncle NICEPHORVS to be perpetually banished. After this, he put away his wife, who was a very Noble woman called MARY; and, diuorcing himselfe from her, shut her vp in a Nunnerie, and married one of her maids called THEODORA, of whom hee was enamoured; a woman of no desert, but onely that she was fair and very beautifull.

At such time as CONSTANTINE and his mother reigned in the East, CHARLES the Great was King of France; so called for the great exploits which he had performed: yet some are of opinion, that he was so called by reason of the great constitution of his body; for, he was corpulent, very big limed and tall, and had not liued at his ease, but had vndergon great and dangerous wars.

In the beginning of the Emperour CONSTANTINE'S Raig, King CHARLES came in person into Italy to see the Pope, and to pacifie certain combustions raised by some Dukes, who were desirous of innovations: which being quieted, hee had intelligence that the Duke of Bawiera (for, now they were no more called Kings) rebelled against him, with an intent to exempt himselfe from his subjection; and to that end had leuied his forces. Whereupon, CHARLES resolved to go against him in person, and by another way to send his sonne PEPIN vpon the same seruice; and so hee beganne to make cruell waire against him; whereof when the Eastern Emperour CONSTANTINE was aduertised, imagining that CHARLES, beinge busied in those warres, would not be able to prouide for the affairs of Italy, hee sent commandement into those Countries which he held for him, and som new troops which he leuiued for that purpose, that they should make waire against the Pope and King CHARLES; which they presently put in execution: but the Dukes of Beneuent and Spoleto, and of other Cities, made such speedy preparation against them, that they were easily rebelled and ouerthrowne; so as from thenceforth they liued quiet and at peace. And CHARLES had likewise good success in his waire against the Bawarians (although not without effusion of much blood) that hee pacified all that state, and reduced the Prouinces to his seruice.

From thence hee went against the Slavons, which held the Prouinces of Istria and Dalmatia; by them called *Slauonia*; and in one Summer brought all vnder his dominion. Afterwards, raising a new power, hee resolved to make a conquest of Hungary and Austria, beeing the ancient Pannonia, which the Hunnes Auares, had of long time possessed, as is before said: And notwithstanding that this was a very dangerous warre, and that therein were many great and notable battels (wherein all the Nobility, and the greatest part of the common people of those Countries, died; so as the Land lay in a manner waste and dispeopled), yet in the end, in the eighth yeere after the beginning thereof, he became absolute Lord of all the Country. After these forsaide warres, hee had warres with the King of Denmark; for, the Danes harried the sea-coasts with their fleets; and heerein (as well as in the rest) this glorious Prince had the victory: and hee afterwards made peace with their King, and resolved to make an end of subduing the Saxons; whose warres at times, as they rebelled, continued thirty yeeres; and hee slue of them in one battell thirty thousand: and in another, which hee fought with them afterwards, hee brought them

A plate of gold found vpon the breast of a dead body in Constantinople. A wonders if true.

Charles the Great, whose wife called.

Charles the Great conquest Hungary and Austria. Charles ward against the King of Denmark, and subdued the Saxons.

wholly to obedience, and made them subject to the Empire; and, for his better security, he led the principal of them with him into *France*. In which conquests which I so briefly haue recited, some battels were fought by himself in person, and some by his son P E R I N : in all which, he won the name and reputation of a most excellent Captain.

These things being past, in the year of our Lord seven hundred ninety & six, Pope A D R I A N died in *Rome*: through whose death they chose P O P E L E O the third of that name; who presently after his election, sent great Presents and a solemne Ambassage to C H A R L E S the Great. In these times the Emperor C O N S T A N T I N E 's men of war did greatly annoy those of C H A R L E S the Great: for, after that he liued apart from his mother, he became very cruell, and in his government negligent and disorderly: wherefore he grew to be so ill beloved by his Subjects, that some of the chief of them perswaded his mother Y R A N N A to depose him, and resume the government of the Empire into her owne hands; whereto they promised to assist her. The mother, who had a courage more like a reuengefull man, than a delicate woman, preferring the displeasure which she had conceiued, before the loue of a mother to her son, with the aid of those which took her part in that action, vpon a day by a willesified on him, and caused his eyes to be presently plucked out, as hee had done to many others: which was one of the strangest and most cruell and inhumane parts that euer woman plaied in the world. And this being done, all obeyed her: and she alone had the government of the Empire; which yet was very great: for, it contained, in *Europe*, *Thracia*, and all the Prouinces of *Gracia*, the Isles of *Sicilia*, *Candia*, and those in the great sea called *Archipelagus*, and that part of *Italie* which was called *Magna Gracia*, and all the Prouinces of *Asia* the Lesse: all which were governed by this valiant woman, with great policy and authority. Who when she vnderstood of the victories & great power of C H A R L E S the Great, desiring to be at peace with him, and fearing his greatness, she commanded those Cities which she held in *Italie*, and the Gouerners of them, to hold good correspondence and neighbourhood with those Cities which were vnder the Pope, or King C H A R L E S: and, besides this, she sent her Ambassadors vnto him, excusing herselfe of that which had hapned concerning her son, and made him many great offers. Which, C H A R L E S gladly entertained: for, he was a milde Prince to the meeke, and rough and cruell to the proud and rebellious.

All *Italy* being in peace vnder the shadow and protection of CHARLES the Great, where now was no memory of the Lombards which were wont to oppose it, the duell, a fower of diffension, acted his part in the City of *Rome*: which was, that Pope LEO sitting (as they say) in Saint PETER'S Chair, two Priests, Cardinals of great account, called PASCAL & CRYMOR, conspired against him, and held fo strong a hand among their complices, that they vpon a day apprehended him going in Procession; which they did with such an vpure and tumult, that they had almost slain him; and handled him in such manner, that (as most Writers affirm) they put out his eyes, and cut out his tongue, and so they committed him prisoner to a Monastery of Saint ERASMUS; publishing abroad, that they did it for the crimes by him committed, and the errors which he maintained: and being there, as BERTHOBERTVS, and some others affirm, he was miraculously restored to his sight and speech; and a chamberlain of his vied such secret means, or with the permission of his Keepers, that he was hidden in a certain grave or sepulchre, and by night conveyed to the Duke of *Spolita*, who then was Lieutenant to CHARLES the Great in *Italy* (which offices then were giuen for euer, or for term of life); by whose aid he went to King CHARLES in *Germany*, to complain of the violence done vnto him: whither already messengers were sent by the other two, PASCAL and CRYMOR, with informations and accusations against him. But, notwithstanding, the Pope was solemnly entertained & honoured by him: and, remaining there som few daies, the King promised to come in person to *Rome*; and appointed to many Prelates and religious men to accompany him, as sufficed to bring him thither, and to restore him to his seat and estate, with great processions which were made for him: and the two Priests Cardinals afore said, which were so mightie, absenting themselves, euer gaue out in speeches, that they attended the coming of the King.

King CHARLES the Great, having taken order for the affairs of *France* and *Germany*, wherein he was a most mightie prince, determined to come into *Italy*; and at his coming, by the hand of his son PERDIN, he pacified some tumults there, and cam to the citie of *Rome*, accompanied with many great Dukes and other princes his subiects; whither repaired out of *Italy* and from other parts, many Bishops, prelates and other great men; and he was received with such honour

as to him did appertain; where kissing the Popes foote he did him such other superstitious reverence, as the custome was. After this, hauing continued eight daies in *Rome*, he commanded all the prelates and Princes which then were in the citie to be assembled; and the Pope himself, and all the rest being together, there were some which complained and accused the Pope the Emperor: and so the Emperor began openly to aske euery mans opinion concerning those accusations, wherto all answered, That no man ought to iudge the Head of the Church: which the King obseruing, he forbore to aske any more questions. Then the Pope which hitherto had bene silent, rose from the place where he sat, and went into a pulpit which was there, and with a loud voyce said, That seeing of his life and behauiour, no man would or had authority to make enquire, or to giue sentence, yet the next day (following the custome of his predecessors) he would purge and cleere himselfe, as it behoued: and therewith for that day the Confitorie was dissolued: And vpon the next day, they all being assembled in like manner, he againe went vp into the same place, and taking a booke of the holy Euangelists in his hands, laid with so lowd a voyce as they all might heare him, that he sware by God, and those holic Euangelists, that all that which his aduersaries had laid to his charge, was false and vntue, and that he had neither committed or thought any such matter as they objected; but that they had of malice and enuie slandered him: and that he therefore publicly made this protestation, and confirmed by his oath, seeing that to them all the manner of his life and gouernment was well knowne.

Having ended this his protestation, his oath was allowed, and himselfe commended; and the King commanded his accusers, PASCAL and CAPVVS, to be brought out and apprehended, and would haue condemned them to death: but the Pope was contented to spare their liues, in as they might be committed to prison, and thence condemned to perpetual exile. Eight daies after, the Pope having first considered how much the Greeke Emperors enuied his greatness, together with the small affection they bare to the worshipping of Images, and other points wherein they were opposite, and seperated from the Church of Rome, and how requisite it was to haue an Emperour which might maintain the prouinces of Italy in peace, which vpon euery light occasion were disturbed: but chiefly to shew himselfe gratefull for the benefits which he and the Church of Rome had receiued from him and the house of France, but aboute all for accepting his protestation in his owne defence, for a sufficient prooofe of his honestie, he resolved to make CHARLES the Great Emperour, and to translate the head of the Empire into the West. Wherewith, as most writers affirme, he did not acquaint the King, conceiuing the greatnes of his minde to be such, that he neither had desired it, neither would haue accepted the same. And hauing ruminated herupon, against the day of the natiuitie of CHRISTVS, hee commanded all the Priests Cardinalls, and all the other prelates to come to a Masse, whither CHARLES was also inuited, and came, together with all the other princes, and so about the midst of the Masse, the Pope then laying it, hee turned about from the Altar to the people, and with a loud voice said, That he did then elect, create, and publish CHARLES the great, the most mightie and victorious King of Italy, of the Germanes, and of the French-men, Emperour, and euer AVGVSTVS. Which being done, hee set the Imperiall Crowne vpon his head, and all those which were present consented thereto, with acclamations and applauses, saying, To the most godly, euer AVGVSTVS, great and most victorious Emperour CHARLES, God graunt long life and victorie.

This acclamation being ended, the Pope anointed him, and therewith anointed and intituled his sonne PERVIN with the good liking and consent of his father) King of *Italy*, which coronations were performed, with such feallings and solemnities, as the discrete Reader may well imagine; vpon the birth day of CHRISTY, which was the five and twentieth of December, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred, foure hundred threecore and eight yeeres from the time that CONSTANTINE the great transferred the Seate of the Empire into *Thracia*, to the citie of *Constantinople*, and three hundred and thirtie yeeres from the time that AVGUSTULUS was the last Emperor in *Italy*. And so CHARLES remained Emperor, and the Empire was transported from the Greekes to the Germanes; for although that CHARLES was King of *France*, yet his originall, linage, and countrie was in *Germanie*, and so it appeareth by histories; and notwithstanding that he was King of the French, he was borne in *Germanie*, and the French-men also had their originall and descent from *Germanie*; and the kingdom of *France* extended it selfe so farre in the time of this Emperor, that the most of the prouinces of *Germanie* were called by the name, and contained within the Kingdom of *France*; so as there is no reason that any authors should say, that the Empire was first transported to the French, and afterwards in proceefe

Pope Leo his
speech in the
Consistorie in his
own defence,

From where
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Charles the
great crowned
Emperor and
his sonne Pepin
King of Italy by
Pope Leo.

The originall of
Charles the
great.

of

of time to the Germanes; the which is maintained by OTHO FREISENGENSIS, GODERT, MITHREBENSIS, WESPERGENSIS, ABBA, and others, although of lesse authority; yet of no lesse diligence, as PLATINA, MARTIANVS, ROBERTVS, GAGVINO, and most diligently IOHANNES NAGELRAVS; and about all; BEATVS RENANVS, HENRICVS MCVIVS, in his notable bookes of the state of *Germanie*, and CYSPINIANVS, in the life of the same CHARLES.

Faunters be
flowed by
Charles the
Great upon the
citie of Florence.

Nicephorus
made Emperour
of Gracia in
place of Yrene.

Prince euer a
free citie.

Nicephorus
made Emperour
of Gracia in
place of Yrene.



THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE GREAT, AND THREESCORE AND SIXTEENTH ROMANE EM- PEROR, & OF NICEPHORVS in Constantinople.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



When as Charles the great was made Emperour, he was of the age of fiftie and eight yeeres; and returning into *Germany*, he wholly conuerted the Saxons to the Christian faith, and made an accord with Nicephorus Emperour of the Greekes; which afterwards was broken, for that Nicephorus ayded the Venetians, against him and his sonne Pepin; but Charles finally making peace with the Venetians, left them in that liberty, wherein they haue maintained themselves vntill this present, and came to a full peace with Nicephorus. He diuided the Empire betwene his three sonnes, and commanded Pepin to goe to *Corsica* and *Sardinia* to defend the same against the Infidels which went thither to inhabit. And vnder the command of Charles his sonne he ouercame many other Nations, Rebels, and Infidels; and became so great as the King of the

Malom.

Malometist sought his friendship. Two of his sonnes dyed, to wit, Pepin and Charles, so as his whole hope remained in Lewis, whom he made his successor; And being now very old, departed out of this world, ouercome with a paine in his side, hauing gouerned the Empire fourteene yeeres, and his kingdom, seven and forty.



Onsidering the great paines I haue taken in writing this History (I take God to record) that I stand in more need of some rest, and to be eased of so great a burthen, by abbreviating the Historie, and leauing out as much as may be without confusion, then to redouble my toyle, through the occasions which now present themselves. I say this, for that the Pope in this time had transferred the Empire to CHARLES the Great; and it hath euer since continued in *Germany*: And in *Gracia* also remained Princes, which in like manner were called Emperours, and pretended good right; so as we may say that the Empire and the title thereof was diuided, and came to be two Empires and to haue two Emperours. But I finde my selfe in a great confusion, to thinke how this matter may be handled: for, first to write of one, and then to retorne to write of the other, as did BAPTISTA IGNATIUS, in the short epitomie which he wrote of the Emperours; it seemeth to be inconuenient to bring one of them to an end, and then to make the Reader turne backe againe seauen or eight hundred yeeres in the historie. And to write one or two lines of the Empire, and then as many of the other, as did IOHN CYSPINIAN, that liketh me as ill: for it greatly confoundeth the historie, and so in a manner neither the one nor the other can be vnderstood; and to relate all together at large (for the many occasions which are offered, and the diuersitie of the times and places) I see not how it can be. To treat onely of the one (as some haue done) and wholly to leaue out and forget the other, I also hold it for an iniurie and crueltie. To let sink and die in obliuion a matter of so great importance as is the dominion of the Greeke Emperours, which continued so long afterwards; or to leaue the successors of CHARLES the Great, in which at this day the Empire remaineth, were to leaue the right way which leadeth to the place whither I am bound, and to take another whereby I should neuer attaine to my iournies end whither I am to trauaile. Wherefore seeing that I cannot goe both waies, after some considerations, I haue resolved to take for my principall subiect and historie of the Empire, that which the Church of *Rome* approued and then established, which is that of *Italy* and *Germany*, in the person of CHARLES and his successors; recounting their liues and actes with such order as I haue obserued in those which are already past, and by the way of discourse euer to make some mention of the Greeke Emperours, as occasion shall be offered: whereby he that shall reade this historie, may vnderstand the successe of both Empires, vnder the name and title of one only.

Hauing resolved vpon this course, let vs retorne to our CHARLES the Great, whom we lately made Emperour; and to NICEPHORVS who tyrannically vsurped the Empire of *Constantinople*, by deposing the Emperesse YRENE. I say then that CHARLES was fiftie eight yeeres old, when (as I haue related) he was by Pope LEO the third crowned Emperour in the citie of *Rome*; and had reigned three and thirtie yeeres the mightie King of *France* and *Germany*; all which time he had spent in the warres, against rebels and Infidels (whereof in *Germany* were many) with great felicitie and victorie, taming and subduing diuers nations and prouinces. CHARLES being come into *Germany*, wholly subdued the Saxons, and reduced them to the faith, wherein as the other nations of *Germany*, they euer were inconstant and stubborn. NICEPHORVS who then reigned in *Constantinople*, knowing his great power; after that he had settled himselfe in his throne, and was well assured of those whom hee had dispossessed, and had most cause to suspect, and had banished YRENE; hee sent Ambassadors of great account to CHARLES the Great, very louingly desiring him to hold him for his brother and friend. The Emperour CHARLES who was a benigne Prince, knowing how mightie the Sarazins were, and the great danger that all Christendome should incur through discord betwene the two Empires, concluded a peace with NICEPHORVS; and with his Ambassadors sent others of his owne, to confirme the same: which was established in the same manner and with the same conditions, as it was made with the Emperesse YRENE; the citie of *Venice* remaining friend to both parties without any subiection to either. There was also a peace concluded betwene him and GODFREY King of *Denmarke*, which some call *Dacia*; whereupon the said GODFREY

800

Charles the
great subdued
the Saxons.

Nicephorus
sent an ambassa-
dor to Charles
the Great,

PREY departed out of his kingdom, roially accompanied, to see and speake with the Emperor, although that this interview tooke no effect; for his people dissuading him, counsell'd him not to see him: neuertheless the peace was made, and took place.

After this, it followed that for some matters which the Venetians attempted against the Empire of CHARLES, in the behalfe of NICEPHORVS Emperor of Constantinople (yet some affirme that it was through the false information of FORTVNATVS Patriarch of Grado) CHARLES the Great commanded his sonne PERIN King of Italy, to make warres against them: which he began very resolutely, and took the cities and fortresses which they held in the maine land, and besieged the citie of Venice it selfe both by sea and land; to the reliefe whereof the Greeke Emperor NICEPHORVS sent a fleet. Of these warres of Venice ancient authors doe write so diuersly, that a man can hardly say which was the truth: for some say that Venice was wholly taken; and others say that but some Ilands thereof, and that the place which is called *Rialto* defended it selfe: howsoever it was, the warre continued many daies, and CHARLES granted peace and libertie to the Venetians, to liue after their lawes and customes, for that hee was to renew the peace with the Greeke Emperour, which he had broken by reason of the Venetian warres. Some write that the Emperor received a great affront in these warres: but howsoever, the Venetians wonne much reputation to haue valiantly made head against him.

Charles his
and testament.

CHARLES living in this prosperitie, made his will and testament: wherein he diuided his kingdomes betweene three legitimate sonnes which he had, to wit, CHARLES, which was his eldest sonne, PERIN, and LEVVS; wherein hee made his sonne CHARLES King of the greatest and best parts of France and Germany; PERIN he made King of Italy and *Banania*, and other prouinces; and LEVVS of *Prouance*, and of that part of France which bordereth vpon *Spaine*, and other prouinces. Which his testament he sent to be ratified by Pope LEO, and shortly after gaue to his sonnes the names and titles of Kings: but all succeeded after another manner: for God otherwise disposed thereof at his pleasure. This testament I haue seene written by some authors. It afterwards happened that a great fleet of Infidels which inhabited *Spaine*, with the aide and assistance of the Africans, invaded the Iles of *Sardinia* and *Corsica*: for the defence whereof the Emperor CHARLES sent commandment to his sonne PERIN, that he should send thither a Captaine, whose name was BVCARDVS; who tooke so good order, as he drave the Infidels out of those Ilands, and slew five thousand of them in one battaile. And with no lesse good successe, he vndertook another warre with the Dukes of the Bohemians, and of the Polonians, which is part of the ancient *Sarmatia*, who infected the countries vnder his dominion; against which he sent his sonne CHARLES, with great forces of Burgonians, Saxons and Germans. And the young CHARLES imitating his father, warred valiantly and with discretion: and coming first to a battaile with the Bohemians and LEO their Duke, he ouertane them, and slew LEO; although that therein passed many daies, and there was an intermission in this war: and in the end he had the like successe with the Polacres, so as they all became subiect to his father. For which his victories he was so much feared and renowned through the world, that a great King of the East, and AMYRATH the greatest of all the Mahometites, sent their Ambassadors with rich presents to him, desiring peace and friendship; and the like did all the Kings Christian.

Ambassadors
sent to Charles
the Great.

Whilest as these and such like matters happened vnto CHARLES the Great, NICEPHORVS Emperor of Constantinople, shewed himselfe to be very couetous, imposing new taxes and tributes vpon his countries and subiects; hauing euer a desire to disturbe the Empire of CHARLES the Great (which he neuer forbore to doe) endamaging his countries, by robbing and spoiling the same, and secretly fauouring his enemies, whereby he gat little honour, and lesse profit: for this enuie and malice being fixed in his heart, he not only left to make war against the Infidels, as he ought to haue done, but knowing that they would warre with him, he bought his peace of them; and to his great shame and disgrace bound himselfe to pay them yearly, a great summe of money; and for that instant sent them great gifts and presents, hauing his purpose wholly bent against the Christians; which cost him his life, as presently shall be declared.

CHARLES living in this tranquillitie, GODFREY King of Denmarke made warre against him, who was a mightie Prince, and commanded a large dominion; and with great forces came into *Friseland* and into *Saxony*, where he did great harm. Against whom the Emperor addressing himselfe (although now old and vnweldie) speedily departed with a great Armie, and by the way newes was brought him, that the said King was dead, and his Armie returned; which was held

The death of
the King Den-
marke.

held for great newes, considering how great warres were expected. And, vpon the same day, newes came also, how that his son PERIN, who in great prosperitie raigned in Italy, was dead in the City of *Milan*: for the which he was sorry, and returned to the City of *Aken*, or *Aix*; whither Ambassadors came to him from HERMIOVS King of Denmarke, which succeeded GODFREY, humbly desiring peace: the like came from NICEPHORVS, Emperour of *Gracie*, and the like petition also came from AMBLAT, a King of the Moors, who raigned in a great part of *Spaine*: to all which, he made gracious answers; and, granting their petitions, gaue hearty thanks to God, for that he was generally so well esteemed. But, after this prosperitie, a great calamity and scourge ensued; which was, that it pleased God to take away his other sonne called CHARLES, who lay on the Borders of Germany, for the defence thereof: so as now his whole hope rested in his third son LEVVS.

The death of
Perin, King of
Italy.

NICEPHORVS the Emperor of *Gracie*, being assured of CHARLES the Great, and hauing bought his peace of the Infidels, took his son STAVRATVS for his companion in the Empire: determining to make warre against his neighbours the Bulgarians, whose King was then called CRVVS, with whom he fought some battels; wherein he had the victorie, and slew many of his enemies. By reason of these victories he grew so proud and insolent, that, making small account of his enemies, he managed the warres with little care or discretion: which this CRVVS perceiuing, he raised the greatest and best power that he was able to make, and the most secretly that might be, march by night, and before that it was day, assaulted the Emperors Camp: who being vnable to set his people in order, they were defeated, and the Emperor was there slain; and his son STAVRATVS, being sore wounded, escaped by flight; and so ended the life and Raig of NICEPHORVS. At this ouerthrowe great treasure was lost, and much of the Greek Nobility then perished: which happened in the yeer of our Saviour CHRIST eight hundred and five, he hauing raigned nine yeers. His sonne STAVRATVS, coming to *Adrianople*, and saluted and sworn Emperor, was so ill inclined, and so insulicent, and therewith (aboue all) so deformed, ill fauoured, and churlish in behauiour, that there was not any man pleased with his succession; so as within four months after hee came to the Empire, hee was dispossessed thereof by his brother-in-law MICHAEL; who, apprehending him, put him into a Monastery: and this MICHAEL, remaining peacefull Emperor, was a vertuous man, and a good Gouerner; but so inclined to peace, that afterwards, through his excessive fear of war, he lost his Empire, as we will shew. Now, as soon as he was chosen Emperour, he with all expedition sent his Ambassadors to the old Emperor CHARLES the Great, desiring friendship and peace with him; which was concluded in such manner as it was with his Predecessor NICEPHORVS. And CHARLES the Great, being now very old, desiring to take order for the estate of the Empire, called a most solemne Parliament in the City of *Agnisgran* or *Aken*, where he made his son LEVVS to be intitled CESAR, and his Successor, and his nephew BERNARD, son to PERIN, King of Italy, with the consent of Pope LEO, who vntill then liued. And, this being performed, the rest of his time he spent in alms-giuing, enriching the Churches and Clergie, releuing the poor; and reforming abuses, hee ordained good lawes and statutes. The yeer following, the Infidel-Sarazins of *Spaine* and *Africa*, invaded *Sardinia* and *Corsica*; wherein they made cruell war, and did the like on the Coast of Italy: but yet (though not without great trouble) they were repelled and scattered by the Emperors Captains, and by his nephew BERNARD King of Italy. It followed, that MICHAEL Emperor of Constantinople, being assailed by CRVVS, King of Bulgaria, against his wil was forced to take the Field, and to fight with him; and in the first battell got the victory: but fighting againe the second time, he was ouerthrowne, and therewith lost both the day, and the courage to rule; so as he voluntarily renounced the Empire: or (as some say) a principall Captain of his, called LEO, rebelling, and he not daring to make head against him, deposed himselfe from the Empire, and went into a Cloister, hauing raigned not fully three yeers. And this LEO, who was son of a Gentleman called PARDVS, was made Emperor: and presently, in the like manner as MICHAEL had done, he sent his Ambassadors to CHARLES the Great, to establish and confirm the peace concluded with his Predecessors; which was performed.

Michael, Em-
perour of Con-
stantinople, de-
posed himselfe
from his Empire.

In the mean time that LEO was chosen and crowned, CRVVS King of Bulgaria, following the victory which he had obtained against the Emperor MICHAEL, marched with his Army the direct way towards Constantinople, whither the Emperor LEO had drawn his forces, and had raised new; and CRVVS came so neer vnto the City, that hee might well see the same. Which disgrace LEO could not with patience endure (being a very valiant man) but

Cronus King
of the Bulgarians
slain by the Emperor
Leo.

The death of
Charles the
Great.

but took the field with all his forces, in very good order, and made head against his enemy; who with the joy of the late victory attended him: and there was fought betwene them a cruel battaile, which lasted a great part of the day, and many men were slain of either partie. And therein happened a notable accident seldom seen in other encounters, which was, that in the furie of the fight the Emperor and the king chanced to meete; and either knowing his adversary, there charging one the other, the Emperor carried himselfe so well, as he ouerthrew the King dead to the earth; so that within a while after, the Bulgarians began to retire, and presently to runne away, in such manner that LEO had a full compleat and noble victory, together with the spoile of their Campe; and so returned to *Constantinople* with great joy. The Bulgarians being now contented to defend their owne limits, the Greeke Emperour remained in peace, as CHARLES the Great did in *Germany*. But as all things in this world have an end; so ended the good fortunes and great power of CHARLES the Great, together with his life: for being then of the age of threescore and eleuen yeeres, he was taken with a paine in his side, whereof within the space of seuen daies he died, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fourteen, when he had reigned Emperour foueteene yeeres, and seuen and fortieth King of *France* and of *Germany*; and of *Italy* forty two.

During his whole life he had much reuerenced the Church & employed his authoritie to aduance it, and bountifullly imparted his treasure to enrich it: but this great abundance in so plentiful a peace, made Church-men grow dissolute. The Emperor CHARLES being well instructed in religion, knowing how much it did import that learning and good life should shine in those which were to instruct others, he called five Councells in diuers parts of his dominions: at *Mentz*, at *Rhimes*, *Tours*, *Chalons* and at *Arles*; and by the aduice of these Assemblies he set downe orders for the reformation of the Church, in a booke intituled, *Capitula Caroli Magni*; a reuerent testimonie of the singular piety of this great Prince.

This noble Prince was endued with so many excellent vertues, that we reade of very few in antient histories that excelled him, so as iustly he may be compared with any of the most excellent whosoever; for in martiall discipline, in valour, and dexteritie in armes, I know not any that hath exceeded him: he obtained so many victories, fought so many battailes, and subdued so many fierce and warlike nations, before, and after that he was Emperour, as any of the most famous that ever was. He was tall of stature, very well proportioned in all parts, passing strong, of a faire and graue countenance, valiant, mild, pitifull, a lover of iustice, liberall, very affable, pleasant, well read in historie, a great friend to Arts and Sciences, and sufficiently well seene in them, and a man which aboute all honoured and rewarded learned men. He was very charitable and a great almes giuer; and so good an harbourer of strangers, that in *Syria*, in *Africa*, in *Egypt*, and in other provinces of the Infidels, wherein Christians liued, he found meanes to haue hospitals, and almes houses, for such as were poore; and in his kingdomes, and euen in his court, he harboured and relieved strangers and pilgrimes. Concerning his faith and religion, he was very zealous; and the most of the warres which he made, were to enlarge the Christian faith. He superstitiously honoured & obeyed the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope Bishop thereof, and other Bishops and prelates, and commaunded his subjects to doe the like; whereof besides histories, some chapters in the Decretals, beare record. He was likewise very deuout, and spent great part of the time in prayer, and hearing diuine seruice. In his diet he was very temperate, and a great enemy to all riot and excess; for at his table were neuer serued aboute fower or five dishes, and those of such meate as best pleased his taste; which he vfed to the same end that God created them: which was for his sustenance, and not for a shew and pompe, as nowadaies is vfed; in such sort that themeades which naturally are but to please the taste, or at the most the fauour or smell, they will now haue them to satisfie all the other senses; and likewise finding new inventions, the greatest part of their life is spent at the table; and so they eate of a greater number of exquisite meates, drest in such manner and with such sauces, that it is hard to know what taste they haue, so as they seeme strange and rare: and sometime meate is made of such things that were not created of GOD to such purpose, no more then he made Goats to draw carts, or to till the earth.

Our CHARLES was not as some are at this day; for as he was rich and mightie, so hee was temperate and veruious; and maintained his body with what was needfull and wholesome. His ordinarie exercise was hunting, when hee had leisure, in time of warre; and in time of peace, hee gaue care to such as did reade histories to him; and sometimes hee heard musick, wherewith hee was much delighted, and had good skill therein. He

He was much condemned for hauing many base sonnes and daughters, but this was in the time of his youth; for afterwards it is to be supposed, that he contented himselfe with his wife: and for remedy of this imperfection, although he was three or foure times a widower, yet he euer married againe the daughters of mightie Kings and Princes. Finally, to make an end of that whereof I haue treated at large, he was an excellent Emperour, and feared and loued God, and died as I said, very olde and honourably; in peace with the Kings of *Spain*, *England*, *Denmarke*, *Bulgaria*, the Greeke Emperour LEO, and with all the Princes of that time. His body was buried in a sumptuous temple, which he caused to be built in the citie of *Aquisgrame* or *Aix*.

The authors from whom I haue drawne this relation, and where the Reader may reade the rest, concerning CHARLES the Great, and the other Emperours, and the histories of those times; are those which ordinarily I vse to alleage, since that the most antient authors haue failed; to wit, the *Annales of Constantinople* in the twentieth third booke, where they make an end, BLENDYUS in his second booke of his Decades, ZONARAS a Greeke author, SIGEBERTVS, and the Abbot WERSPERGENSIS, and MATHEW PALMERIVS, all three in the proesse of their Chronicles; PLATINA in the life of the Popes, CYSYNIAN BATTISTAI, BENNYTANVS DE ROMALDVS, JOHN CARION, JOHN EYKENSIVS, RAPHAEL VOLATERANVS, all these in their Emperours, VINCENTIVS an Historiographer in his Mirror. Besides the which it shall bee necessarie to see, and so may he doe which shall be a curious Reader, the French Historiographers, in matters which concerne the time of CHARLES the Great, which are PAVLVS EMILIVS a singular author, ROBERT GAGVIN, and MARTIN, OTHO FRISINGENSIS in the fifth booke of his histories, wherein he treateth at large of CHARLES the Great, and likewise RICHARD OF Saint Victor, and the Archbishop TURPIN.

Where Charles
the Great was
buried.



THE LIFE OF LEWES, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVR- NAMED PIVS, AND THRESCORE AND SEVENTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR: in whose time LEO and MICHAEL reigned in CONSTANTINOPLE. (*)

THE ARGVMENT.

LEWES being come to the Empire, confirmed the peace with the Emperour of *Gracia* and made warre in *Dacia*; from which it was requisite that he should returne in person; for redresse of certaine accidents which happened in *Italy*; which hee easily pacified by meanes of his Nephew Bernard, then King of *Italy*. This Emperour renounced all authority to confirme the Popes election. Bernard King of *Italy* rebelled; but being overcome, hee was led prisoner into *France* by his Vnkle Lewes, who came to his eldest sonne Lotharius that gouernour. Hee ouercame some Tyrants which rebelled against him; and confirmed to the Church the donation made by his father. There hapned vnto this Emperour one pitifull accident: which was, that his own children rebelled against him, and deposed him from the Empire: but they afterwards repenting, restored him to his estate. In which time befell a verie great disaster and ruine to *Rome* and *Italy*; for the Mahometists vnderstanding of the discord betwene Christian Princes, and standing in no feare of Michael the Greeke Emperour, hauing

having prepared a good Navy, called *Civita Vecchia*, and robbing and burning, came to besiege *Rome*: from whence (so soon as they saw succour come out of *Lumbarly*) they returned. They also did much harme in *Sicilia*. After which *Leo*, Lewes, falling sicke of a grievous infirmite, dyed within fortie dayes; having first set in order the state of the Empire.



Peace between
the Emperors
Lewes and
Leo.

In such manner as I have related in the historie of *CHARLES* the Great, his sonne *LEVVS* was by him in his life time nominated, and chosen Emperour. Wherefore when as his father was dead, he was by al men peaceably held and obeyed for such, and proved a vertuous Prince, and for his vertue and goodnesse was called *PIVS*. The first thing he vnderooke; was to come to the citie of *Aken*, where he held a generall Diet or Parliament; and took order for all things, concerning the peace, and government of the Empire, and the kingdomes which he inherited; whither came Ambassadors from *Leo* Emperour of *Greece*, to ratifie the peace made with his father: for the better assurance whereof, he sent Ambassadors with those which came, to the end that *Leo* should confirme the same in *Constantinople*.

He resolved also, as a new Emperour, and greedie of honour, to make warre against the Danes, in the behalfe of *EROLDVS*, and *ANFREDVS*, two Kings which were friends and subiect to the Empire, and were depofed from their kingdomes by the sonnes of *GODFRAY*. For this enterprife he made great preparation, sending for his nephew *BERNARD* King of *Italy*, as is before said: and for the better defence of his countries he left his 3 sons, to wit, *LOTHARIVS*, *PEPIN*, and *LEVVS*. *LOTHARIVS* which was his eldest sonne, he made gouernour of *Bavaria*, and the marches thereof; and to *PEPIN* he left the government of *Aquitania*, and other places thereabout: in the other provinces, hee confirmed the Dukes thereof, and in all he set very good order. Departing with his Armie, and being come into *Saxony*, the weather grew so cold, as during all that winter he could march no further: so as he was constrained to winter in a citie in *Saxony* called *Parburnia*, or *Parburnia*; for the cold was so extreme, as the seas in all that coast were frozen, and the warre was afterwards made by his Captaines.

LEVVS returned into *France*, by reason of other accidents which happened: for it fell out that in *Rome*, some great men seeing Pope *Leo* old and sickly, conspired against him. Against whom he proceeded, determining to haue done iustice vpon them; for which cause there was a tumult in *Rome*, and in some part of *Italy*: whereof when *LEVVS* was aduertised, he sent commandement to King *BERNARD*, speedily to go thither, to preuent rebellion in those parts: And *BERNARD* did so with all possible expedition, and fully pacified all matters in *Rome*, and in all *Italy*. Within few daies after, Pope *Leo* died, having bene Pope one and twenty yeeres: and in his place was chosen *STEFHEN* the fourth, who presently after his election went into *France* to the Emperour; and finding him in the Citie of *Arles*, was honorably receiued, and he with very great ceremonies and solemnities, crowned and anointed *LEVVS* Emperour, and then returned to *Rome*.

The coronation and solemnities being ended, there ensued some rebellions in the Dominions of *LEVVS*; for the Gascons, and other people their neighbours, rebelled; for that *LEVVS* had taken from them their Duke and Gouernour, called *SEGUINVS*: for it seemeth that then Dukes were made gouernours of Provinces, and that they for the most part, continued their whole life time in their governments, or at least a very long time; from whence afterwards came the great houses of *Germany*, and other parts: some by the Emperors gift; and others by force, making themselves tyrants; which in proceesse of time were ratified, and confirmed in their dignities. These aforesaid gouernements were also given with the titles of Earldomes, and Marquesses, as it appeareth by Histories: For, there was given vnto them a marke of land, or land (contained within certaine bounds or markes) to gouerne; so as they deriued their titles in such manner as did the Dukes. At this time another king of certaine Ilands in the North sea, taking part with the King of *Denmarke*, made warre also against the Emperour *LEVVS*: vpon these two occasions *LEVVS* raised new Armies. The matters of *Gascony* were ended in few daies with little difficultie; but the warres with the Danes were more doubtfully, for in the beginning the Saxons and the Imperialists had ill success: but at last the Emperour provided such Captaines and Souldiers, as they not onely obtained the victorie, but restored

red *EROLDVS* to his kingdom, who liued in subiection to the Empire, hauing bene before deprived.

This happened in the third yeere of the raigne of the Emperour *LEVVS*: in the beginning of which, newes came that Pope *STEFHEN* was dead, who had been Pope but seven months, whom *PASCAL* the first succeeded, and executed his authoritie in the Popedom, without the Emperors confirmation, being thereto urged by both estates of *Rome*, ecclesiasticall and secular: whereupon he sent to excuse himselfe to the Emperour, for Pope *Adrian* and the clergie had granted that prehemence to his father *CHARLES* the Great, and to his successors, which was obserued vntill this time; which authoritie *LEVVS* renounced, as it appeareth by the chapter *Ego Ludouicus* in the distinction 63. *LEVVS* accepted this excuse, and ordained that from thenceforth the Imperiall authoritie should be obserued in this manner, viz. that as soone as the Pope was chosen, he should giue the Emperour to vnderstand thereof, as to a friend deuoted: so that Church; but not that he should stay vntill the Emperour had confirmed his election. Yet notwithstanding the Popes afterwards vied to sue to the Emperors to approue their election, vntill the time of *LEVVS* nephew to this *LEVVS*, who voluntarily left this custom: which had continued from the time of *ADRIAN* the second, as shall be declared in time and place, if our memorie faile vs not.

Whilest these things passed in *France*, in *Germany*, and in *Italy*, *Leo* (as I haue aboue said) ruling the Empire of *Constantinople*, and through his victorie obtained against the King of *Bulgaria*, liuing some space in peace and prosperitie, and highly esteemed; waxed so proud, and therewith so seuer and cruell to his subiects, as he purchased their hatred; whereto this was a furtherance, in that he sought to put downe the images in their Churches, as some of his predecessors had done. And it afterwards happened that one *MICHAEL*, a man of meane parentage, whom he had aduanced and preferred to great estate, and had placed neere about himselfe, and then held in prison, with a resolution to haue cut off his eares, was of power with the fauour of many men of great reputation which took him out of prison, and assisted him herein, to murder the Emperour *Leo*, and to seize vpon the Empire; when he had reigned seven yeeres and certayne moneths. He left behinde him foure sonnes, which afterwards had diuers adventures; but none of them obtained the Empire. In this manner *MICHAEL* gat the Empire of *Constantinople*, wherein we will leaue him, to make a conclusion of the historie of *LEVVS* the Emperour of the West. And thus it passed, that hauing vntill then had good successe in his affaires, in the parliament which he lately had commanded to be held in *Aken*, among other matters, which therein were ordained, one was, that his eldest sonne *LOTHARIVS* was made his companion in the Empire, and his second sonne *PEPIN* King of *Aquitania*, which containeth *Languedoc*, *Gascony*, *Vienne*, and *Aniow*: and his third sonne *LEVVS* was made King of *Bavaria*: and these three brethren presently took vpon them the government of their principalities.

But (as nothing in this world is permanent) after this there befell some troubles and warres between the Emperors and the Danes, who began to rebell: through which occasion, by the counsell and perswasion of certaine wicked persons, whereof some were prelates, his nephew *BERNARD*, King of the greatest part of *Italy*, rebelled also, and denied the dutie of superiority, which he owed to his vnckle *LEVVS*; and leuying an Army, held the Alpes and the passages into *Italy*, thereby to defend himselfe. Whereof when the Emperour had aduertisement, adiuſing him in the Parliament for an open enemy, he departed towards *Italy*, and by the way leuied men of warre: whither when he came he was of such power; that *BERNARD* durst not stand to his defence, but yielded himselfe into the Emperors hands; who after that he had pacified the state of *Italy*, returned into *France*, and leading *BERNARD* with him prisoner would that his doing should be determined by iustice; as if great an offence required; and he was condemned to death, and so was executed: others ascribe, he cast him into prison and put out his eyes. And *LEVVS* in *BERNARD*'s place made his sonne *LOTHARIVS* king of *Italy*, whom before he had made *CESAR*, and his companion in the Empire: and he departing thitherwards, at his arrivall was there anointed and crowned by Pope *PASCAL*. After this little dangerous warre, there followed another against the Duke, or Gouernour of little *Britanny* (a Province of *France*) who also rebelled, with the people of that Province, intitling himselfe an absolute King; and not subject to the Emperour; and his courage was so great, that he leuied an Armie, and came with him to a battaile, wherein this tyrant whose name was *VIRONARCHVS* was ouerthrowne, but not without great difficultie and effusion of blood; but

Leo cast the
images out of
the Churches of
the Graeke
Empire.

The Emperour
Leo murdered.

Michael suc-
ceeded Leo in
the Graeke
Empire.

The Emperour
Lewes made
his sonne Lo-
tharius his
companion in
the Empire.

Bernard king
of Italy rebel-
led against his
vnckle the Em-
perour Lewes.

Bernard king
of Italy re-
belling, was
condemned to
die, was exten-
ded.

the Emperor had the victorie. After which, ensued the death of his wife the Empreſſe called *HERNSOAR*, for whom he was exceeding ſorrowfull; but yet he ſhortly after married the ſecond time. After this, the Emperor *LEVVS* liued two or three yeeres in peace; at the end whereof, a Duke, Gouverneur of *Hungary*, moued with a deſire to raigne, rebelled and began to waite in *Austria*, which in ancient time was called the vpper *Pannonia*, and in *Dalmatia* and *Slauonia* likewise; againſt whom *LEVVS* raiſed a great Army, and the tyrant being in ſundry ſkirmiſhes and batailles ouerthrowne, ſubmitted himſelfe, and the Emperour granted him his life; and ſo thoſe Prouinces remained in peace.

After this, certaine Romances came to complain to the Emperor againſt Pope *PASCAL*, pretending that he had cauled certaine principall men to be ſlaine, for that they were his ſouldiers and deſirous to doe him ſeruite; whereof the Pope excuſed himſelfe by his Ambaſſadors: which the Emperor not only accepted, but much fauored and honored the Papall Sea. And for as much as there aroſe ſundry doubts and queſtions, which of the Townes and Cities of *Italy* appertained to the Empire, and which to the Pope; the Emperour *LEVVS* made a new donation to the Church of *Rome*, ratifying the charters of his father, and grandfather; which *RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS* writeth in the third booke of his *Geographie*, as hauing ſeene the Originall in the Popes library, in the Vaticane; the tenor whereof, as he ſetteth it downe, is as followeth, at whole perill I write the ſame.

In the name of God Almighty, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy-Ghoſt; I *LEVVS* the Emperor, doe graunt vnto thee *PETER* the Apoſtle, prince of the Apoſtles, and for thee, to thy Vicar, the Lord *PASCAL* the higheſt Biſhop, and to his ſucceſſors for euer, the Citie of *Rome*, with all the iuriſdiction thereof, and lands and marches thereabouts, the confines, cities, ports and places vpon the *Tyſtane* and *Mediterranean* Sea, *Ciuita*, *Veſchia*, *Valneo*, *Reggio*, *Viterbo*, *Sauona*, *Papalonia*, *Roſello*, *Perugia*, *Manturna*, *Sutri*, *Nepe*, and towards the countrie called *Terra di Lauoro*, *Amenia*, *Segusia*, *Selentinio*, *Alano*, *Patrico*, *Fruſino*, with all the lands and places in their ſubiection, and alſo all the gouernement of the City of *Ravenna*, accordingly as my father the Emperor *CHARLES* of holy memory, and alſo our grand-father *PEPIN*, in time paſt granted the ſame to Saint *PETER* the Apoſtle, that is to ſay, *Ravenna*, *Bonia*, *Emilia*, *Eſtorepohis*, *Eorſi*, *Euenza*, *Imola*, *Bologna*, *Ferrara*, *Gomacchio*, *Adcia*, *Genua*, and in the *Marca*, *Peſero*, *Bano*, *Senigaglia*, *Ancona*, *Auſimo*, *Nuſimano*, *Eſſa*, *Foſſombrone*, *Relino*, *Vrbino*, the territory of *Valenſe*, *Cagliſe*, *Luccoleo*, *Ogobia*, and alſo in *Terra di Lauoro*, *Aſola*, *Aquino*, *Arpino*, *Thiano*, *Capui*, and all the lands therein appertaining to our iuriſdiction, to wit, the dukedomes of *Beneuent*, *Saleruo*, and *Calabria* the ſuperior and inferior, and that of *Naples*, of *Spoleto*, *Tuderto*, *Oricacio*, *Nuinia*, and all that iuriſdiction; and alſo the Ilands in the Sea called the inferior, *Corſica*, *Sardegna*, and *Sicilia*. All which lands and Cities, *PEPIN* our grand-father of holy memory, and afterwards our father *CHARLES*, by their prerogative in writing, gaue and granted by their Ambaſſadors, *ATHERIVS* and *MAYNADVS* Abbots, of their owne franke and free will, ſent to Saint *PETER* and his ſucceſſors, and we alſo doe grant and allow the ſame. Moreover we will and declare, that the power and authority to chuſe the Pope, is, and ſhall remaine free to the Romane Councell and Colledge, to be made without any ſchiſme or diſcord; and that after that he is choſen and conſecrated, for the preſeruacion of loue and friendſhippe between vs, he ſhall ſend his Ambaſſadors to me, and to my ſucceſſors which ſhall be Kings of *France*, as the cuſtome was in the time of my great grand-father *CHARLES MARTHEL*, and *PEPIN* my grand-father, and of my father *CHARLES*, and this our will and grace which we doe, we giue in writing, and confirme with an Oath, and ſend the ſame to Pope *PASCAL* our Lord, ſubſcribed with our owne hand, by *THEODOR* the Legate of the Holy Church of *Rome*. Signed, *Ego Ludovicus*.

This donation was likewiſe attested by the Emperors three ſonnes, tenne Biſhoppes, eight Abbots, ſiftene Earles, one Secretary, a chamber-keeper, and a doore-keeper. The which donation the ſame Author *VOLATERRANVS*, affirmeth to haue ſeene confirmed by the Emperor *OTH* the third, in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred ſenenty and two, in the time of Pope *IOHN* the twelfth.

Of this donation (although not ſo much at large) mention is made in the Decretall, in the chapter *Ego Ludovicus*, in the diſtinction 63. In which chapter is expreſſed, the city of *Rome*, with all that Dukedome, which then contained all the lands, townes and cities vpon the ſea ſide, and the Hauons thereto appertaining, with all the other townes and cities of *Tſcane*; but their names are not ſet down, neither the Ilands about named.

This

This donation being made, the Pope within fewe daies after died, hauing been Pope eight yeeres; and *EVONIVS* the Second was choſen, after that there had been a ſchiſm, wherein two were choſen, who were perſwaded by muttall conſent to renounce their election, and in their ſteed was choſen *EVONIVS*, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred, foure and twenty, and in the eleuenth yeere of the Raign of the Emperor *LEVVS*. At the ſame time the Emperour with three Armies inuaded *Britanny* in *France*, which again rebelled, and with the effuſion of much blood ſubdued the ſame. In like manner, the yeer following, hee defended the Kingdom of *Hungary* againſt the King of *Bulgaria*, which made warre there, and compelled him to ſue for peace. He alſo ſent an Army to the relief of *BERNALDVS* Earle of *Barcelona*, againſt the Infidels of *Spain*, who made cruell warres vpon him. And ſo the Emperor *LEVVS* liued euer (although not without ſome troubles) in proſperity and with good ſucceſſe.

In the mean time there were no leſſe wars and troubles in the Eaſt Empire, wherein the Emperour *MICHAEL* raigned; a wicked and miſbeleeving Prince, who held abſurd and wicked opinions, faſting the Saturday with the Iewes, and denying the reſurreccion of the dead; and it pleaſed God, that the whole time of his Raign was infeſted with warres and troubles, and the Infidels eclipsed both his honour and Empire. Firſt, he had very dangerous wars with a great Lord called *THOMAS*; who taking part with *BO*, whom *MICHAEL* had put to death, being in *Aſia* he drew together much people, and, with the aid of the Infidels, took many Cities; and, coming into *Europe* againſt the new Emperour *MICHAEL*, took many cities in *Greece*, and beſieged the City of *Conſtantinople* wherein the Emperor was, and did put him ſo to his ſhifts, that he hardly eſcaped from being either taken or ſlain. But, being thus diſtreſſed and in deſpair, he reſolved to try the laſt and moſt perilous remedy; which was, That he, arming the greateſt number of ſouldiers he could get, ſallied forth, and with ſuch fury aſſailed his aduerſaries vpon the ſudden, that he ſlue a great number of them; in ſuch ſort, that within very fewe daies *THOMAS* was diuened to raiſe his ſiege, and to retire: And it followed alſo, that his ſleet at ſea was ouerthrowne by the Emperors Nauy; ſo as his power euery where began to decay.

Shortly after this, the King of *Bulgaria* came with an Armie to aide the Emperor: whom *THOMAS* reſolved to encounter, before that he ſhould ioyne with him; and comming to a battaile *THOMAS* was ouerthrowne, and the Bulgarians returned to their countrie, rich, with the ſpoiles of their victorie. Whereupon the Emperour aduentured to take the field; wherein his force ſo much encreaſed, that *THOMAS* not daring to fight with him, ſuffered himſelfe to be beſieged in *Adrianople*; where after many chances of warre, he fell into the Emperors hands, by whole commandement he was put to death: and pardoning ſome, and puniſhing others, hee ſubuerted all his enemies, and his people returned to their obedience. Neuertheleſſe, the Infidels in the warres and enterpriſes paſt became ſo hardie, that they euery where inuaded the territories of the Empire, ſpoiling and taking many places: principally there came a great ſleet of them into the Iln of *Candia*, wherein they made great ſlaughter, and obtained a notable victorie by ſea againſt the Imperialiſts. They likewiſe came into the Ile of *Sicilia*, and took a great part thereof, as *IOHANNES MONACVS*, *BLONDVS*, and *SABELLICVS* do write.

The Emperor *LEVVS* was required by Pope *GREGORIE* the fourth (*EVONIVS* being dead, after whom *VALENTINIAN* was choſen, who enioyed the Papacie but ſortie daies, and after his deceaſe this *GREGORIE* was made Pope) to relieue *Sicilia*: which *LEVVS* hauing other occaſions, reſuſed; alleging, that the Emperor *MICHAEL* ought to defend it, for that *Sicilia* was of his Empire. By reaſon whereof, the ſtate of the Eaſt Empire at that time endured many calamities, and *MICHAEL* the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* liuing in great trouble, continued but a while, as hereafter we will declare. And although that for that time the Ile of *Sicilia* was relieued by the Venetians, who then were very mighty by ſea; yet that had not ſufficed, if a mightie man called *BONIFACE*, Earle and Gouverneur of the Ile of *Corſica*, with the aid of a brother of his, and other great men in *Italy*, had not leuiſed a good Armie, and ſailing ouer into *Africa*, made ſo cruell warres in the marches of *Carthage*, ouerthrowing the Infidels in foure battels, as they were conſtrained to recall their Army from *Sicilia* (as they did in the time of *SCIPIO* the Africane, and *HANNIBAL* of *Carthage*). By this mean was the Ile of *Sicilia* freed from the Sarazins: for, conſtrained by this neceſſity, they abandoned what they had gotten, and returned into *Africa*.

The Emperor *LVDOVICVS PIVS* liuing in great honour and proſperitie, it pleaſed God to lay ſome affliction vpon him: for his owne ſonnes, vpon whom he had beſtowed kingdomes and prouinces, conſpired againſt him, and began to reſuſe to yeeld any obedience; and leuying

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Thomas reſolued againſt Michael, Emperor of Greece.

The Bulgarians came to aide the Emperor of Conſtantinople.

Thomas rebelled put to death by the commandment of Michael, Emperor of Conſtantinople.

The Emperor Lewes his ſons eſcaped againſt their father.

Lewes pacified the tumults in Hungary.

A new donation to the Church of Rome, made by the Emperor Ludovicus Pius.

souldiers, raised armies against him. The causes moving them thereto, or as they falsely pretended, Historians relate diversly. Some say it was, because he so tenderly loved his young son called CHARLES, whom he had by his second wife, his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS, fearing to be disinherited, sought the ruine of his owne father. Others say it was, for that hee retained into his seruice a valiant Spaniard called BERNARDO DEL CARPIO, nephew to King ALONSO, of whom Spanish Historians write wonders: of whom he made so great account for his valour in the warres, that in all matters of importance he was wholly led by his counsell. Others say, that his wife LVDITH, who was a woman very ill conditioned, only ruled and bare all the sway with him: so as charging him with these defects, and others as untrue and vnjust as these, they opposed themselves against their father. Some great Prelates interposed themselves to pacifie so dishonest a controuersie: and, seeking to reconcile them, this milde Emperor loved his sonnes so tenderly, and was so desirous of peace, that, to grace his sonnes, he repudiated his wife (although much against his will); and, bestowing many great rewards vpon BERNARDO DEL CARPIO, hee discharged him. But the true cause was ambition and arrogance, which increasing in them, this fained agreement endured not long: for, the sonnes, by the consent of certain great men which joynd with them, apprehended their father, and, bereauing him of the robes and ensignes of Emperor and King, and generally of all government & authority, put him into a Monastery: which hee endured with such exceeding great patience, that when (being prisoner) he saw any of them, he neuer vttered any euill speeches; but would them to take heed, that those their priuate friends and fauourites did not one day deceiue them; and to remember what duty and obedience they ought vnto him being their father. Finally, there passed many treaties about this matter; and he liued one whole yeer depofed, and as a prisoner: at the end whereof, his sonnes acknowledging their error (although some write, against the will of his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS) restored him to his former estate, and hee forgave them: and as for the rest of their confederates, hee was content in giuing them a very light punishment.

The Emperor LEBVS being restored, his second son PERIN (whom he had made king of Aquitania) deceased, and left one sonne called after his name. This domestically and ciuill diffension between the Emperor and his sonnes, was very prejudiciall to all Christendome: for, the Sarazins of Africa, being of great power and very mighty, and making small account of MICHAEL the Emperor of Constantinople, seeing the Emperor LEBVS to be prisoner, and Italy abandoned, they with an exceeding great Nauy, and a great number of men of warre, came into Italy, and at their first landing took Civita Vecchia, and dispersing sundry companies of horse and foot into diuerse parts, they spoiled and burnt many Townes in Italie. And, not content therewith, they besieged the City of Rome it self, and battered the same for many daies space, whereby Pope GREGORY the Fourth, and the Inhabitants thereof, were much distressed, and many of them were slain. And although that VINCENTIUS MILVACENSIS, GENARDVS, and some other Historiographers, say, that they entered and took the City, yet it was not so; for, the City defended it self: but they took all the Suburbs called Vatican, and burned the Church of Saint PETER. Which, coming to the knowledge of GYARD, an excellent Captain, Marquess of Lombardy, and Gouerner thereof for the Emperor, being thither moued by Letters from the Pope, and sundry other considerations, hee raised a great power, and took his way towards Rome: which when the Infidels vnderstood, being loaden with the riches and spoils of Italie, they raised their siege; and, doing all the harm they could, went to Civita Vecchia, where they embarked themselves, carrying with them an infinite number of captiues and great wealth, and returned into Africa: and in their way they made what spoile they could in Sicilia.

At such time as Italy endured this calamity, the Emperor MICHAEL died in Constantinople, when hee had reigned nine yeeres; and (as it had not of long time before been seen in that Empire) his sonne THEOPHILVS succeeded him; who although that in conditions hee was a better Emperor than his father, yet was he no better affected to the Pope, nor to the adoring of Images: for which cause hee put many to death. What befell him wee will hereafter briefly declare.

But returning to the affairs of Italy, which was freed from the danger and oppression of the Infidels; Pope GREGORY the Fourth died, hauing been so aboue fifteen yeeres. This Pope instituted the Feast of All Saints, which is celebrated in the Church vnto this day. After the decease of this Pope, a Cardinall called SVVINVS was chosen: and for as much as it

was

was a very vnseemly name, for so high a dignity, by a general consent it was changed; and hee was called SVVINVS the Second. This was the cause why it hath been euer since vntill this day held for a custome, that the new chosen Popes leaue their old names; whereby they were called before, and take the name of some of their predecessors. Within few daies after the death of the Pope, in the same moneth LEBVS the Emperor of Rome and King of France fell sick and died; so as within the space of foure daies died three the most famous heads of the world, viz. two Emperors, MICHAEL and LEBVS, and Pope GREGORY: LEBVS before he died, made his yongest and well-beloued son CHARLES, King and Lord of Austria. And LOTHARY, who was Emperor Elect, remained his heire generall of all the rest, excepting BANARIA, whereof his other sonne LEBVS was King. And so ended the life and Empire of LVDOVICVS PIVS, in the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and fortie, when he had reigned full twentie fixe yeeres, and had liued sixty foure yeeres. SVVINVS being then Pope in Rome, and THEOPHILVS sonne of MICHAEL, reigning Emperor in Constantinople.

Pope SVVINVS
died afterwards
called Sergius
the French.

The death of the
Emperor LEBVS.



THE LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THREE SCORE AND EIGHTEENTH RO- MAN EMPEROR, AND OF THEOPHILVS, Emperour in Constantinople.

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After the death of LVDOVICVS PIVS, the Western Empire descended to his eldest sonne LOTHARIVS; and ioyntly therewith his father left vnto him those kingdomes, which he and his father CHARLES the Great, possessed in France, in Germany, and in Italy, excepting those Provinces which were giuen to his brothers LEBVS, and CHARLES, which were Bauiere and Austria, with some others thereto adioyning. As soone as the father was dead, these two sonnes, discontent with their portions, determined to take Armes against their elder brother LOTHARIVS; and LOTHARIVS in like manner pretending all to be his, for that he was the first borne, meant therefore to depose them: whereupon there presently beganne betweene them a very cruell warre, eether party being ayded by sundrie Dukes and great personages. Some writers affirme, that these two brethren LOthariVS and LEBVS, who were sonnes of one mother, held together in this warre against CHARLES, who was the Emperours sonne by his second wife. But there is no reason why it should be so: for it seemeth not likely, that CHARLES alone could haue power sufficient to make head against the other two; and also for that LOTHARIVS sought to be Lord of the whole, allowing neither the one nor the other. And it afterwards plainly appeared,

Kingdoms left
to Lotharius.

The Emperor
LEBVS depofed,
and put into a
monastery by
his sons.

The Sarazins
came into Italie,
and besieged
Rome.

The Vatican in
Rome taken and
sacked by the
Sarazins.

The death of
Michael, Em-
peror of Con-
stantinople.

The death of all
Saints ordained
by Pope Gre-
gory the fourth.

War between
Lotharius and
his Brethren.

appeared, that *L O T H A R Y* in the peace which they made, entered not as a partaker, but as a spectator and almost wheredo follow the most common and most likely opinion, which is, that *L O T H A R Y* was not wanted against the other two. *L U I S* and *C H A R L E S* came out of *Germany*, with a very valiant army, against the Emperor *L O T H A R Y*; who in like manner *outrage France, Germany and Italy*, led the greatest and best Army that of long time had been seen for as Authors which write thereof affirm, that since the waies between *E C C I* and *A T T I L A*, there had not been drawne together in *Europe* the like number of good men of war. The hatred and enuie between these brethren was so great, that they could not avoid a battell, which was fought neere to a little Town called *Favenna*; and as the Captains and souldiers of either party were valiant and expert in Arms, the Fight was the more cruell, and one of the most bloody that hath been seen, and wherein most men were slain, and most blood spilt; and it lasted a great part of the day; the victory euen itselfing it self doubtful, inclining sometimes to one side, and sometimes to the other. untill that towards the evening, the Emperor *L O T H A R Y* his forces, being vnable to endure the fury of their adversaries, began to faint: wherewith, courage increasing of the one side, and failing on the other, *L O T H A R Y* and his people were driven to flee, and *L U I S* and *C H A R L E S* remained with the victory.

The Nobility of
France slain in
battell.

All those which write of this conflict, affirm, that therein were slain the greatest part of all the Nobility and flower of the French Nation; and that in number more men died, than in any other that in *France* hath hapned euer since the battell which was fought between *E C C I* and *A T T I L A*, King of the *Hunnes*, in the fields of *Catalonia*; as before we have related. *L O T H A R Y* escaped thence by flight to the City of *Aken*; and boulding himself to bee there in no safety, he by sundry waies came to *France*, where hee again gathered head, and leued new forces out of *Italy* and other parts; and his brethren resolved to pursue him. And notwithstanding that from the Pope came the Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and many other Prelates voluntarily, to treat of peace between them, yet it auailed not: but *L O T H A R Y* would the second time try the fortune of the warres, and his brothers fought no lesse; so as they fought; and he was again ouerthrowne, and the Archbishop of *Ravenna* also with him, who came as an Ambassador of peace, and was that day in *L O T H A R Y* his Army with three hundred horse, which he brought with him out of *Italy* and, in despite of himself, was constrained to flee, the greatest part of his people being first slain.

Lotharius
ouertrowne the
second time.

After these cruell battells between these brethren (which, as it is to be beleued, God permitted for a punishment, for the contumacie and disobedience which they shewed toward their father) and after they had much diminished their forces, they gaue eare to a peace; and the said Archbishop of *Ravenna*, and many other Prelates, brought them to an agreement: wherein the Emperor (as a man forced and overcome) lost much. The conditions were, that the kingdoms should be diuided between them: which diuision so much decayed the power of *France*, that it neuer after recovered that greatness which vntill then it held; the accord was made in this manner: That *L U I S* should be Lord and King of all that part of the Kingdomes and Prouinces which lie ouer the *Rhine*, in the East side of *France*, containing all *Germany* to wot, *Engaria*, *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Frisia*, *Banaria*, *Saxonia*, *Suenia*, and all the rest, and should be called King of *Germany*: And that *C H A R L E S*, the youngest brother, should be called King of *France*, and should be sole Lord thereof, excepting *Galicia Narbonensis*, now called *Provence*: and that those Lands which lie between the *Rhine* and the *Maase* (which euer since that time are called *Lobharingia* or *Lorraine*) after *L O T H A R Y* and part of *Burgundie*, should bee subject to the Emperor *L O T H A R Y*, together with *Lombardy*, and all that part of *Italy* which was in his subjection, with the title and dignity of Emperor.

The diuision of
the kingdomes of
France, between
Lotharius and
his brethren.

This peace being made with *L O T H A R Y* against his will; hee, reinforcing his Troops, took his way towards *Italy*, and so to *Rome*: where, after some jealousies between them, Pope *SIGISMUND* crowned him Emperor; and his Sonne was chosen his Successor. Yet some Writers say, that onely his Sonne was crowned: but this in my opinion seems to be most likely. But hee leaue both the Father and the Sonne (for, in truth, *L O T H A R Y* was of small power after that he was overcome, and yet liued in greater peace than those times permitted) and we will say something of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, *T H E O P H I L V S*, and of the losses which ensued in *Christendome* by reason of the wars between these three brethren.

Lotharius
crowned Emper
or by Pope
Sergius

The Greek Emperor *T H E O P H I L V S* differed not from his Predecessors in points of Religion; and, concerning his government, he took very good order, and maintained himself in his estate; yet somewhat noted of cruelty. In the East he had great and cruell wars with the

Sarazins, who made incursions into his Dominions in *Asia* the lesse: in which warre two Captaines did him especial service: the one was called *M A N Y L*, and the other *P H E R V S*; the Emperor himselfe in person went to this warre, wherein the victories were variable, sometimes of his side, and sometimes against him. Being in this manner busied, and our Emperour and the house of *France* (which then was the only defence and refuge of all *Christendome*) being weakened and diminished, by reason of the said warres, and dissension which hapned, the Moores of *Africa* with a great Naue came into *Italy*, and into *Sicilia*, and landing in many places, tooke sundry Townes. Lastly, a mighty King of *Africa*, called *S A B B A S*, with a great flecte of shippes and Gallies entered *Italy*: And knowing that the Coast neere to *Rome* was well Garrisoned and fortified, he assailed *Otranto*; and that place being taken and sackt, he did the like by other Townes on the same Coast: and returning from thence, he sayled into the *Adriatique Sea*, now called the *Gulfe of Venice*, and tooke and spoyled many places.

The Emperor of *Gracia* *T H E O P H I L V S* seeking to prevent this danger, sent a good Captaine called *T H E O D O S*, with a great flecte, to which the Venetians ioyned theirs, which they had already rigged for the same purpose, (containing threecore gallies): This Infidell king of the Moores was nothing terrified to come to blowes with *T H E O D O S*, but they fought a most cruell battaile, wherein the Christians were ouerthrowne, and the Venetian flect fell into the hands of their enemies. But *T H E O D O S* escaped by flight. The Mahomettians became so haughty by reason of this victory: and it caused so great feare in *Italy*, that if God had not sent reliefe, the Infidels in short space might haue made themselves Lords thereof: for presently after this ouerthrow, they assaulted *Ancona*, tooke it, and burnt it, with sundrie other Townes vpon that Coast. And their power was then so great, that neither the Emperor *L O T H A R Y*, nor the Pope, were able to make head against them, but contented themselves to keepe and defend what they had in possession: Neither was the Emperours brother *C H A R L E S* King of *France*, able to see any flecte to Sea, or yeelde any reliefe: for the Normans (a most fierce Nation) made warres vpon him, robbing and harrying his Countries, with whom he fought many battels.

Norfolk-men.

Of these Normanes I finde no antient Authors that make any mention; whereby I conjecture that it was then some new name of the people and Inhabitants of those Countries which rosin that manner: yet *S A B B E L I C V S*, and *N A V C L A R V S*, and some others affirme, that they came from *Denmarke*. When all other succors failed, it pleased God to send a remedy: forthere hapned so great a Tempest vpon the Sea, that the greatest part of King *S A B B A S* flect was sunk and cast away: and those which escaped, returned into *Africa*, to mee, and were weather-beaten: and so *Italy* for that time was relieved, and restored to liberty: but yet afterwards they againe infected it.

A flecte of the
Infidels cast
away in a tempest

At this time died Pope *S E R G I V S*, hauing bene Pope little more then three yeers, and then succeeded *L O* the fourth, in whose time *P L A T I N A* affirmeth this ship-wrack of the Moores Nauie to haue hapned: but most say as I haue written. In the beginning of Pope *L O* his papacie, *T H E O P H I L V S* Emperour of the Greeks died in *Constantinople*: who before his death feeling himselfe deadly sick, and that he could not escape, and considering also that he should leaue his sonne *M I C H A E L* very young, and that *T H E O D O S* the Captaine before named, was rich and very mighty, he resolved with himselfe, first to dispatch him out of the world, to the end that he should not vster the Empire when he was dead: which was a very good resolution, and signe of a good Christian in a man so neere his end. First, hee called him to be deteined in his Palace: and feeling his sickness so to increase vpon him that he could not liue, he made his head to be stricken off, and within few houres after died. After his death, his sonne *M I C H A E L* was made Emperor, and for as much as he was very young, his Mother *T H E O D O R A* the Emperesse (as heretofore did *Y R E N A* Mother of *C O N S T A N T I N E*) tooke vpon her the government, and ruled the Empire for her sonne *M I C H A E L*, and not ill, as it is written: but as he increased in yeeres, so there grew in him a desire to gouerne alone, and his Mother became more ambitious: in such manner, that the young man setting all respect apart, compelled his Mother to goe into a cloyster, and so hee remained sole absolute Lord.

The death of the
Emperor Theo-
philus and his
good resolution,
Michael succee-
ded his father in
the Empire.

Within a little while after, the Emperor *L O T H A R Y* remaining in *Lorraine*, and Pope *L O* in *Rome*; the Infidels growne proud by reason of their late victories; and coveting the wealth of *Italy*, repaired vp the remainder of their flecte, and building other vessels, returned to make a conquest thereof, with greater power and resolution then at the first: And after some spoiles

The Moores land-
ed in *Asia*
with intent to
haue taken
Rome.

spoils done in some other places they sayled directly to the port of *Ofia*, where setting their Army on Land, they marched towards *Rome*, with an intent to haue taken it, and afterwards all the Countrey: which as they hoped, for the poore Inhabitants feared. But it pleased God they were repulsd, and deceiued in their expectation. Neuerthelesse, they came and besieged *Rome*, and gaue a very great assault vnto it: but it was so well provided and furnished, and those which were therein did so valiantly defend the same, that losing all hope to get it, and vnderstanding that succours were comming, robbing and burning the *Vaticane* with great cruelty, they raised their siege: first burning and prophaning Saint *PETERS* Church which was there, and where it standeth at this day. And for as much as the Moores raised their siege from before *Rome* without taking it, the French writers attribute the honor thereof to *CHARLES* king of *France*, who (they say) came to relieue it, and for feare of whom the Moores departed; and leaving their attempt against it, setting their Army in order, they took their way towards *Naples*, burning and spoyling all as they went.

In the meane while, Pope *LEO* fallying forth of *Rome*, with the ayde of the Emperour *LOTHARY*, and his Sonne, whom in his life time he had made his companion in the Emperie and in the kingdome of *Italie*, who sent him great supplies; he rayled a sufficient Army, where with he went to seeke his enemies, which laden with great riches and spoils, were come neere to the port of *Ofia*; where the Pope considering how mighty they were, if they should remain in *Italie* (as they gaue out they would) and how much the Countrey were ruined, if they should embarke themselves with their prisoners and riches, and the Emperour staying longer then they would he should haue done, he refused to vse the sword: and encouraging his souldiers, hee charged his enemies, and fought with them a sharpe and bloudie battaile, wherein many were slaine of eyther partie. But in the end it pleased God that the Christians had the victory: and a great slaughter was made of their enemies, and a great number of Captiues were released, and all that they had taken, recovered, and the greatest part of those which fled, were ouertaken and carried to *Rome* in great triumph.

Those which remained in the harbour at *Ofia*, vnderstanding of this ouerthrow, hoisting their sailes, with all the haste they could, returned into their Countrey: And so was *Rome* freed from the great calamitie and miserable seruitude which it feared. Great was the ioy which was conceiued through all Christendome for this victorie, and the Pope was highly extolled, who speedily returned to *Rome*: where with the consent of the Citizens he resold to compass in with a wall, all those Suburbs called *Vaticane*, wherein are Saint *PETERS* Church, and the Popes Palace, to he end they should no more endure the like, as they now twice had suffered. To the performance whereof, the Emperour *LOTHARY* and his brethren *LEVVES* king of *Germany*, and *CHARLES* the Bauld, King of *France*, sent much of their Treasure: and the worke began with such expedition, that notwithstanding it was very great, and the walles full of Turrets: yet in the space of five yeeres it was perfected and fully ended: and so that part was made a Citie, and called *Chitua Leonina*, after the name of Pope *LEO*.

The yeere following the Emperour *LOTHARY* went to *Rome*, to see and speake with the Pope, for that he was falsely informed that he purposed to haue reduced the right title of Emperour to *Constantinople*, whereof the Pope gaue him full satisfaction: and so contented, the Emperour returned into his Countrey. And seeing himselfe now old, and that his Emperie had neuer bene vnfortunate, as well for that he was ouertrowne and dispossest by his brethren, as for other accidents in *Italie*, imputing it to his sinnes, especially for the disobedience and little regard which he had shewed to his Father; he resolved to put himselfe into a religious house, and to leaue his Emperie to his Sonnes, and putting it in execution, he made a diuision thereof in this manner: to his eldest Sonne *LEVVES*, he gaue that which he held in *Italie*, and to the second, whose name was *LOTHARYS*, he gaue the Prouince of *Lorraine*, and other Lands, which in the diuision were allotted to him in *France*, and in *Germany*, about the river of *Rhine*; and to *CHARLES* his third Sonne, he gaue that part of *France*, which is called *Gallia Narbonensis*, and now *Prouence* and *Languedoc*, which fell to his share in the peace which he made with his brethren when he was by them ouertrowne.

In these estates aswell as in others were afterwards great alterations, which I haue no time to relate: this done, he became a Monke in the fifteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord; eight hundred fiftie and six, and so he liued, and within a while died, *MICHAS* continuing yet Emperour of *Constantinople*. And shortly after died Pope *LEO* the fourth, whom succeeded *IOHN* an English woman, as Historians asseme; who disguising her selfe

The Moores burnt
the Vaticane &
Saint Peters
Church in Rome

A battell fought
betweene Pope
Leo and the
Infidels.

The victory of
Pope Leo.

The Emperour
Lotharius di-
uided his Em-
pire betweene
his three sonnes.

The Emperour
Lotharius re-
nounced his em-
pire and became
a Monke.
Pope Leone.

in apparell; and changing her name, being excellently well learned, was chosen Pope, and ha-
ving two yeeres liued in the Papall dignitie, died suddenly in *Partus*; and her succeeded
BENEDICT the third.



THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE SE- COND OF THAT NAME, AND THREESCORE AND NINETEENTH

Romane Emperour.

(*)



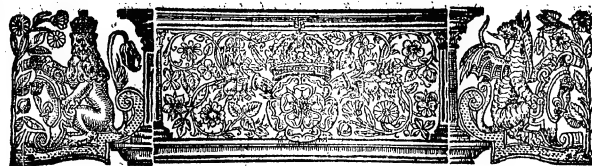
WE haue already said, that the Emperour *LOTHARYS*, voluntarily and of his owne free will, imparted to his eldest sonne *LEVVES* the name and dignity of Romane Emperour; of whose life, and for some time after, Historians haue written very little; and in that little is a great confusion amongst them: which hath put me to much trouble, for that I haue bene so carefull and haue vsed all diligence to write the truth. The difficultie is, in that this *LEVVES* and his Vncle king of *Germany* were both of one name, by reason whereof Authors attribute the acts and doings of the one, to the other, being deceiued therein: and which is worst of all, there are some which of the raigne of this Emperour *LEVVES* write nothing at all, of which *BLONNVS* is one, notwithstanding that in all the rest he hath shewed great diligence, ending with his father; so as presently after *LOTHARYS*, they place *CHARLES* the Bauld, king of *France*, whereas to the contrary they should first write the life and raigne of this his sonne *LEVVES*. But I will follow the most approved Authors, and (in the best manner I shall be able) will bring the truth to light, and will rather choos to say but little, and that certaine, then to please with many forged accidents. In the beginning of the raigne of this *LEVVES* there happened a very prodigious thing; which was, that in the Citie of *Brescia* in *Lombardy* for three daies it rained blood, so fresh and so perfectly as if it had bene of a Bull, or of some other beast lately killed. First of all, this Emperour was very zealous and deuout in Religion; much affected to the Romish Church, and the ministers thereof (for he knew no other) and was very pitiful, milde, sincere, vnspotted, of a good condition, and of his word and promise very iust. After the decease of Pope *BENEDICT*, *NICHOLAS* the first being chosen, the Emperour went to *Rome*, to confirme his election; where the Pope and he conuerled together very louingly. It afterwards followed that a great flecte of the Moores of *Africa* came into *Italy*: but the Emperour gathered together so good forces against them, that (with small hurt done) they were repulsd: for which his care and diligence he was highly extolled. And notwithstanding that this Prince was so well inclined yet, *ADOLPHVS* Duke of *Banquent* rebelled, with *Capua*, and some other Citie; and denying to be subject vnto him, held for the Emperour of *Constantinople*. And whereas *Italie* in times past had beene subject to those Emperors, they had now lost it, as being vnable to defend the same; yet *Italia* and *Calabria* were of long time after vnder their gouernment. Against this Duke, the Emperour *LEVVES* leued an Armie, and in person went to suppress the rebellion: But *ADOLPHVS* being vnable to defend himselfe against him, sent to make his excuse; alleaging, that what was done, was against his will, and that he had purposed

It rained blood
in Brescia at the
time of the Em-
perour *LEVVES*
the Second.

to come to his service and did so; and L E V V E S received and pardoned him: and then went to such places as rebelled; which he easily took, excepting *Capua*, which stood upon defence; but in the end craving pardon, they yielded. From thence he went to *Benevent*, where A D V L O R V S received and lodged him, in outward shew, as his soueraigne Lord, and whom he loved; by whose persuasion and counsell (for he seemed to speake from a loyall heart) the Emperour discharged his Armie, and retained few more then the officers of his house: but within few daies after, A D V L O R V S (as a disloyall traitor) sought to put in execution what he had projected: and getting together certaine Armed men, he suddenly trust into the Emperours lodging with intent to haue slaine him; and had done so, but that being perceived, the Emperour and those few which were with him, so valiantly defended themselves, that they gat out of *Benevent*, and went to *Rome*; from whence by the Popes counsel, he sent such an Armie, that the Traitor was constrained to forsake the Countrey, and to flee into *Sardinia*: and so L E V V E S remained in peace, Emperour in *Italy*.

In the meane season, whilest he was thus busied in *Italy*; M I C H A E L, reigned in *Constantinople*; in *Greece*; and in part of *Asia*, who deposed his mother from the gouernment: but hee proud carelesse and vicious, and applied himself onely to feasting, sports on horsebacke, and other pastimes, his estate and house being ruled by fauourites; and in the warres which he made in *Asia* against the Infidels, he was twice shamefully ouerthrowne; yet P E T R O N A S a Captaine of his obtained a noble victorie. In the end, one of his great fauourites, called B A S I L I V S (a man of base linage and condition, whom he had aduanced to great power and dignitie) killed him by treason, and gat the Empire to himselfe; for already in M I C H A E L S daies he was made C A E S A R. This happened in the 13 year of his raigne, and in the year of our Lord, eight hundred seuentie and six. Yet the Empire of M I C H A E L was fortunate in one thing, which was, that the King of *Bulgaria*, and many other people which beleueed not in I E S U S C H R I S T (at the least in such sort as they ought to haue beleueed in his time were wholly conuerted).

In these daies also *France* escaped not free from warres, betweene C H A R L E S the Bauld, vncle to this our Emperour L E V V E S, and the Normanes; a most fierce nation: neither was L E V V E S the King of *Germany* without warres against other nations, which I am not bound to relate, neither such as happened in other Kingdoms, but only such as are for our purpose. I say then, that within certain yeers, L O T H A R I V S King of *Lorraine*, brother to the Emperour died; and his Vncle C H A R L E S King of *France*, would haue made seisure on *Lorraine*, and all the other lands which he held; but the Emperour opposed himselfe, and vsed so good meanes, that he tooke possession of all, as heire to his father: whereupon there arose great wars and controuersie between them, which lasted about fife yeeres. Soone after this, the Emperour being in *Milan*, was taken with an infirmite, whereof he died: who in my opinion (so farre as I can gather out of Histories, left no sonnes to succede him: wherefore those which say that C H A R L E S and L E V V E S were his sons, are deceived; for they were the sons of his Vncle L E V V E S, King of *Germany* and *Bavaria*: the cause of which error was, for that these two Princes were both of one name; but he that diligently readeth the Histories, shall finde that which I say to be true, and the rest false. I do not produce reasons and conjectures to verifie my opinion, which are to no other purpose, but to weary the Reader, and make the History more obscure; I presuppose that I say the truth, and then all is cleere. And to conclude with L E V V E S, of whom I haue said little, and that confusedly (for that I could not cleerly discouer any more) I say that he died in the year of our Lord 878, when he had reigned 21 yeers; yet some say but 19, at which time I O H N was Pope of *Rome*, and in *Constantinople* B A S I L I V S was Emperour, who although he entered into the Empire as a Tyrant, yet he was no euill prince.



THE
LIFE OF CHARLES THE SE-
COND SVRNAMED THE BAULD,
AND FORTYSCORE ROMAN EM-
PEROVR; AND OF BASILVS;
Emperour of Constantinople:

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THE death of the Emperour L E V V E S was soone knowne and published to the world, as usually is the death of such Kings and Princes as he was: but his Vncles C H A R L E S the Bauld, king of *France*, and L E V V E S king of *Germany*, who were his fathers brethren, had soonest intelligence of which were sonnes to the Emperour L V D O V I C V S P I V S, the first of that name: and although they were now old and vnwieldie (for they had bene Kings about thirtie yeeres, yet each of them pretended to be Emperour. C H A R L E S for that hee was King of *France* seemed to haue the better title, for it was transferred thither in the person of his grandfather: and L E V V E S for that he was his elder brother, conceived as much. But C H A R L E S vsed greater expedition, and made better prouision, by reason

of the neereenesse of *France* to *Italy*, being thereto ayded by his owne condition; for he was naturally proud and ambitious: so that with greater celerity then any man would haue thought, he had leued a great Armie, and passing the Alpes came into *Italy*, and took his way directly for *Rome*; but hee sent his Son L E V V E S another way, to seise vpon that which the Emperour L E V V E S had taken in *France*, by the death of his brother, which was *Austrasia*, now called *Lorraine*. C H A R L E S being come to *Rome*, where he had already by messages and letters (and as some say by money and bribes) solicited, and gotten the good will of the Romanes, and of Pope I O H N the eight, or ninth, was presently Crowned by him, and held for Emperour, and in the meane time, his brother L E V V E S in *Germany* failed (not to leuy forces to come against him: with a resolution to deprime him of the Empire, and of his life also if he could. But C H A R L E S hauing settled the affaires of *Italy* in very good order (ingreat choler against his brother) returned into *France*, against whom he raised his whole power. They beginning to march, the one against the other; L E V V E S was arrested by death, at *Frankford*; leaving his Dominions, first, diuided betwene his 3 sons, which were very valiant men, to wit, L E V V E S, C A R L O M A N, and C H A R L E S, of which three names, the ofspring of C H A R L E S the great made great account: which causeth a great confusion and obscuritie in the Historie, if the Reader be not very attentue. The diuision was made in this manner by the mutuall consent of the three brethren; to L E V V E S was given *Saxony*, *Turingia*, *Frisland*, and the Prouinces

Mm 2

within

The division of
King Lewes his
Dominion, be-
tween his sons.

within them contained, and that he should be called King of *Ostrofrancia*, or East *France*. To CARLOMAN, was allotted *Bavaria*, *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Slavonia*, *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, with the title of King of *Bavaria*. To CHARLES befell *Suevia*, *Francia*, and all the rest of *Germany*, and some Cities in *Lorraine*, which had been vnder his Vncle LO THARIUS, and hee (as his Father had bene) was called King of *Germany*. Their Vncle CHARLES the Bauld, Emperor and King of *France*, being hereof aduertised, making lesse account of the Sonnes, then he had done of the Father, being more proud and ambitious, then hardy and valiant, entred *Germany* with fifty thousand men, and went as farre as *Coleyn*; neere wherunto his nephew LEVVS, the new King of East *France*, stayed for him, with the greatest part of his Fathers Army, assisted by his brothers CARLOMAN, and CHARLES, and other great Dukes and Princes of *Germany*, first seeking peace: but seeing that the Emperor would not grant the same, he ioyned in battaile with him, which was fought of either side very obstinately. And the Emperor seeing his enemies fight with such resolution, fled from the battaile, and his nephew LEVVS remained with the victorie. In this battell and pursuit, was made great slaughter of the French Nobilitie: And so the Emperor returned into his Countrey, with lesse power, and more dishonour, where he reposed himselfe for a season: his nephewes taking no care further to trouble him.

Baldwin Earle
of Flanders, fell
in loue with the
daughter of
Charles the
Bauld.

The Originally
of the Earldome
of Flanders.

After this, it hapned that one BALEVIN, then Gouvernor or keeper of that Countrey, which now is called the Earldome of *Flanders*, (and was lately so populous and so well inhabited, and then for the most part was nothing but wood and Forrest, with some few little villages) fell in loue with one of the Emperors daughters; and her father being absent in the wars, he found means to conuey her out of the Palace, and so hid himselfe with her in those woods: against whom the Emperor meaning to haue proceeded with all rigour, at the entreaty of many religious persons and of estate, was perswaded to marry him to her; and doing so, gaue him that countrey, with the title of Earle of *Flanders*: and this BALEVIN proued to be so excellent a man, and vied such industrie, that he replenished the Countrey with Inhabitants, which so manured the Land, that within few yeeres it did abound with people and all other things necessary: And his Sonne ARNVLPHVS, and his successors, vsing the like diligence, it came to be one of the most flourishing countries of the world; of such power is diligence and human industry: this was the beginning of that estate.

The Moores
came into Italy
and besieged the
City of Capua.

The Emperour CHARLES being thus in his Kingdome of *France*, in the meane time while that he warred with his nephewes, the Moores of *Africa*, who had a taste of the wealth of *Italy*, came with a great Army, and made great spoils in the Marches of *Capua*, and besieged that Citie: Whereupon Pope IOHN sent to request the Emperour, to come to protect the Lands of the Church, which hee performed with the greatest speede hee could make, for he was very politique, and cunning in the luying of men of warre; but before his going into *Italy*, (to satisfie his wiues humour) hee made her brother BOSON, who was also his neere kinsman, King of *Prouence*. Comming to *Rome*, the Infidels leauing that coast, tooke another way, which was into *Sicilia*, which yet was vnder the Empire of *Constantinople*, wherof BASILIUS was Emperour, of whom we will presently make mention.

The death of
the Emperour
Charles the 2.
poisoned by his
Physician which
was a Jew.

Indolentius
Bailiue, and why
so called.

When LEVVS, CHARLES, and CARLOMAN, knew their Vncle was in *Italy*, they vniued their forces, with a resolution to goe against him, in reuenge of former injuries. Whereof as soone as the Emperour had intelligence, hee departed from *Rome* with his forces, to make head against them: But it pleased God to saue him that labour; which was, that comming to *Manoa* with his Armie, being now old and decrepit, an infirmity tooke him, wherof he feared not that he should haue died. But a few called ZEDCHIAS (which was his Physician) poisoned him, and so he presently died: and his affaires remained confused, and out of order, leauing for his heire in his kingdome, his Sonne called LEVDIOCV BASILVS, and other three which he had, who also had ill successe: which appertained not to my Historie. They called this his sonne BALEVS, for that so in Latine they call him which stutcereth, and cannot pronounce certain letters, but haue that defect in their speech. At this time in the Empire of *Constantinople*, reigned BASILIUS before named, who (as I haue said) proued no ill Gouvernor, for hee releas'd many of the tributes and other exactions, which his predecessors had formerly imposed vpon the people: and hee defended the Empire with great valour and much discretion, although that in some things hee had ill successe.

First,

First, against certaine gr^{at} troupes of Infidels, which came from *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, into the Ile of *Candia*, and had taken many places there, he rigged a Nauic, and sailed thither in person, where he fought, and was ouercome, to the great damage of the Christians: and (by great hap) escap'g he returned by flight to *Constantinople*, but not daunted, neither discouraged, and prepared a new flecte: and to try his fortune with a new Capitaine, he sent therewith his wiues Father, whose name was CHRISTOPHER, a man very valiant, and of great experience; who had so good hap, that obtaining the victorie, he cleared that Iland. After this, hee waged other wars in *Asia*, by his Capitaines, against the Infidels, Turkes and Persians: wherein for the most part he had good successe, and lastly, against the Africans, which for feare of CHARLES the Bauld (as was aboue said) leauing *Italy*, went into *Slavonia*, or *Dalmatia*, and had taken some Townes of BASILIUS his Empire, he sent thither his Army and Nauy; and with the aide of the Venetians, drave them out of those Countreies, and recovered what they had taken. And so he reigned with greater honour, and to the better liking and contentment of his Subjects, then many of his Predecessors. At which time the Emperour CHARLES the Bauld died in *Manoa*, when he had reigned little more then two yeeres, IOHN the ninth being then Pope. Some Authors say that he reigned a longer time; but the truth is as I haue set downe.

The death of
Charles the
Bauld.



THE LIFE OF LEVVS THE THIRD, SURNAMED BALBVS, AND FOVRESORE AND ONE ROMANE EMPEROR, TOGETHER WITH the life of BASILIUS Emperour of CONSTANTINOPLE.

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In the time of CHARLES the Bauld there were warres and troubles for the Empire; there were no lesse after his decease; as the Reader may well obserue by the proceesse of this historie; wherein, although it seeme that I vse breuitie, for that I waste lesse paper in one then in another, yet is it not so; for I seeke (as much as I may) to make an euen diuision of this booke between the Emperours, whose liues I write. But forasmuch as these Princes of whom I doe now treat, liued but a short time in the Empire, (to obserue an equalitie, and due proportion, as farre as possibly may be) I hold it reason, that the memorie of them be brieue, according to the time of their reigne, and to the end that wee may haue space to write of matters neerer to our time. The Emperour CHARLES being deceased in *Manoa*, as is aforesaid, his nephew CHARLES King of *Germany*, with his breithren, which already had entred *Italy* against him, stayed with their Army: for the enemy being dead, the warre was ended. His Sonne LEVVS, who liued in *France* being aduertised of the death of his Father; and how that his Cousins had laid downe their armes: first he endeouored to settle himselfe in his Fathers Kingdom, and he also sent to entreat Pope IOHN to aide him and to stand his friend in attaining to the Imperiall dignitie.

M m 3

In

Leues made
king of France.

The Pope ap-
prehended.

The first Bishop
of Flanders.

The Moores in-
vade Italy.

The Empire di-
vided.

The death of
the Emperor
Lodowick
Babius king of
France.

Charles the
simple posthu-
mum.

In the first he found some difficultie, being contradicted by his mother in law the Emperesse, who was counselled and assisted by her brother *Boson* king of *Provence*: but the matter was carried so cunningly, that within few daies he was held and obeyed for King. Now concerning the Empire, he found great difficultie; for *CHARLES* surnamed the Fat, being king of *Germany*, besides that he already had some Townes in *Italy*, had also the good-will of many of the principall men in *Rome*; so as notwithstanding that Pope *IOHN* would have had *LEUVES* king of *France* to have beene chosen Emperour, yet he could not effect it: For, they not only denied to accept him, but were so audacious as to lay hands vpon the Pope, to the end that he should not doe it. But he stayed not long in prison, for some of his seruants, either by force or policie, released him, and he in great haste went into *France*, where he was honorably entertained by the King. Being there (of his owne authority) he intituled *LEUVES* Emperour; and giving him the Imperiall ensignes, crowned him with great solemnity: and after this, remained one yeere in *France*; where he called a Councell, and made certaine orders concerning the state of the Church, and created a Bishop for the Countie of *Flanders*, where there neuer had beene any before, being but lately inhabited. In which time the warres and troubles between the new Emperour, and his cosin germane *CHARLES*: King of *Germany* ceased not; who was also so called by the will of the Romanes, who were the occasion of a worse inconuenience: for the Moores of *Africa* (seeing *Italy* abandoned by the Pope, and that the defence came slow and slenderly) prepared a great Naue, and did much harme there: whereof Pope *IOHN* being aduertised, with the aide of *CHARLES* the Fat, King of *Germany*, who was also called Emperour, came into *Italy*; at whose comming the Infidels retired, and the countrie was freed from the great danger wherein it was: The Pope seeing how much *Rome* and all *Italy* had been better relieved by *CHARLES*, then by *LEUVES*, and how much *CHARLES* was more fauoured by the principall Barons in *Italy*; and to the end to come to agreement with the said Barons, altring his minde, he approued and confirmed the nomination and election made of *CHARLES* King of *Germany* who for his corpulence was surnamed the Fat; and so he anointed and crowned him Emperour; dissannulling the coronation of *LVDOVICVS BABVS* King of *France*; for which cause it was thought that great warres and troubles would haue ensued: but by the intercession of certaine great personages, a peace was concluded betweene the two Emperors in this manner: That they both should hold the name and title of Emperors, and that the countrie of *Lorraine* (about which was wont to be great contention) should be equally diuided between them, and that for the Empire no warre should be made; but that in all parts peace should be entertained betweene the lands and subiects of the one and of the other partie; and that in *Italy* (vntill that an equall partition were made) each of them should hold such lands and townes as he then had in possession: and if that the Infidels invaded the dominion of either of them, the other was bound to aide him with his forces.

This peace being concluded (although doubtfull and fained) the Emperour *LEUVES* died in *France*, whereof he was King, having reigned not fully two yeeres, in all which time he neuer came to *Rome*, neither into *Italy*. But for as much as Pope *IOHN* crowned him in *France*, and afterwards in *Rome* dissannulled his election and coronation, some Historiographers leaue him out of the catalogue of Emperors. He left when he died two bastard sonnes behind him, the one called *CARLOMAN*, and the other *LEUVES*, and his wife great with a sonne, whereof the was afterwards deliuered; which sonne being posthumus (for so doe they call him which is born after his fathers decease) hee left for his heir of the kingdoms of *France*; wherein grew great discord, warres and miserie about the gouernment and the kingdom; and in the one and other were great alterations and changes, too long to be related: for the bastard sonnes pretended title and right to the Crowne, and so did *Boson* King of *Provence*. Others would haue the child (wherewith the Emperesse was great at the death of the Emperour, who was afterwards called *CHARLES* the Simple) to be King. The gouernours also tooke vpon them the name of Kings; sometimes one was a King, and sometime another, and each of them made himselfe Lord of what he could get. In these troubles the kingdom endured great calamitie. This Emperour *LEUVES* died in the yeere of our Lord, eight hundred and fourescore, according to the computation which I hold for most certaine.

THE



THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE THIRD, SVRNAMED THE FAT,

AND FOVRESORE AND SECOND RO-
MANE EMPEVOVR; AND OF BA-

SILIVS and LEO, at that time Empe-
vors of Constantinople.



Recently vpon the decease of *LEUVES* the Emperour and King of *France*, the king of *Germany*, *CHARLES* the Fat, without any contradiction enioyed the Empire; for in the others life time he had in a manner robbed him of that Majesty, which (as the Reader may well consider) was at that time but only in name; for the authority of *CHARLES* the Great and his successors, consisted more in letters, and in the Kingdomes which they wonne and possessed (which were the Dominions of *Germany* and *Italy*) then in any part of the Empire; whereof there remained *Italy* onely, and therein the Pope held the greatest part; and the Greeke Empire had euer some share: And that likewise which the Emperours held in *Italy*, was recovered by the said

CHARLES, and by his father; yet the name of Emperour was in the highest degree defired, and the authority and Majesty thereof was very great, and so continueth vntill this day. *CHARLES* the Fat remaining then sole Emperour in peace, as his vertues deserved, leauing *Italy* in good order, went into *Germany*, to take possession of his brother *LEUVES* his Kingdomes; who also at that time died without heires, whose dominion contained *Friseland*, *Saxony*, *Lorraine*, and other provinces; and he had so good hap, that within short space after, his other brother died also without sonnes or issue: which provinces were afterwards diuided into sundrie houses and states (in proceesse of time) by the gifts of the Emperors, and through sundry other accidents, as it plainly appeareth. I say then that he remained Lord of all *Germany*, and King of *Italy*.

The next yeere after this, died *BASILIVS* Emperour of *Constantinople* of a very extraordinary death: for riding on hunting (as his custome was) hee was slaine by a Stagge. *BASILIVS* in his life time had chosen and nominated his eldest sonne *LEO* for *CÆSAR*, after the death of his other eldest sonne *CONSTANTINVS*: wherefore when as the father was dead, his sonne *LEO* was crowned and obeyed for Emperour; and was called the Philosopher, for that he was much inclined to learning: *BASILIVS* left also another sonne, called *ALEXANDER*. The Emperour *CHARLES* hauing good successe in his affaires; and knowing what warres and factions were in *France*; vnder colour to warre against the Normans which harried the Countrie, he fought (as many others did, and had done) to make himselfe King thereof. Leuying then a mighty Army of Germanes and Italians, he entred *France*, and

Basilius Empe-
ror of *Constan-
tinople*, slaine by
a Stagge, and
his sonne *Leo*,
succeeded him
in the Empire.

Mm 4

Went

went to the City of *Paris*, which the Normans held besieged: and, hauing taken all the Countrey, and put the Normans to rout, he was called King of *France*; the young King CHARLES the Simple, or BONVS King of *Provence*, hauing no sufficient power to make head against him.

In this warre were many great fights; which, because the Authors handle the same so confusedly, I passe ouer in silence. And the Emperors party became so mighty, that he not onely enjoyed the title and name of King, but the Kingdome it self also: and to the end, that hee might the better draw the Normans to his seruice, he treated with them (after hee had ouerthrowne them) of peace, and gaue their King to wife a kinswoman of his, which was a Dukes daughter; and assigned to him that part of *France* which lieth beyond the river *Sein*, bordering vpon the English Sea, which after them is at this day called *Normandy*, and is a very good Countrey and well inhabited. Yet some Historians say, that the Emperor CHARLES did not this, but that CHARLES the Simple afterwards did it when hee came to bee King of *France*, who at that time was but an Infant, and vnder the gouernment of BVDON: but in my opinion that was too long a time, for they afterwards had warres with him. But howsoeuer it was, the Emperor CHARLES the Fat was Lord of the greatest and best part of *France*, and was called king thereof, being before that time King of *Germany*, and Emperor of *Italy*: and, seeing all things there in good order, he retired himself into *Germanie*, where being arrived, as the state of his dominion and Empire was grounded vpon but weak foundations, so it suddenly fell from the height of that Throne. Some alledge the cause thereof to be, for that he became foolish, proud, and vnfit to gouern: others say, that a disease took him which bereaued him of his senses; which cometh all to one in effect.

To conclude, the Princes, Dukes and Gouerners of the Prouinces of *Germany* and *France*, seeing his great insufficiency and vnaptnes to gouern, resolved to depriue him of his Empire and Kingdomes: and for as much as he had neuer a sonne (being, as they write of him, vnapt by nature for generation) by common consent they nominated and chose a great and valiant Personage, called ARNOLPH, who was by CHARLES aduanced to the Duchies of *Bavaria* and *Carinthia*, and (as some write) was but of mean parentage, and no way allied to CHARLES: and so they account CHARLES the Fat to be the last of the linage and blood of CHARLES the Great. But after some, which is the most common opinion, ARNOLPH was nephew to CHARLES the Fat, bastard or naturall sonne to CARLOMAN King of *Bauiere*; which seemeth most likely to be true, seeing that hee without any gainsayng attained both to the Kingdome and Empire, and was not onely intituled Emperour, but also King of *Germany*: but in *France*, after ARNOLPH's first fury, they made OTHO or EVDRES (who was CHARLES the Simple's Tutor) King of *France*; whom CHARLES the Simple afterwards succeeded. After this, many great matters ensued, which appertain not to my History. And so CHARLES the Fat lost both his Empire and vnderstanding, when he had reigned nine yeers, in the yeer of our Lord eight hundred fourscore and nine; and liued afterwards about one yeer, in great penury and misery.

It is written, that this poor Prince found himself at one Instant depriued of all meanes, and forsaken of all the world, degraded both of Realm and Empire; hauing so ill provided for his affairs in the time of prosperity, that he found himself naked without a house where to shroud himself from the shipwrack of his disgrace, driuen out of his Palace, and retired into a poor village of *Suabe*, where he liued some daies in extreme want, without any meane or relief; in the end died, not lamented or pitied of any man, in an vnknowne corner, yet noted to be the Theatre where was acted such an extraordinary Tragedie, That one of the greatest Monarchs of the world is dead, without house, without bread, without honour, without pity, and without memory, but to obserue so miserable an end.

In *Constantinople* yet reigned LEO, not so ill as some others: for, notwithstanding that hee was somewhat cruell, yet he was a louer of iustice and equity, and very zealous, and built some stately Temples. He warred with the Bulgares, and ouercame them, and was ouercome by them; whose death and actions we will declare heerafter: for, he reigned 25 yeers.

The coming of
the Normans into
Normandy.

Charles the Fat
deposed from the
Empire, and
Arnolph chose
him in his place.



THE LIFE OF ARNOLPH, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE FOVRESORE AND FOVRTH ROMANE EMPEROR, AND OF LEO,

Alexander and Constantine, Emperors
of GRAECIA.

(*)



It is already mentioned in what maner ARNOLPH attained to the Empire, who is numbred among the good Emperors: for, he was wise and vpright in his gouernment, and had both valour and courage to defend and protect the Empire; yet in his time were great warres. As soon as he was Roman Emperour and King of *Germany*, he had a desire to make himself King of *France* also; and hee fought some battels with the Normans: who, vnderstanding that CHARLES was depriued & dead, rebelled, and made warres in *France*, wherein he had the victory: but, constrained through some innouations in *Germanie*, hee returned thither, and abandoned *France*; which I omit as a matter impertinent. Being come into *Germany*, his first businesse was with a certain people in

the Prouince of *Moravia*, called Magarens, which warred in all parts of *Germanie*; and committed such spoils, and put him in so great fear, that he fought to pacifie them rather by policy than by Arms: and to the end they should liue in peace and quiet, he agreed to giue them that countrey to inhabit; so as to them was assigned the Prouince of *Moravia*, with part of *Bohemia*, where it bordereth vpon *Hungary*, *Poland* and *Silesia*. Yet, neuer helasse, this continued but a small time: for, this people, waxing proud of their agreement, with greater presumption invaded the countrey: against whom ARNOLPH leuied an Army of valiant men at Arms, brought out of *Hungary*; with which, and his other ordinary forces, he ouerthrew the Morauians in a notable battell, and cutting the greatest part of them in pieces, the rest fled and abandoned the countrey: but, it being freed from the Subdued, was much more oppressed by the victorious Hungares, who, mutinying for want of their pay, sacked the Cities and Towns of *Germany*; and, crossing ouer the Countrey, without any resistance came into *Friseland*, and thence into *Gallia Belgica*; part whereof at this day is the Earldome of *Flanders*. These Hungares, as some affirm, were of the same Countrey of *Hungarie*; and VICENTIVS in his Mirror, and MARTIN affirm, that they came out of *Scythia* into that Prouince: but whence-soeuer they came, it imports not much; it sufficeth they all agree, that ARNOLPHVS was much troubled with them, and that they burnt and spoiled a great part of *Germany*: and ARNOLPH did all that was possible, and at length constrained them to return into *Hungary*, from whence (as long as he liued) they neuer durst come thither again.

THE

Whilſt

Whilſt theſe things paſſed in *Germany*, *Italy* eſcaped not free from warres and combuſtions; whereof, the Emperors long abſence was the occaſion: for, he had neuer been there, but went thither being called by Pope FORMOVS, who was choſen after the death of STEPHEN before mentioned. This FORMOVS was choſen againſt the will of the greateſt part of the people of *Rome*, which fauoured a Cardinall called SERGIUS, to whom they had given their voices: wherefore the Pope, houlding himſelf greatly injured, went to the Emperor, and was the cauſe of his coming into *Italy*, of whom before that we enter into any diſcourſe, it ſhall not be amiſſe to ſpeak (after our accuſtomed manner) of the Emperor of *Conſtantinople*, in the liſe of LEO the Fiſt, who (as wee ſaid) at that time held that Empire, wherein ordinarily enſued great accidents: for, the Emperor was euer at contention and variance (in *Europe*) with the Bulgarians, the Hungars, the Ruſſians, and other Nations; and in *Aſia* with the Armenians, the Perſians, and other Infidels. But I deſire to be held excuſed in that I write not that Hiſtory at large, ſeeing I am bound to write but of the Emperors of the Weſt onely, who are held for the right Emperors; and of the others to make but a brief relation.

LEO, hauing ended his warre with the Bulgarians, reſolued to warre in *Aſia* againſt the Infidels, and did ſo; wherein al though that many loſſes hapned to either party, yet in the end his Armie (being led by a good General) obtained a very notable victory; whereby his name came to be very famous and renowned: ſo as in theſe actions, and others which I write not, five and twenty yeers of his Empire were ſpent: in the end whereof, he died of the Colick. And after his death his brother ALEXANDER was choſen Emperor, notwithstanding that hee left a ſonne called CONSTANTINE: but, for as much as he was of more yeers and better beloued, the brother had the Empire, and held it thirteen or fourteen monthes: during which time he did nothing that was good; and for abuſing the Ambaſſadors of SIMON King of *Bulgaria*, warre was made againſt him. He beſtowed offices and dignities vpon ignoble and baſe perſonages, and in the end was taken with a flux of blood at the noſe, which neuer left him vntill he left the Empire: and CONSTANTINE, ſonne to his brother LEO, had the Empire ſo whom we will ſpeak hereafter: for, this hapned in the time of ARNOLPH, Emperor of the Weſt, whoſe liſe we now write, which ended (as I ſaid) coming into *Italy*, in fauour of Pope FORMOVS, and to recover ſuch Cities as were therein vſurped by certain Dukes and Earles; between whom and them enſued many battels; and in all *Italy* were factions and diſſenſions, eſpecially between GUIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, and BERENGARIUS Duke of *Friuli*, who were made Dukes by the old Emperor CHARLES; being men of the greateſt account in all the Countrey, he thinking by this means to defend the Countrey againſt the Lombards and French, and to hold the ſame in ſubjection, hauing ſuch mighty Commanders. But theſe men made themſelues Lords of all they could, and either of them was a great enemy to the other, and fought a great battell; wherein GUIDO was ouerthrowne, and BERENGARIUS had the victory: who, vnderſtanding of the Emperor ARNOLPH's coming, fought to make a league with him, and offered him his ſeruiſe; more to ſeeke his enemies ruine, than for any ſeruiſe he meant to doo to the Emperor.

ARNOLPH, being come into *Italy* with a great Army, fought means to make himſelf Lord of the Countrey, aſſiſted by BERENGARIUS, whoſe Dukedome of *Friuli* was in his way: he took many places which GUIDO had vſurped, and went to *Bergamo*; into the caſtle whereof, a certain Earle (one of thoſe which conſpired againſt Pope FORMOVS) was entred: who, together with others of that City, was there beſieged by the Emperor; who, taking it by force, cauſed him to be hanged. And ſo he puniſhed and did iuſtice vpon many others, and redreſſed many injuries and wrongs done in *Italy*. Afterwards hee went with his Army towards *Rome*, where the Pope attended his coming: but his aduerſaries were of ſuch power, that whether the Pope would or not, they put the City in Arms, and (ſhutting their ports) would not receiue the Emperor; whereupon hee beſieged it, which cauſed great tumults and mutinies therein: but in the end the Popes authority, and the fear of the Emperors power, ſo much prevailed, that he was receiued; wherein, by his direction, great puniſhment was inflicted vpon ſuch as could be taken; and the Pope crowned him Emperor with great honour and ſolemnity; and, within ſewe daies after, hee departed, with an intent to ruine GUIDO Duke of *Spoleto*, who was of great power, and thought as well as BERENGARIUS, to haue been King of *Italy*. Hauing taken ſome Townes, he beſieged his wife in a certain City: the Ducheſſe praſtred with one of the Emperors fauourites to giue the Emperor a certain drink, which ſhee made him beleeue would make him milde and courteous: but as ſoon as he had taken it, he fell into a deep ſleep,

Leo, Emperor of Conſtantinople, died of the Colick, and Alexander ſucceeded him.

Alexander, Emperor of Conſtantinople, died bleeding at the noſe.

Arnolph crowned Emperor in Rome, by the Pope.

ſleepe, which held him ſo long, that they thought he would neuer haue awaked againe; for he ſlept three daies and three nights, and no man could make him to moue; but in the end hee awoke, and found himſelfe ſo ill, that contenting himſelfe to ſettle the affaires of *Italy* in the beſt order that he could, he return'd into *Germany*, hoping in his native countrey to recover his health. At what time as the Emperor ARNOLPH departed *Italy*, Pope FORMOVS died, and after him BONIFACE the ſixt was choſen, who was Pope but twentie ſix daies; and then ſucceeded STEPHEN the ſixt, who was ſo great an enemy to FORMOVS and to his actions, that when he was Pope, he ſought to diſannull matters done by him; which was an ill example, and whereof afterwards many euils enſued: for ſome Popes did the like by their predeceſſors, againſt whom they had conceived diſpleaſure.

The ſucceeding Pope contented the predeceſſors diſpleaſure.

This being done, Pope STEPHEN dyed in the third year of his papacie, and him ſucceeded ROMANVS, a Spaniard borne, who was Pope but three monthes. And after him came THEODORE the ſecond, who held the chaire but twentie daies, in which time his chiefſt care was to confirme the doings of FORMOVS, which STEPHEN had diſannulled; and after his death JOHN the tenth was choſen. While theſe Popes ran in ſuch haſte to death one after another, the Emperor ARNOLPH with his Army went into *Germany*, and out liued them all, and raigned in proſperitie, nothing befalling him worthe memorie; but in the end he was aſſailed with a kinde of ſickneſſe, which proued the worſt diſeaſe that could be imagined, and this was an infinit number of lice; wherewith he was ſo tormented and eaten, that he could not be cured thereof, but dyed: this happened in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred and one, and in the twelfth yeere of his raign. ARNOLPH at his death left behind him three children which he had by his two wiues; by his firſt wife, he had ARNOLPH, whom in his liſe time he made Duke of *Bantere*, and BERNARD Earle of a certaine province: and by his ſecond wife he had LEVVS, who afterwards was Emperor; he had another baſe ſonne called ZENBALDVS, whom in his liſe time he made Duke of *Lorraine*; and one daughter called BERTA, married to the Duke of *Cleue*.

The miſerable death of the Emperor Arnolph.

In the time that ARNOLPH raigne, began the Dukes of *Normandie*; for the King or capitaine of the Normans married the daughter of CHARLES the Simple, king of *France*, and making himſelfe to be Chriſtend, was called ROBERT, whoſe ſonne was the firſt Duke of *Normandie*. There were alſo Dukes in *Burgundie* of the houſe of *France*, which a long time after were called Kings: and in *Saxony* alſo, and in other parts, as hath been obſerued, and hereafter ſhall appear in this hiſtorie: for the Kings and Emperours of thoſe times did vie to gouerne their cities and provinces by perpetuall Dukes, ſo as at that time were very great Earles and Dukes, and the Emperours gouerned *Milan* by an Earle, who was called Earle of *Milan*; the like they did by other provinces: whereof it afterwards enſued, that their eſtates became perpetuall, they holding the ſame by inheritance.

At this time the principall Earles of *Caſtile*, through the many murders and injuries committed by DON HORDONIO in that countrey; choſe among themſelues two to be iudges betweene them, and to determine their differences and warres; which were HERNANDO HERNANDEZ RASTRA, and LAEN CALVO: after this followed DON ALONSO, the Sonne of DON FRYELA, who became a Monke. And the ſame yeare that the Emperor ARNOLPH dyed, DON RAMIRUS raigne: this DON RAMIRUS performed great matters againſt the Moores. In *France* raigne CHARLES the Simple. There were then Kings in *England*, in *Denmarke*, in *Moravia*, in *Proouence*, in *Bulgaria*; and in *Polonia* were Dukes, and ſo were ſtill vntill the time of the Emperor OTHO.

In *Conſtantinople* (as is aboueſaid) CONSTANTINE the ſonne of LEO, and nephew to the Emperor ALEXANDER, was Emperor, and raigne along time; for he was Emperor thirtie ſix yeeres: whereof ſiftene were in the company of the tyrant ROMANVS. In the beginning of his raigne (for that he was a child) hee was gouerned by certaine Princes, and by his mother ZOE, and had ſome warres with the King of the Bulgarians, which he ended with happy ſucceſſe: PHOCAS being General of his Army, who was of greateſt account in his Court. Afterwards, through treacherie, his ſouldiers abandoned him, and the Bulgarians became Lords and maſters of the field, ſo as he was conſtrained to buy his peace of them for readie money. After this, in diſpote of himſelfe and of his mother, ſome which of a pettie Prince, was come to be of great power, was made CESAR and his companion in the Empire, and had the ſuperioritie the other ſiftene yeeres that he liued, notwithstanding that they both had the title of Emperours: as we will tell you hereafter.



THE LIFE OF LEVVES THE
FOURTH OF THIS NAME, AND
THREESCORE AND FOURTH ROMAN EM-
peror; And of CONSTANTINE the Second, Emperour
of CONSTANTINOPLE; And of the Tyrants
in ITALIE.



After the death of the Emperor ARNOLPH, there was great confusion in the Empire: the Italians and Romans desiring to make one Emperor that should bee to their liking; and the Germans desiring to do the like, they fell at such variance, that the one party held one for Emperor, and the other part another; so as rightly there was not any. And some Historiographers account none, from these Emperours of which we now write, till the time of OTTO the Second, which was for the space of threescore yeeres, little more or lesse before that none of them were crowned by any Pope. Moreover the History is written so confusedly and abruptly, that it can hardly be explained. The worst of all is, that those times were most unhappy through want and defect of Emperours: for, thereof infinite waies ensued; vices, infolencies and rapines abounded, little justice was executed, learning decayed, vertue was nought seen; charity languished, and the Infidels in many places had the upper hand; vntill it pleased his diuine Majesty to bring matters to a better estate. I say then, that the German Princes chose, for their King and Roman Emperour, LEVVES the sonne of the Emperor ARNOLPH; but he could not as soon as he desired, come into Italy; without which they neuer held themselves for Emperours; holding Italy for the seat and originall of the Empire: for, the Hungars in those daies were the most feared and redoubted Nation in the world; and which did greatest harm in Germany and in Italy; for, being freed from the feare of ARNOLPH, they brake the peace made with him; and made warre vpon the new Emperor LEVVES in Italy, whereof, the chiefest Princes and of greatest power were the aboue named BERENGARVS, Duke of Friuli; and GUYSSA Duke of Spoleto; who, of Dukes and Governours, became Tyrant-Lords, each of them pretending to be Emperour; but BERENGARVS, being of great power in Lombardy, put his desires in practice, and vsurped the whole Countrey; and any place else that hee could get, in despite of the Emperor, saying, that Italy was the true seat of the Roman Empire; and that Germany might rather be said to be the patrimony of CHARLES the Great his Successour, than the Empire. But LEVVES; for that he was the sonne of an Emperour, and descended from CHARLES the Great who restored the Empire, pretended that Germany ought to chuse the Emperour.

Matters standing in this manner, the Hungars sallied out of their Countrey, and beganne to rob and spoile the Countiees of Austria and Bawaria, vying in them extreme cruelty with fire and sword. LEVVES, being a courageous young man; was highly displeased with this their presumption; and gathering together such troops of souldiers as hee was able, with the aid of his bre-

brethren went against them, and met to the river *Lien* they met; where LEVVES greatly desired to come to blowes with them: which the Hungars and Morauians perceiving, laid a stratagem for him; for, offering to giue him battell, they retired, till they had drawne him within the danger of an ambush which they had laid in a wood; and there they maintained the Fight to their great aduantage, in regard of the place: but the Fight was so well performed by the Emperours people, that if the Hungars had not beene rescued by their ambush, hee had that day obtained a notable victory. But when the aduantage was discouered, and that so great a number of men on euery side came rushing out of the wood vpon such a sudden, with so great force vnc-expected, the Imperialists began to retire, and afterwards to flee; in such manner, that the victory manifestly appeared on the Hungars side, and the Emperour was driuen to saue himself by flight: after which they did much harm throughout all Germany, the Emperour not being able to resist or make head against them; but was constrained to withdraw himself into the countrey, and secretly to giue great summes of money to the Captains and principall men of the Hungars, to the end they should treat of a peace; and he openly gaue great pay to their men of warre, and promised to allow them yearly provision for their houses: by these means he freed his countrey from that misery for that time; but the peace continued not long.

After this exploit; the Emperour, vnderstanding that his base brother ZENNEBALDVS gouerned the Countrey of Lorraine cruelly, and as a Tyrant, hee deprived him of that Kingdom, and seized it into his owne hands, and took LVTOWARDA, the daughter of OTTO Duke of Saxony, to wife; which Prouince was then subject to the Empire. In those daies France escaped not free from wars and troubles. The Emperour, thinking hee had settled all matters in peace with the Hungars, saw himself in a new perplexity: for, they not content with the promised pay (which was very duly paid them) a great Armie of them againe inuaded Germany; and the Emperour in person went against them, and fought with them twice in the Prouince of Bawaria; and both times had the victorie, although with great losse of men, and with no small difficultie and danger: but not knowing how to execute his victorie, or to follow his good fortune, giuing too much eare to some mens counsell, the Hungars fledde into their countrey, who (in most mens opinions) might haue been wholly ruined and defeated: where they reinforced and refreshed their troupes, and did greater harme in the Empire, then at the first, and were so expert in the warres, and so greatly feared, that crossing through Germany, sack and burning many towns, amongst which the cite of Basle was one, they passed into Lorraine, which then contained the estates of Flanders, Brabant, Gelders, Cleue, Treuer, and many other prouinces; in which they executed great cruelty: and with the like furie they returned the same way they went, burning and spoyleing what before had escaped; and so they retired themselves into their countrey, laden with riches and spoyle; but fewer in number then they came from thence. This people at that time was growne so proud, and of so great power, that all Nations bordering vpon them stood in feare of them, and did as the rest did: for after the same manner as they had entred Bawaria, they afterwards inuaded Bulgaria, and the Emperours countiees of Gracia, sack and burning his Cities; and constrained the Emperour CONSTANTINE to giue them pay, and ordinary tribute, to be at peace with them; and the Emperour LEVVES was driuen to doe the like, to allure Germany, from this raging fire.

Historiographers write, that in those daies there were great wars in France and Italy between BERENGARVS and other Princes, and the like in other parts; and that Princes vsed fraud and treachery one against another: so as a man can write nothing that is good of those times; so much did malice, ambition, pride and cruelty abound.

It afterwards followed, that the Hungars, moued with the fame of the wealth and abundance of all things in Italy, and through the ciuill dissension which was therein (the ordinarie gates by which destruction entred into any Kingdomes) and for that LEVVES withstood them mightily in Germany, they resolved to sack and make a conquest of Italy: for which attempt they leuied greater forces than at any time before they had done. The fame hereof put all Italy into such a feare, that they chose BERENGARVS for their Captain and defender, who was called Emperour; but till this time was not held for such. BERENGARVS then with great diligence and expedition leuied many souldiers both of foot and horse; and, at their coming into Italy, oppos'd himself against the Hungars; and coming to blowes, fought a battell with them some Authors say two; wherein being ouerthrowne he fled, and lost therein the greatest part of his Army, and retired himself into the estate of Milan, wherein consisted his greatest strength. The Hungars after this victory were Masters of the Field, and spoiled all the Countrey, taking

A battell be-
tween the Leves
and the Hun-
gars.

The Hungars in-
uaded Italie.

Benengarius
bought his peace
of the Hungars.

The Hungars
came the second
time into Italie.

and ransacking many Cities, and in lesse than one year ouerranne all the Land : in which time these Barbarians, moud with the bruit of the riches of the City of *Venice*, made Barks, Brigandines, and other vessels, therewith to haue attempted it ; and so they assailed the City, and took some of those Ilands : but their coming was before-hand suspected, and therefore provided for, so as although they took some part thereof, yet the Venetians so fortified the rest with strong chains, and some places with wals, that, after some conflicts by sea and by land, they despairing to be able to take the City, returned to *Padua*, where they had left the remainder of their Cavalierie and their luggage. BERENGARIUS, seeing by force hee could not deliuer *Italie* from the Hungars, put that remedy in practice which LEVVES had vsed in *Germany* ; which was, to treat of peace by way of money : whereto the Hungars gaue ear, and it was concluded ; and he gaue them a huge summe of gold and silver, which by the industry of BERENGARIUS was collected from all parts of *Italie* : wherewith, and with the rest which they had stolne, they departed rich and victorious ; which had so good a taste, that it made them come thither again.

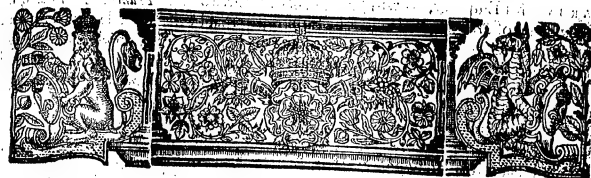
The coming of the Hungars into *Italy*, was in the time of Pope SERGIUS the Third : for, BARNEDICT the fourth being dead, of whom it was said that he was a good Bishop (which ought not to be accounted for a small matter, considering how few were so in those times) LEO the Fifth succeeded, who enjoyed that dignity but forty daies, for, a great Cardinall called CHRISTOPHER, took him prisoner ; who within few daies died in prison, and CHRISTOPHER remained Pope tyrannously, and within 7 months (for, violence cannot last) was deprived, and put into a Monastery : and then was SERGIUS the Third chosen, in whose time hapned this calamity through the Hungars. But, returning to our History, I say that the Hungars being retired into their Country, *Italie* was not therefore free from troubles : for, the Moors of *Africa* infested the same with their fleets ; and for all this, the ciuill factions & discord ceased not betwixt the Princes : for, EDWARD, Marquess of *Tulcane*, who vsurped that Country, being of great power, rebelled against BERENGARIUS ; and the Popes authority and power was not such as it had been, neither were they of such force by reason of their insufficiency and little worth, and through the want of the accustomed succours from *France*, which they had in the time of the successors of CHARLES the Great : which considered, LEVVES was of opinion, that *Italy* might easily be subdued, & that he might bereaue BERENGARIUS both of the name & dignity of Emperor, which he vsurped. Whereupon with a great Armie hee came into *Italia* : against whom came BERENGARIUS with a good number of men of warre ; and they two fought a battell, wherein BERENGARIUS was overthrowne, with little bloodshed, by reason of the small resistance made by his people ; and LEVVES went to the City of *Verona*, neer to which the battell was fought, and lay there like a Conqueror, and as one that stood in fear of no man, and therefore careless : whereupon BERENGARIUS, albeit he was ouercom, practised with some within the City, and some also of the Emperors owne people, to let him into the City ; so as he entred it by night, and took LEVVES prisoner. Others say, that LEVVES had not the victory, but that he withdrew himself into the City for fear ; and so in the manner (as I said) he fell into BERENGARIUS power. But howsoever it was, BERENGARIUS had him prisoner, and put out his eyes, and so within fewe daies through grief and sorrow he died ; and BERENGARIUS remained sole Lord of the Empire of *Italy*.

The difference
betweene authors
about the taking
of the Emper-
Lewes, and his
death.

In this manner ended LEVVES his Empire, which he held with so much trouble when hee had raign'd Emperor full eleven yeers ; and died in the year of our Lord nine hundred & twelue, after the Abbot WISPERGENS his computation, which I follow : other Authors (of no small authority) as, BLONDS and CYSPIAN, recount this after another manner ; saying, that this Emperor LEVVES neuer came into *Italie*, neither was overthrowne by BERENGARIUS ; but that in the end he died of his naturall death in *Germany*, and that that LEVVES was overthrowne and taken in *Verona*, was LEVVES the son of BOLON King of *Prudence*, which came into *Italy* against BERENGARIUS, proclaiming himselfe Emperor ; and that BERENGARIUS released him on his oath that he would come no more thither : which oath he afterwards brake. But in that manner as I haue declared it is written by PLATINUS, HENRICVS MYCIVS, NAVCLERVS, IOHANNES VVICVS, SAINT ANTHONY, VOLATERANVS, and some others. In this time liued Pope SERGIUS the Third, and in *Constantinople* CONSTANTINE, and ROMANVS the tyrant, who raign'd in despite of him. LEVVES left not any son to succeed him. There befell also in his time great wars & combusions among the Princes of *Germany* ; which was tyrannized sometime by one, and sometime by another, whereby his Empire was weakened, and came to be of lesse power. This was the last Em-

Emperor of the line of CHARLES the Great, yet in the Kingdom of *France* the succession continued, although within a while after it ended also, and passed to another line, which lasteth vntill this day. And in *Spain* then flourish'd the Flowr of chivalrie against the Infidels, conquering their Countries, and Kings which raign'd therein ; the Earle FERNANDO GONSALES.

In *Hungarie*, TASSON first took vpon him the authority of a King : which Countrey in former time was gouerned by Dukes and sundry other Magistrates, from the time of ATTILA, King of the Hunnes. This TASSON was grandfather to STEPHEN who was canonized for a Saint, and the first confirmed King by the authority of the Emperour FREDERICK.



THE
LIFE OF CONRADE, THE
FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND
FOVRESORE AND FIFT ROMAN EM-
peror ; And of those which in his time took the name of
Emperors in *ITALIE* ; And of Constantine the
Emperor of *Constantinople*.

THE ARGVMENT.

Lewes being dead, there arose a contention between the French and the Germans, about the Empire : for, either of these two Nations pretended to haue a iust title to chuse an Emperor, by reason of their ancient authority and custome. But in the end the Germans, preuailling, would haue chosen Otho Duke of Saxony ; who, for that he was already old, and unfit to gouern the Empire so much troubled, refused the charge, and counselled them to chuse Conrade Duke of Franconia : who, by the consent of the Germans, and of a good part of the French, being made Emperor, was cruel vsed by the counsel of the old Duke Otho : and he dying, left a sonne called Henry, whom Conrade suspected, and feared, an occasion of warre, he bent his force against him, notwithstanding that his father made such account of him, that he preferred him to the Empire ; and onely seeking means to bring him to destruction, took no care how matters went in *Italie*, which was extremely troubled. Conrades brother, fighting a battell with Henrie, was by him overthrowne : whereupon Conrade, seeing the losse and the dishonour, reinforced his Armie to be reuenged, and sending Ambassadors to Henry to submit and yeeld himself, they were not heard, neither could they come to any composition of peace. Whilst he was thus in this action, Conrade fell very sick ; and, knowing his end to be neere, more regarding the good of the Empire, than his owne private passion, he chose his enemy Henry for his successor, and commanded his brother to yeeld him obedience ; which was a very heroicall deed, and befitting a Christian.

He time of the Emperor LEVVES was troublefome and tempestuous, and his death caused no calm, but brought greater storms in all estates ; for in his time the Imperiall power was diuided into two heads, in *Italy*, and in *Germany*, which were, LEVVES and BERENGARIUS : and LEVVES being dead, one alone pretended not, but many, to succeede him both in name and in the dignity of the Empire : *France* would haue nominated an Emperor, alleging that fish that the line of CHARLES the Great was

Contention between the Germans, Frenchmen and Italians, about the throne of the Emperor.

extinct in *Germany*, and that in *France* the same remained, and that *Germany* was conquered by the same *CHARLES*; in right therefore the title of the Empire appertained to his successors, and so it ought to returne to the Crowne of *France*; for *CHARLES* the Great had it not with the Empire as he had *Italy*, but it was given to him being King of *France*, and by that title his successors held the same.

The Princes of *Germany* denied this, fearing to return vnder the subjection of the French, and stood vpon the possession and authority to chuse the Emperor, alleging for their reason, that the Empire was transported to the Germanes in the person of *CHARLES* the Great, and that *Germany* was the Empire, and not the Kingdome of *France*, and that they were in possession thereof. The Italians said, that *Italy* was the ancient true seat of the Empire, and that they gave it to *CHARLES*, and had authority to give it vnto any other: and so they called and held *BERENGARIUS* for Emperor, notwithstanding his competitors. In *France*, *LEUVES*, the son of *BOSON* King of *France* challenged the Empire, for that he descended from *CHARLES* the Great. But the Germanes, who seemed to haue the best right and chiefest authority, and haue so continued (having not any that might succede *LEUVES*, for he had no sonnes) chose *OTHON* Duke of *Saxony* for Emperor, a man of great wisdom and valour: but he would not accept of that Empire which others so much desired; for, as he was now old, so hee knew that the affairs of the Empire stood in such estate, that they needed a man of greater power, and of longer life than himselfe. The Lords Name bee blessed, that in time of so great ambition, one man was found that refused to be an Emperor.

OTHON, Duke of Saxony, chosen Emperor, refused the Empire.

OTHON then answered those which had chosen him Emperor, that he had neither such health nor strength as to be able to govern the Empire, and therefore would not undertake a burthen which he was not able to bear: but he would assist them with his best counsell, concluding that in his opinion *CONRADE* Duke of *Franconia* was worthe to be chosen, in whom all the qualities and vertuous conditions did concur, that might seeme requisite in an Emperor: And so by common consent of the Germanes, and part of the French, *CONRADE* was chosen and obeyed for Emperor, who (as some write) descended from *CHARLES* the Great. And he presently began to gouerne the Empire, and in all things followed the counsell and aduice of *OTHON*, by whose means he obtained it: and so the first year he liued and ruled very happily. But the great Dukes and Princes of *Germany* waxing enuious, and desirous to raige, *ARNOLD* Duke of *Baviera* rebelled against him, and went into *Hungary*, and induced the Hungars and their King to warre vpon the new Emperor; whereupon, in the second year of his Raige, a sharp and cruell warre began: but, as he was very valiant and expert in Arms, so he drew his forces to an head, and came to a battell with the Hungars, and overthrew them, and constrained them to flee into their Countrey; and so freed *Germany* from that perill. And although afterwards it was sometimes molested, yet by his diligence and courage it was euer defended: and so he maintained the same in peace as long as Duke *OTHON* liued, vpon whose counsell he chiefly relied, but neuer durst come to make war in *Italy*.

After the death of *OTHON*, who left one sonne behinde him called *HENRY*, who was a very gallant yong man, and of great power, *CONRADE* began to suspect him; which was the occasion of the troubles which I will relate. *BERENGARIUS* being held in *Italy* for Emperor, besides *CONRADE* who with better title was Emperor in *Germany*; *LEUVES*, the son of *BOSON* King of *France*, determined to come into *Italy* to deprive *BERENGARIUS* of that Empire, who held it, not without great vexation and trouble, as well with the Princes of *Italy* (whereof some rebelled against him) as with the Infidels and Hungars which infested the same. And (as I said before) some Authors write, that this *LEUVES* came the first time to the same purpose, and was ouerthrowne by *BERENGARIUS*, and this (as I beleue) was the first; and if it were the second, he came being called by some of *BERENGARIUS* enemies. And notwithstanding that in the beginning of the wars he had good success, yet in the end hee was ouerthrowne, and constrained to flee. Thus much shall suffice for him, the matter being so doubtfull. Yet heere is some diversity among Authors; whereof some say, At that time reigned in *Italy* *BERENGARIUS* the Second, with the title of Emperor; as his father had done, who was son of the other *BERENGARIUS* before named, others attribute it to the father alone: but to the end we may the better vnderstand the matter, we yeeld that this was the second *BERENGARIUS*, for that we shall hereafter haue occasion to treat of another, which shall be the third.

May then, that at what time *CONRADE* was Emperor in *Germany*, and *BERENGARIUS* in

in *Italy*, poor *Italy* (besides domestick & ciuil wars) was afflicted with other far more gricuous & pitifull. This was, for that the Towns which the Greek Empire held in *Calabria* and *Pulia*, together with the partialities and factions which were in them, were not in subjection: whereupon *CONSTANTINE*, who at that time reigned in *Constantinople*, or (as others say) *ROMANUS* the Tyrant, which with him gouerned the Empire for a time, procured the ayde of the Moores in *Africa*, and of the Arabians, of which a great number came into *Italy*, giuing it out, that they came to helpe the Greekes to recouer their right; vnder colour whereof, they became Lords of all *Pulia*, *Calabria*, and the rest which containeth now the kingdome of *Naples*; and they drew so neere to *Rome*, that they fought to haue taken the same, without regard of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, vnder whose name they first came into *Italy*. The cause of all which miseries, were the warres and troubles betweene the Christians: for *CONRADE* Emperour of *Germany* was busied in making warre against *HENRY* Duke of *Saxony*, the son of *OTHON*: *BERENGARIUS* was perplexed with the wars against *LEUVES*, the son of *BOSON* King of *France*, and others which for breuie I ouerpasse: and another occasion was, the small authority and little worth of the Popes of *Rome*. But Pope *JOHN* the eleuenth, whom some call the tenth, seeing this great necessitie, sent to *ALBERICVS* Marquess of *Tuscany*, or (as some Authors say) to his brother, which was the greatest Lord in all *Italy* (*BERENGARIUS* expected) with whose father *BERENGARIUS* had warre and controuersie; who promised him succour; and gathering all his forces together, with the aide of many others which followed him in that enterprise, he went to *Rome*, wherein the Pope had already leuied an indifferent good Armie, which he joynd with *ALBERICVS* his forces; and so he marched against his enemies: some write that the Pope in person went to this warre, which had such happy success, that besides many encounters, *ALBERICVS* fought one battaile against the whole power of the Moores; wherein, notwithstanding that it was very sharpe and doubtfull, yet in the end he gat the victorie, after which he was so absolutely master of the field, that he found not any one to make head against him, and so in short time recouered all that the Moores held in *Italy*, excepting some little, and certaine fortresses next to Mount *Garganus* in *Pulia*; whither the remainder of those Moores retired themselves: whom for that he then forbore wholly to ruinate (an error for want of foresight) it was the occasion of many calamities which ensued.

ALBERICVS hauing obtained so noble a victorie, and leauing it in such estate, as it seemed an easie matter for any other to haue effected the rest; he returned to *Rome*, where he was receiued with great pompe and triumph: but within few daies there arose discord and controuersie betweene him and the Pope; each of them attributing to himselfe the honour of that journey: whereupon *ALBERICVS* went discontented out of the Citie; whereof afterwards ensued great warres and mischiefes: and he was so ouercom with rage and desire to be reuenged, that as loone as he came into his countrie, he began to practise against the Pope, and to moue the Hungars to warre in *Italy*, promising them his aide and assistance; thinking it a small matter for him to haue made himselfe Lord of *Rome*. The Hungars came into *Italy*, and it pleased God that the greatest harme they did there, was in the said Marquess *ALBERICVS* owne countreies, and amongst his subjects. In the meane time that *Italy* was thus oppressed, the Emperour *CONRADE* (whose life we now write) fought the ruine of *HENRY* Duke of *Saxony*, who was the sonne of that *OTHON* by whose direction and counsell hee was chosen and made Emperour, and was by him gouerned in the beginning of his raigne, as heretofore hath bene shewed.

The principall cause hereof, was the feare and ielousie which he conceived of him: for this *HENRY* was a yong man of very great courage and valour, and aboue measure desirous of rule; and in the warres of *Hungary* had done great seruice to this Emperour *CONRADE*, and to his predecessor *LEUVES*, against *ARNOLD* Duke of *Baviera*, which fled into *Hungary*, as we haue said: by reason whereof, *HENRY* was generally so much beloued and esteemed, that *CONRADE* stood in feare to be dispossest by him of his Empire, and that he would haue rebelled against him, and therefore he resolved (if he might) to make him away: first practising his death by fraud and cunning; and that taking no effect, he resolved not to dissemble any longer; but sent his brother *BERARD* with an Army to destroy his countrie, and if he might to bearene him of his life: for which fact he became infamous, and all his actions were attributed to incomparable ingratitude: but his passion was such as he neuertheless continued his intended course. But *HENRY* gouerned himselfe so discretely, and had already leuied such an Army.

The coming of the Moores into Italy.

of Saxons, which were his subiects and friends, that he met with EBERARD in the field, and gaue him battaile; wherein his people behaued themselves so valiantly, that the Emperors brother was ouerthrowne, with the losse of the greatest part of his Army, and himself escaped by flight. CONRAD being aduertised hereof (in extreme choler) raised the greatest power he could make, and called all the Princes against HENRY, first sending Ambassadors vnto him, to perswade him to yeeld to his mercie, and not to perseuere in his contumacie; who concluded nothing: but returning, they reported that in their presence one of Duke HENRYS captaines, whose name was DREMA, said, that the Duke had no reason to come to any agreement, for he knew that thirtie legions of souldiers were coming to his aide. These words strake such a feare into the Emperors Army, that without any battaile, or sight of any enemy, the greatest part thereof disbanded; whereupon hee was driven to retire, with a determination to returne with greater force. But God, in whose hand are the hearts of Princes, in very short time altdred his purposes; for CONRAD was assailed with an extreme sicknes, whereof he afterwards died. And knowing that his end drew neere, he in great haste sent for the Princes of the Empire, the principall of which at that time were BYCARD Duke of Swabia, SIGISBERT Duke of Lorraine, and his brother EBERARD, whom he had made King of Franconia, and many others, excepting ARNOLD Duke of Baniere, who remained in Hungrie, and HENRY Duke of Saxony which rebelled. These Princes being in this manner assembled, the Emperor, as a wise man and a good Christian, hauing more regard to the good government of the Empire, than to his owne choler or private passion (which is an extraordinary example) made vnto them a very set speech; wherein in conclusion he exhorted and counselled them, that after his deceale (which, so farre as he could comprehend, would be shortly) they should chuse the same HENRY Duke of Saxony (who then was in his disgrace) for Emperor: for, notwithstanding that he had a brother whom he loued very well, and was worthy of great estate, yet henceforth he chose HENRY, as onely worthy to be an Emperor, and his successor; for, as he very well knew, he was an excellent man, and endued with vertue, and with all the conditions which were requisite in a good Prince; and that he pardoned and restored him to his grace and fauour, and that this was his last will, counsell and resolution. The Noble minde and counsell of the Emperor was generally commended; only his brother EBERARD shewed himselfe grieved and discontented: but CONRAD perswaded him to patience, and recommended to them all, peace and concord. Then he made the Sword, the Scepter, the Robe, and the other Imperial ensignes to be brought before him; and by the consent of all the Princes, he appointed and charged his brother to carrie the same to HENRY, and in his name to make his peace and friendship with him, and to yeeld him obedience as to his soueraigne Lord: which he performed, and continued in HENRYS good grace and loue so long as hee held the Empire; which truly was a most noble part of both these brethren: of the Emperor, in making choise of his enemy for his successor: and of his brother, in voluntarily obeying him which was chosen. This his good resolution being concluded, and put in execution, within few daies after CONRAD departed out of this life, leaving neither sonne nor daughter; when he had reigned only seven yeeres or somewhat lesse, in the year of our Lord, 920; CONSTANTINE yet holding the Empire of Constantinople. In Italy reigned BERENGARIUS with the title of Emperor, notwithstanding that he held no part thereof, but Lombardy onely, and some cities neere thereunto adjoining, and those not without wars and troubles, with LEUVES son to the King of Provence. The state of Italy being such as I said, the Hungars invaded it, being cald thither by ALBERICVS Marquess of Tuscanie, and ruined the cuntry: and on the other side the Moores of Africa salying out of such places as they held in Pulia, troubled the state of the Church of Rome, and the frontiers thereof. And betwixt ALBERICVS and the Romans was war and discord.

The hearts of
Kings are in the
hands of God.

Conrad chose
his cousin
Henry for his
successor in the
Empire.

The death of the
Emperour Con-
rade.

Forasmuch as in the life of this Emperour CONRAD, mention was made of ARNOLD Duke of Baniere, and for that heretofore this province hath been treated of, as of a kingdome, and so it is said, that LEUVES King of Germany, in the diuision made betweene his three sonnes, made CARLOMAN King of Baniere, and now we call ARNOLD, Duke thereof, which seemeth to be a contradiction: let the Reader therefore know, that in this province (as in all others) there haue been great alterations: the last was, that after the said CHARLES, the Emperor ARNOLPH succeeded in the state of Baniere, and after ARNOLPH the Emperour LEUVES, who dying without issue, made this ARNOLD Duke of Baniere: and afterwards in proceesse of time, in this Kingdome happened many alterations and changes, and in the end ioynd with the state of the Countie Palatine of Rhine: and afterwards it was againe diuided, and so through sundrie accidents; it came to that estate wherein it is at this day.

THE



THE
LIFE OF HENRY, THE FIRST
OF THAT NAME, AND THE
FOVRESORE AND SIXT RO-
MANE EMPEROR, AND OF CON-
STANTINE Emperour of Gracia: And of
those which in his time were called
Emperours.

THE ARGUMENT.

Henry being chosen Emperour, first he applied himselfe to pacifie the troubles of Germany, which were very tumultuous; but above all, to assure the high-waies from theues, growne by reason of the warres; and to maintaine iustice. There arose against him one Arnold, who lived in Hungary as a banished man; and each of them having lined a great Army, and being in a manner ready to haue come to the shock, Henry called Arnold to a parley, and knew so well how to perswade him, that he overcame him with words, which peradventure he should not haue done by Armes; and Arnold became his obedient subiect. He took truce with the Hungars, and subdued the Slavonians: but the time of the truce being expired betwixt him and the Hungars, and new occasion of warre arising, they came in the end to fight, where the Emperour obtained so great a victory, that all the Princes of Christendome sent to reioyce with him for the same. This good Emperour had set his minde upon the affaires of Italy, and purposed to haue freed the Church from Hugh, and other Tyrants: but God, who had otherwise determined, when he was providing for his Iourney, visited him with a mortall infirmity; and he knowing his life to be nere to an end, ordained, by the consent of all the Princes, his eldest sonne Otho for his successor, having reigned sevenne yeeres, and lived fixtie.



to punish the wicked; chiefly those which robbed by the high waies side, to the end that men might passe in safety, which by reason of the warres had done much harme.

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HE election which the Emperour CONRAD before his deceale made of HENRY Duke of Saxony, naming him Emperour and his successor, is to be thought to haue beene done by Gods inspiration; for he proued a good Prince, and worthy the Imperiall maiesty. As soone then as CONRAD was deceased, all the States receiued him for their Emperour, and did him homage, calling him HENRY AVCEPS, that is to say, the Faulconer, for that he tooke great pleasure in Hawking; and when the newes was brought him that hee was chosen Emperour, he was found busie in that exercise, which he vied at times of pleasure for his recreation, without omitting any care for his businesse. Hethen taking vpon him the government of the Empire, applied himselfe to doe iustice, with a desire feuerly

The Emperour
Henry called
Henricus Auc-
top.

He gaue himselfe also to pacifie all discord and dissension, and to establish peace and concord betwene the Princes, who for matters past were at variance amongst themselves: for all which he provided a good remedie, employing his wit, authoritie and power; and being obeyed by all men, excepting **BYCARD** Duke of *Saueia*, who with the fauour of *France* (for that he was sonne in law to the Duke of *Burgundy*) attempted some innouations: against whom the Emperour raised forces, but the matter was pacified, and the Duke acknowledged the Emperour for his Lord and Superior. Besides this, it happened (which some report before this time) that **ARNOLD** Duke of *Bauiere*, which (as we said) for feare of **CONRAD**, liued as an exile in *Hungary*, returned to his Countrie, and gathering together a great number of Hungars, was so hardy as to call himselfe Emperour, and to deny his obedience to the Emperour **HENRY**; which he vnderstanding, leuying his old subjects of *Saxony*, and others of the Empire, went with a mighty Army against **ARNOLD**, who likewise marched towards him; and as a good Christian, being much grieved for the troubles which were likely to haue ensued, forbore not to procure **ARNOLD** to giue ouer his attempt: and it pleased God that his good desire tooke effect in this manner:

Both the Armies being in a readinesse to fight, notwithstanding it was apparant that the Emperour had the greater number, and better and more choise men; yet he sent **ARNOLD** word by a Trumpet, that he, vpon sufficient securitie, should come and speake with him; which **ARNOLD** performed: where the Emperour, among many graue, good, and discrete speeches, spake vnto him in these words:

Take heede **ARNOLD**, and consider that what thou doest, is to oppose thy selfe against Gods ordinance, who is the giuer of kingdomes and worldly power: Thou maist know that I was chosen of him by the mouth of my predecessor **CONRAD**, before his death; and that to this election haue consented all the estates of *Germany*, and thou only seekest to resist the will of God, and the generall consent of all men. I say vnto thee, take heede what thou doest, and I aduise thee to come to my obedience, and I will vse thee as my sonne or my brother: and if thou wilt not doe this, I take God for iudge betwene thee and me. And one thing I will sweare and assure thee, that if it had pleased his diuine Maiestie that thou haddest been chosen Emperour as I am, I would haue been an obedient subject, and haue serued thee faithfully: wherefore I pray thee, that sith I am so, thou wilt do the like by mee. Thou mayest see that I intreat thee for peace, at such time as my party hath the aduantage; in the warres: I consider well what thou doest, for I will not faile in any thing, that I haue promised. These and such like speeches were of such force, and so much moued **ARNOLD**, that he presently submitted himselfe and his countrey vnto the Emperour **HENRY**, and from thenceforth was euer most obedient vnto him, without any remembrance of matters past. There happened likewise discord betweene **HENRY** and the house and kingdom of *France*, about the soueraignty of the prouince and Duchie of *Lorraine*; neuertheless comming to a peace and agreement, matters passed prosperously, and he continued Lord thereof. And so *Germany* (by meanes of his good government) took a taste of the fruites which Iustice and the tranquillity of peace bring forth. But in *Italy* notwithstanding that **BRENGARIVS** was called Emperour, the want of such a Prince as **HENRY** wrought the contrary: it shall not be amisse therefore to speake of what followed, while that **HENRY** was busied about these matters.

It is already said, how that betwene Pope **IOHN** and the Romanes of the one side, and **ALBERTVS** Marquesse of *Tuscane* of the other, were great warres, after the victory obtained against the Infidels; and how that **ALBERTVS** had induced the Hungars to come into *Italy* against the citie of *Rome*, and that the greatest harme they did, was in his owne countrey, God permitting it as a punishment for his wickednesse; yet they did great spoiles in the Church lands. The Hungars hauing in this manner robbed the countrey, **BRENGARIVS** who was called Emperour, came to a composition with them; which was, that they should depart out of *Italy*, in consideration of a great summe of money which was giuen them. And Pope **IOHN** and the Romanes (in reuenge of the iniurie received from **ALBERTVS**) leuiued an Army, which was broken and ouerthrowne by the Hungars, the Duke of *Spoleto* being Generall of that Army; and **ALBERTVS** was besieged in a towne of his called *Ortano*, and was therein taken and slaine.

At the same time the Infidels which remained in *Palsia* leuying new forces and supplies renewed the warres, which was not foreseen in time by reason of the domestick discord, and they took many castles and cities, while the Pope applied himselfe to be reuenged of **ALBERTVS**;

ALBERTVS;

RICVS, and their power so much increased that the people voluntarily yielded themselves, by reason of the small reliefe which they had from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, in whose dominion the greatest part of those countreys was, or from **BRENGARIVS** for from the Pope, vntill that feare seized *Rome*: wherein making certaine Earle called **GUIDO** their General, they leuiued a good Army, and it pleased God to giue him the victory, and he made the Mooirs to retire themselves into those holds which they held before the bringing in of this second war, and for the citie was freed from that feare. But this braue and glorious exploit Earle **GUIDO** afterwards blemished with the foulest fact that can be spoken; and such a one as my members tremble to heare it, and my hand to write it. For this Earle **GUIDO** afterwards coming to *Rome*, with a resolution to make himselfe Lord thereof, he seized on the Pope and slaw him, and made another Pope, but his purpose tooke no effect: for he whom he made Pope was presently deposed, and **LEO** the sixt chosen; who was Pope but threen months; and him succeeded **STEPHEN** the tenth.

Whilest these matters passed in *Rome* and the marches thereof, **BRENGARIVS** the Emperour (whom we may call Italian) liued not free from troubles; for through the instigation of certaine Italian Lords, **RODOLPH** Duke of *Burgundy* with a great Army came into *Italy* with the title of Emperour, where he found so many friends (especially in *Lombardy*) that in very short space hee dispossessed **BRENGARIVS**, and was made Emperour and King of *Italy*; and **BRENGARIVS** fled into *Hungary*, thinking there to haue found reliefe: where, as saith **BLEDONDS** and some others, he died; and that **BRENGARIVS** the nephew of the first **BRENGARIVS**, was he which came afterwards, as shall be specified. Some write that he died in *Italy*, slaine by the treason of Count **FLAMBERT**, who was his gossip: But howeuer, he died deprived of his dignity; and he of whom we are to treat, was nephew to the first **BRENGARIVS**, the sonne of his daughter, and of a Marquesse, which was his sonne in Law. I write thus much for that there is a great confusion amongst Authors about these **BRENGARIVS** tyrant Emperours, for that they all were of one name. **RODOLPH** remaining with the victory in *Italy* was called Emperour, and held his Empire there the space of three yeeres in prosperity: In which time the Emperour **HENRY** in *Germany* ouerthrew and repelled the Hungars, which after their departure out of *Italy* went into *Germany*, wherein they did much harme: But (as I say) the Emperour put them to rout, and chased them thence, and taking their Generall prisoner, constrained them to sue to him, and to make peace for ten yeeres; hee restoring to them their Generall without ransom, yet they offered a great summe of money for him. **RODOLPHVS** hauing reigned three yeeres in *Italy*, the Hungars whose ordinary qualitie was to spoile their neighbours and other Prouinces, solicited therto by **BRENGARIVS** the nephew, vnder the conduct of a great man called **FLALDVS**, came into *Italy*, and encamped before *Pauid*, which they besieged; for reliefe whereof **RODOLPHVS** made so small prouision, that the inhabitants of the countrey discontented with his government, conspired against him, and slew his father-in-law **BYCARD** Duke of *Saxony*, who came to see *Adrian*; and then they called and solicited **HUGH** Duke of *Arles*, a French-man, to come to their defence, promising to receiue him for their King and Lord, and to make him Emperour; which he accepted, notwithstanding his neere relation in blood to **RODOLPH**: and he came with so many good men of warre, and with such fauour of the Italians, that none of his enemies durst encounter him: and **RODOLPH** leauing *Italy*, returned into *Burgundie*, where he afterwards had such successe, that he was for a space King of *France*; and **HUGH** continued in *Italy*, and subdued a greater part therof than any of the other tyrants had done, banishing such as he suspected, and rewarding his friends: he procured peace and friendship with the Emperour **HENRY**; which he granted, thereby to settle peace in *Germany* with the Hungars, and with other nations and Princes. And he afterwards preuailed against **ARNOLD** Duke of *Bauiere*: So that **HUGH** was a greater Lord and of greater power then any of long time had been in *Italy*; where leauing him vntill his turne, we will returne to our Emperour **HENRY**.

HENRY hauing ouerthrowne the Hungars, and made peace with them for nine or ten yeeres, as an ambitious Prince, and desirous to enlarge his Empire, after that he had taken care for the establishment of peace and iustice; and for the good government thereof, hee leuiued an Armie, and sent the same into the countreys of *Slanonia* and *Dalmatia*, from which he had been annoyed and endangered; and ouerthrowing the inhabitants thereof in battaile, he took many townes in those Prouinces, and doing therein great harme; victorious and laden with spoiles, he joyfully returned into *Germany*. The next yeere after this victorie (which was the tenth yeere of his

reigne)

Speeched
by Henry to
Arnold,

Arnold sub-
mitted himselfe
to Henry.

Pope Iohn the
twelfth takes
prisoner, and
slaine by the
Earle Guido.

Rodolph de-
posed Berenga-
rius.

The death of
Berengarius.

Rodolph Duke
of Burgundy
Emperour in
Italy.

The coming of
the Hungars into
Italy.

The coming of
Hugh Duke of
Orleans into
Italy.

Henry brought
the Bohemians
into subjection.

raigne) he marched, with his power, against the Bohemians and WENCESLAWS their Duke, for that many of them held not the true faith, and also for that they refused to be subject to the Empire, and against him had assisted the Hungars: Wherein hee shewed such valour, that overthrowing the Duke, he tooke Prague, which is the chiefe Citie thereof, and brought that kingdome into such subjection, as was the rest of Germany, and so it continued all this Dukes life time.

This warre being thus happily ended, another followed, which was against the Danes, who with a mightie Naue came into Friseland, and into Saxony, and tooke certaine Townes there, but he made them to flie out of all that countrie, to their great losse: and hee also overthrow those of Norway, which then were called Abroditi. HENRY hauing obtained so great and so many victories, the time of the peace with the Hungars being expired, they presently sent their Ambassadors to him, to require certain pay granted to their Ancestors, at what time as peace was made with them; whereto HENRY gaue no good answer; for hee accounted it a matter vnworthy the Majestie of an Emperour, to pay tribute for peace: wherewith the Hungars were so much incensed, that with their Duke or Capitaine (for at that time they had not the dignitie of a King) they issued out of their confines with the most flourishing Army that euer they had, and beganne to warre with greater fury and cruelty, then euer they had done at any time before, and neuer stayed vntill they came into Saxony, and into other places which were the Emperours. HENRY vs. Parimony, where they did much harme, and shewed great cruelty; which was done so suddenly, that HENRY in the beginning could not prevent it: But in short space he leuied a great Army, and notwithstanding that he was extremely sick, yet neither the Princes, nor his Physicians could stay him, but that he would goe with his Army, and encounter the Hungars (being so weake that he could hardly sit his Horse) hee offered them battaile, which they refused not, where the Emperour, although with a weake and low voice, made a speech to his souldiers, which did so much encourage them, that they presently charged with such force, and the Hungars (being a most valiant Nation) fought with such eagernesse and fury, that it was one of the most bloody and cruell battels of the world: But in the end the valiant courage of the Emperour HENRY so much prevailed, that he obtained the victory, and slew an infinite number of the Hungars, and many of them were likewise slaine vpon the way as they fled; and those which suruiued, fled scattered into their countrie; from whence they neuer after returned as long as the Emperour HENRY liued. He was to great reputation and glory by this victory, that all the Princes Christian, sent their Ambassadors to him, to congratulate, and to desire his friendship; But with the greatest instance came Ambassadors from HONG, who in Italie was called Emperour. HENRY was likewise called by his subjects, *semper Augustus, Pater Patria*, and other ancient names and titles of honour; and he as a good Christian gaue thanks to God; and the tribute which at other times he had payed to the Hungars, he made to be distributed among the poore, and so did other good deedes, and ruled the Empire in such manner that Germany enjoyed both peace and justice, which are two blessings which make mighty and rich kingdomes.

Italy in the meane time endured warre and miserie; for the Empire of HONG which last raigned, being troyemouled with warre and discord, was neither fime nor good, but Tyrannicall and violent: by reason whereof the Infidels which in Pulia held certaine Townes and fortresses, made ordinary incursions vpon their neighbours. And at that time a mighty Naue of Moores came out of Africa, vpon the coast of Genoa and of Tuscany, and taking land did great harme, spoiling many places, amongst which they besieged the Citie of Genoa: and the multitude and force of the Infidels was so great, that notwithstanding that the besieged fought very valiantly, yet they entred it by force; all the Genowais comming first to the fight in defence of their Citie.

After that the Infidels had entred it, they put all those to the sword which were able to beare Armes; and spoiling and sacking it, left nothing therein that was worth the carriage; and all boyes, women and children they tooke prisoners, and carried aboard their shippes and galleies, which they led away with them; and so left Genoa desolate and without any inhabitants: yet some prisoners were loone released, and some were taken in their flectes at Sea, and elsewhere, which reinhabited the Citie: neuertheless it was long before it could recouer it selfe of this calamitie: And some write that the Infidels horse troups were taken vpon the way, and that the prisoners were not carried into Africa.

The Emperour vnderstanding hercof, and being well informed of the state of Italy, and that setting

The Emperour
Henry his vi-
tory against the
Hungars.

Genoa besieged
and taken by
the Moores.

setting aside that which the Church held by so many titles and donations, all the remainder of that Westerne Empire, excepting some Townes in Pulia, was held by the Greekes, he therefore resolved to goe thither in person with a mighty Army, to free Italy from the yoke of HONG, and of other Tyrants; and to reforme and reduce the same to such order as it ought to hold, and as he had established in Germany. And beginning to make preparation for his journey, and hauing mustered vp his men of war, it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner, for he was taken with a most deadly infirmity; and knowing that his end drew neer, vying such diligence as a good Christian ought to doe, he gaue order that all the Princes (if possibly it might be) might be assembled, with whose good will and consent he ordained his son OTHO (whom he had by his wife MARY) Emperour and his successor: and his sicknesse increasing, within few daies after he yielded his soule to God, being of the age of threescore yeers, in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord 937. He left two other sons beside OTHO: the one was called, by his name, HENRY, who was afterwards Duke of Baviere (for ARNOLDS sonnes were deprived of that estate) he being married to his daughter IVDITH; and one other sonne called BRUNVS, who was Archbishoppe of Colen; and he had one daughter whose name was GERTRUGA, who was married to a Duke; and another called ADALCIDA, which was married in Africa to Count Paris; and another called MARY which was a Nunne.

In Constantinople ended the Empire of CONSTANTINE, when he had raigned eight and thirtie yeers, in company with the Tyrant ROMANVS; and part (as I said) alone; in which time he had great conflicts in the Easterne parts, with the Infidels in Asia, and with the Bulgarians in Europe; amongst which he wonne one battaile by Sea against the king of Russia, wherein were aboute a thousand saile of shippes, which came to the coast of Constantinople, by the Sea called Euxinum; and other great accidents hapned too long to relate: At the end whereof he died, leauing his Empire to his son, which after his Grandfathers name was called ROMANVS; for CONSTANTINE had to wife the daughter of the other ROMANVS which was the Tyrant, of whom I haue already made mention.

This CONSTANTINE was a good Prince, very deuout, and excellently well learned in Humanitie.

The death of the
Emperour
Henry.

The death of
Constantine
Emperour of
Constantinople.



THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSORE & SEVENTH ROMANE

Emperour. And of ROMANVS, and the rest which
were Emperours in Grecia.

(**)

THE ARGUMENT.



Tho succeeding in the Empire, was much troubled; for not only the Princes of Germany, but also his owne brethren and kinsmen made warre against him, and fought bloody battailes with him: of which, after long troubles he had honourable victories: He also freed his brother in law LEUES king of France from certaine Dukes which oppressed him. Hee was by the Pope called into Italie against Berengarius; and comming with a great Armie, forced him to flye. Afterwards his sonne, and one Conrade his sonne in law, whom he had left for the defence of Italie, rebelling against him, and in the end the sonne comming to a battaile with the father (a thing more befesening Turkes and Infidels then Christians) was the loser, and his fathers prisoner; who seeing with how great humilitie, and with how many teares he sued for his life and pardon, he restored him as length to his grace: and

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and be afterwards became most obedient. After this warre there grew a greater, made by the Hungars and Saxons, which the Emperor happily ended. He againe came into Italy, by reason of Berengarius, who tyrannized the same, and forced him to flee, and coming to Rome he was crowned Emperor by Pope John. Many other rebellions ensued by the Popes and the Romans against the Emperours, whilest he warred against Berengarius and his sonne: of which, being fortunate successe he returned into Germany, and ordained his sonne Otho his successor, where being old, and usued in vertuous exercises, he yielded his soule to God.

This Otho is called the first, for that he is first of the German Emperours called by that name.



Being come to write the life of Otho the first of that name of the German Emperours, of whom I am now to treat, it fareth with me, in my opinion, as with one which hath wandered, and is now againe returned into his right way. I make this comparison, for that there are some which account not those amongst the Emperours, which I have placed after ARNOLPH, the sonne of CARLOMAN, vntill this OTHO; of whom I say, that after the death of his father, he found no contradiction in attaining to the name and dignitie of Emperour of Germany; for his father HENRY before his death had nominated him for his successor. Truly this OTHO was very well worthy of the Empire: for he was a Prince of an excellent wit, and of a wonderfull great and noble minde; and his great valour and vertues of a good Prince: yet there were many great insurrections and rebellions against him; and he was a Prince which had greater warres then any other then liuing, for the space of thirtie and odder yeeres that he held the Empire, in which time he passed many adventures, and obtained great victories: and notwithstanding that he vnderwent sundrie daungers and hazards, yet he euer shewed himselfe milde, and pitifull to the vanquished; which (in my opinion) in the end made his Empire more stable and firme, then all the victories which he obtained. As soone as his father was dead, he was in the citie of Aken, or Aquigran chosen Emperour, and anointed and crowned by OLDBRICVS Archbishop of Mentz, all the Princes of Germany (which could come) being there present; and the rest which could not, wrote their Letters, and sent their Ambassadors, acknowledging their obedience: And so his beginning was very peaceable and highly esteemed, and he shewed himselfe iust, and valiant, and gouerned the estate with wisdom and clemencie. It happened presently after this, that BOISLAYS, brother to the Duke of Bohemia (which at that time had not the title of King) by treason slew his brother WENCESLAYS (for so was he called) to the end to haue the Soueraigntie; and rebelled against the Emperour: whereof when OTHO was advertised, moued with the hatred and vileness of the fact (for WENCESLAYS was iust and faithfull Prince, and his father HENRY had receiued him for his seruice and his subject, after that (as wee haue heretofore said) he had subdued him, hee resolved to send a good Army, vnder the leading of a valiant Capitaine: whom the tyrant Duke attended in the field, and therewith fought a terrible battaille, and was ouerthrowne with so great losse of his people, that the Imperiall Generall assuring himselfe of the victorie, was lesse careful and circumspect, then he ought to haue been; but BOISLAYS within few daies reinforcing his Armie, gathered courage from the others neglect, and charging him suddenly in disorder and vnawares, ouerthrew him, and slew the greatest part of his people: wherewith OTHO was highly displeased, and sending thither a new supply he sufficiently reinforced his Army: But BOISLAYS was grown so haughty, and had such reliefe from the Hungars, that the warres grew to be doubtfull, and of long continuance, and in the meane time others happened; but OTHO's courage and resolution was so great, that he neuer forgot to provide for this warre, during the furie of all the other, as we will declare: yet it lasted fourteene yeeres, before he could obtaine any complete victory; and then BOISLAYS yielded as you shall heare.

The Emperour proceeding in this warre of Bohemia; in the greatest heate thereof, there began ciuill and domestical combussions and Insurrections, which resolu'd into a very cruell warre, the beginning whereof was this. EBERARD (which (as I remember) was brother to the Emperour CONRAD, and carried the Imperiall ensignes to the Emperour HENRY, father of this OTHO, being a great Lord, rich and mighty, did an iniury to an Earle, a man of lesse account then himselfe, and burned a towne of his; which for that the new Emperour would not

suffer

suffer to escape free, he condemned him in a sum of money, and to be imprisoned and banished: which sentence highly displeased EBERARD, expecting opportunitie to shew his discontent.

It happened also that a bafe brother of the Emperours called DAVZMAR, found himselfe grieved, for that the Emperour had not giuen him the gouernment of the Province of Saxony, with the title of Earle, which was OTHO's patrimony by the death of Earle SIGISBERT, lately deceased. In like manner the sonnes of ARNOLD Duke of Bauiere, who then died, were discontent, for that OTHO had giuen that estate to his elder brother BARTOLD; and they would not accept of the Earldome, and of that part which the Emperour had assigned them: wherefore vpon this occasion EBERARD made a league with them, and with SIGISBERT Duke of Lorraine, notwithstanding that he had married one of the Emperours sisters; and contending with HENRY the Emperours second brother, who was a very young man, about the boundes of certaine lands, he besieged him in a citie, and very shamefully took him prisoner. And his bafe brother DAVZMAR, with the aide of the said EBERARD, at the same time, took a citie in Saxony, and lacked it, thinking to haue gotten the Earldome, which he demanded perforce as his right. The Emperour vnderstanding thereof, marched against his brother; and entering the citie by assault, DAVZMAR was slaine in a Church, whither he was brought by EBERARD the motor of this treason. And after other practices, EBERARD agreed with HENRY the Emperours brother, whom he held prisoner, to release and serue him, saying that the Empire appertained vnto him, for that his father begat him after that he was Emperour, and OTHO before. HENRY moued with a desire to raigne (a thing which leadeth men to greater mischiefes) refused to rebel against his elder brother and soueraigne Lord; whereto SIGISBERT Duke of Lorraine yielded ayde and assistance; who was a mighty Prince, and had the sister of the Emperour and of HENRY to wife. And as the report went, that HENRY should be Emperour, each of them desired to haue the Empire for himselfe, and so practised the same in secret, for amongst the wicked there is neither faith nor truth: But they all agreed together to ruine OTHO; and that he being removed, each of them thought to haue been a soueraigne Lord; and to haue had the Empire. The power and Army which they leui'd was so great, as they took many townes: and as it vually hapneth, fame and feare advanced the effect, so as OTHO was in great danger. Nevertheless the other Princes of Germany did well and faithfully helpe and assist him; and he, with the courage and diligence of a good Capitaine, leui'd his forces, and marched against his enemies; and being come with his armie to the banks of the riuer of Rhine, and part thereof being transported in boates to goe against his enemies, which were encamped on the other side, whereof his brother HENRY was Generall; his enemies hauing marched in great haste, were gotten thither before them, and charged his men in such manner, as they were likely to haue been ouerthrowne in the Emperours fight, who had not yett past the Riuer: but in the end, the Emperour making his prayers to God, obtained the victory, and his brother being wounded, saved himselfe by flight. After this victory, the same went, that the Emperours brother HENRY was dead: which brought the Emperour this profit, that the most of the Cities which held for his brother, yielded to him: which when HENRY vnderstood, he gat him into the City of Merseburgh, which is in Saxony, and fortified the same in the best manner he could: and the Emperour followed and besieged him, and brought him to that extremity, that he was driven to giue vnto the City vpon condition, that he should suffer him freely to depart whither he would. After which he went into Lorraine, and renewed the war, joining with Duke SIGISBERT, and with Duke EBERARD, his kinsmen: who with greater fury and power then at the first, invaded the Emperours Countries, who then was busied in besieging a towne of Duke EBERARDS, called Sissac, before which he lay longer then was fit he should haue done, through the deceit and treachery of the Archbishop of Mentz, who secretly was a traitor to him, and had intelligence with his enemies, to the end that HENRY and his confederates should in the meane time make themselves Lords and Masters of the Country: which when HERMAN Duke of Swedia, and his brother OTHO, and CONRAD called the wife, and other great Lords and Knights (which were the Emperours subjects) vnderstood, they ioined all their forces together, and by his direction, with an Army fought their enemies; and meeting them, fought a terrible battell: But the Imperiallists had the victory, and EBERARD, the ring-leader, was slaine fighting, and SIGISBERT D. of Lorraine, was drowned in the Rhine, neer the battell: yet some say that he died in another batell, and that HENRY the Emperours brother was not that day in the field, but made war elsewhere. In this ouerthrow were slaine, and taken prisoners, all those which held with these Lords; amongst which were many Earles, and great Personages.

The Emperours victory against his brother, Henry.

Duke Eberard slaine fighting, or Duke Sigisbert drowned in the Rhine.

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This

Henry fled into
France.

This great victory being obtained by OTHO's faithfull friends and subjects, the city which he besieged yielded, and he prepared himself presently to pursue his brother HENRY, who fled into France. And then the Emperor went into Lorraine, where his sister yielded herself into his power; together with her son: where having let good order in that estate, and made peace with LEUVS King of France, and recovered certain Towns which he formerly had lost, hee returned into Germany. In this manner he wholly subdued and tamed all the Rebels; and in the end his brother HENRY humbly yielded himself into his power: and hee forgave him, and gave him lands and revenues for his maintenance, and likewise pardoned the other Barles and great men which had bin his adversaries, together with FRADERICK Archbishop of Mainz, who was a Traitor vnto him, and was now in his power: but in the end he pardoned him also. And forasmuch as his brother HENRY continued loyall vnto him, he made him Duke of Bauiere after the death of BERTOLD, who died without issue male; whose brethren lost their right to that estate, for that they had conspired against the Emperor; and HENRY had his legitimate daughter to wife, and so in good grace he remained in his brothers service: Who, having brought these matters to an end, resolved to make an end of the troubles in Bohemia, which through the aid of the Hungars still continued, without any one daies intermission, from the first beginning of his Reigne, which was a long time.

Boislaus over-
thrown by the
Emperor.

Finally, in some battels (wherein he was himself in person) BOISLAUS was ouerthrown, in such manner, that he submitted himself, and became subject. Having in this manner subdued the Hungarians, the Bohemians, and such as rebelled, he resolved to relieue LEUVS the French King, who was his brother-in-law, and had sued vnto him for succours; whom for some occasions, too long to be recited, certain Dukes and great Lords of France oppressed. Yet some Authors say, that this his going into France was before the warres of Bohemia: but at what time, or in what order hee did it, was he went thither with a great Army, and relieved his brother-in-law, and so again returned into Germany; where we will leave him to enjoy his victories & good success, and will briefly declare in what estate Italy then stood, and the accidents which then happened: which appertain to our History, as well for that it was part of the Empire, as also for that HUGH before named reigned there with the name of Emperor, although a tyrant. HUGH having for certain yeeres space possessed Lombardy, and a great part of Italy, no man seeking to deprive him of his estate; for, OTHO (as is already said) was busied with the troubles of Germany: in the end BERNIGARIVS the Third, after many long journeyes, having a desire to recover the Kingdom which his father and uncle had possessed, and of all Italy, whereof the Emperor RODOLPHVS had bereaved him; with the aid of certain Princes of Germany and of Italy, resolved to make warre against HUGH; and to that effect leuied a great number of good souldiers, and took his way towards Italy. HUGH, houlding himself vnable to make his party good against him, finding that such as were of greatest power and authority in the cities, did not fauour his faction; he resolved to come to any composition: and so, finally, they agreed that HUGH should leave the title of King of Italy, and return to his Duchie of Arles in France, vpon condition that his son LOTHARY should remain King in Italy together with BERNIGARIVS. BERNIGARIVS accepted these conditions; and HUGH returned to his old Dukedome, and left his son a King, and companion with BERNIGARIVS. This LOTHARY was married with ADELHAIDA, which by some was called ALVADA, daughter to ARNOLPH Duke of Burgundy, who had reigned some certain time in Lombardy, as we said before, and was expelled by HUGH. It hapned that HUGH afterwards died in France: and in a short space (and after other matters that ensued, which I leaue to relate) LOTHARY died in Lombardy. And BERNIGARIVS, seeing himself freed from company, took to wife the widow Queen ADELHAIDA, which was a very excellent Lady. And first that he found no contradiction or resistance in the Estate of Italy, against the dignity of the Emperor OTHO (from whom he had receiued many benefits and fauours) he took vpon him the name and title of Emperor, and instituted his eldest sonne, whose name was ALBERT, King of Italy, and beganne to entreat the people very badly, and in other matters to behaue himself altogether like a Tyrant.

At this time AGAPTVS the Second was Pope, who was held a vertuous, religious, and innocent man (which, among men of that coar, was a matter not slightly to be regarded) and he considering the violence and tyranny vsed by BERNIGARIVS, having now been Pope the space of 6 yeeres, sent to sollicite OTHO, Emperor of Germany, to come into Italy, to free the same from so pernicious a Tyrant. The like was done by sundry other Prelates and great men.

OTHO

OTHO at that time was a widower of his wife EBTTHA; by whom hee had a sonne whose name was LVITOLPHVS, a valiant and high minded young man: and having heard the Italian ambassadours, at such time as hee had ended the warres before mentioned, moued by their perswasions, and through the desire he had to marrie Queene ADELHAIDA, whom BERNIGARIVS held prisoner in Pania, and to make himselfe Lord of Italy, he leuied an Armie of fiftie thousand men, and came downe against BERNIGARIVS; who having no sufficient power to make head against him, in the best order that he could, gaue ground; still defending the strongest castles and fortresses. OTHO marching forwards, taking townes and cities; coming to Pania, set ADELHAIDA at liberty, and with her good liking married her, holding solemne nuptials: by reason whereof, his sonne LVITOLPHVS was very sorry, and after it their ensued many inconueniences. This being done, and OTHO having settled all matters concerning the State of Italy in good order, he returned into Germany, leaving CONRAD for his Lieutenant in Lombardy. This CONRAD was called the wife, and was Duke of Franconia, and sonne-in-law to the Emperor by the marriage of his daughter LVIGARDA: but his son LVITOLPHVS was gone before into Saxony, which was his fathers house and patrimony, where he raised some Commotions against him, for he was much grieued & discontented with his fathers late marriage. OTHO being returned into Germany, and BERNIGARIVS seeing that by warre, he could not recover what he had lost, came into Germany, and brought with him his sonne ALBERTVS, and desiring pardon, yielded himselfe into the Emperours power, vowing to be his loyall seruant and subject; which he protested in such manner, that the Emperor thought himselfe well assured of him, and thereupon made him his Lieutenant in Milan and all Lombardy, the auncient inheritance of the Empire, and gaue certain lands to him, and to his sonne ALBERTVS; wherewith his sonne-in-law CONRAD, which before held that charge, being greatly discontented, he ioyned with LVITOLPHVS the Emperours sonne, and some sonne and sonne-in-law rebelled against him. BLONDS and other Italian writers, make mention of CONRAD'S abode in Italy, neither of BERNIGARIVS his going into Germany; yet they mention his pardon, and the offices that the Emperor bestowed vpon him: But ABAS WESPERGENSIS writeth in the same manner as I haue related, and so do NAVELEERS and other Dutch writers. Italy remaining in this estate, the Emperor did not so soon abandon it (as I suppose) without some suspicion conceived of his sonne LVITOLPHVS, who departed from him and rebelled: truly he had reason to mistrust him, for LVITOLPHVS being accounted his successor, found many friends to ioyne with him against his father, amongst which was his brother-in-law CONRAD, and ARNOLD, and the other sonnes of BERTOLD Duke of Bauiere; who dying, the Emperor gaue to his brother HENRY that Estate: wherefore all those which were called Dukes of Bauiere, were so much discontented with him, that they raised an Armie, and tooke many townes and castles, meaning by force to defend the same, with a resolution to depose him from the Empire, without regard of the faith and loyalty which they, as his sonne and sonne-in-law, ought to him.

OTHO making such account of this warre as the importance thereof required, leuied his forces, and went against his sonne; who daring not to keepe the field against him, fortified himselfe in the citie of Mentz, where his father besieged him the space of threescore dayes, after that he had recovered many of those townes which had given their voices against him; the citie in the meane time being battered, and most valiantly defended, in the end the besieged made a motion of peace: and the end they might haue time to treat thereof, a truce was granted; in which time, the forces brought by the Emperors brother HENRY to his seruice, through the secret perswasion of ARNOLPHVS, and his brethren, which were called Dukes of Bauiere, came to an agreement with LVITOLPHVS; with which, and with those which already were in Mentz, in a night hee found meanes to depart the citie, and to get into Ratisbone. The Emperor without making one daies tariance, raised his siege, and went to Ratisbone, which was better fortified and furnished then Mentz, and so the siege was more hard and doubtful; and in the assaults and sallies many men lost their liues, of the one and other party. And although that LVITOLPHVS desired peace, and his fathers pardon, yet the Emperor would neuer yield thereto, until that by the importunacie of some Prelates, hee limited a certaine time, wherein his faults and offences should be examined, and a treaty should be held concerning what was to be done; and so LVITOLPHVS gaue vp the citie. And going thence, absented himself from his fathers presence, till that (within the time prefixed) the Emperor being on hunting in the fields, LVITOLPHVS acknowledging his error, and being very sorry for it, without security from his

Otho made
Berengarius
his Lieutenant
in Lombardy.

Luitolph and
other rise a-
gainst Otho.

Luitolphus be-
sieved by his fa-
ther Otho.

The death of
Hugh and Lo-
thary two Ty-
rants.

Luitolphus
submitting him-
selfe to his fa-
ther entreated
him.

father, came before him vpon the way, bare beaded and bare footed, and kneeling at his fathers feet, wept; who being amazed at the strangenes thereof, expecting no such matter, stood still, and the sonne recovering spirit, in this maner entreated him to haue compassion on him, acknowledging his faults and offences to be very great, rather desiring a thousand deaths then any pardon; and therefore being hartly sorie for the same, (like the prodigall childe) he presented himselfe before his father, who also had a father in heauen, by whom he hoped to be forgiven; and if it might please him, to grant him his life, he should be assured of him, to be cuer after a loyal and obedient sonne, and one which liued, and would liue, in continuall sorow for what was past: if he meant to do otherwise by him, he should yet consider that he was his owne flesh and blood; and although that the offence were onely his, yet of the punishment inflicted vpon the guiltie sonne, the iust father would beare part of the sorrowe; and that in shewing him mercie, there could no inconuenience ensue; but if he did to the contrary, he should lose the most obedient sonne that cuer father had.

Having ended these words, and other to the same effect, with great humilitie he prostrated himselfe vpon the earth, expecting his fathers sentence of life or death. This stroke so great an impression into the Emperours heart, to heare and see his sonne to shew such humilitie, and to shed so many teares, that he could not forbear from doing the like: and commanding him to arise from the ground, with ioy mixt with teares, from himselfe, and the rest which were there present, he presently pardoned him, and restored him to his grace and fatherly fauour, and to the same place and dignity which he held before; and so he continued constant in that loyalty and duty which he ought to his father and soueraigne Lord. This is a notable example to be read with attention, whereby sonnes and subiects which haue erred and offended their soueraigne Lords, may learne to repent and amend; and Princes to pardon those which truly desire to be restored to their grace and seruice: for although that it be most certaine, that it is expedient for the good of the Common wealth, that offences be punished; yet generally no rule ought to be so strict and seuer, that no exception should be allowed; seeing that sometimes for the common good, clemencie is as profitable. Moreover, the shame and sorrow for the offences committed, is no final punishment to him that is pardoned.

Otho having pardoned his sonne, and recovered *Mentz* and *Ratisbone*, and all the other strong holds which had rebelled, and (according to the most and best authors) reclaimed his sonne-in-law *CONRAD*, (yet some say the contrary) when he should haue taken rest, and haue repofed himselfe, there arose new warres, more dangerous then the former; for on the one side the Dalmatians and Slauians entred the territories of the Empire; and on the other side, the Hungars (who now had liued sometime in rest) gathering together an infinite number of them, began the most dangerous and cruell warre they cuer had made; for besides that they were a most valiant and proud people, they were so many in number, that they reported of themselves, that the skies might fall and so kill them, or the earth might open and swallow them; but the power of no nations, or of any Kings of the earth was sufficient to make head against them. Against a nation so valiant and resolute, the valiant Emperor leuid the best and mightiest Armie that cuer he had done; for it consisted of eight legions, vnder the leading of excellent Captains and those, Dukes and Princes of the Empire. In this war were many conflicts and exploits of Armes worth relating, which I omit for breuitie which I am bound to obserue.

In the end these two mightie Armies ioynd, and fought a battaile nere the river *Danubius*, which began about noone, and continued vntill night, without any signe of victorie to either side; the fields lying full of dead bodies, and died with the blood of the slaine and wounded; and the darknes of the night parted the Armies, and made them leaue fighting: but the Emperor spent the whole night in dressing the wounded, giuing them meate, and encouraging the rest; and as soone as it was day, setting his troups in order, he took the field, where they againe began the fight, with as great furie as the day before: But the Hungarians began to giue ground, and within short space were overthrowne, and the Imperialists made an exceeding great slaughter of them, and obtained one of the most famous victories that hath bin in the world: where with the Hungarians were so much daunted, that they neuer durst after that time attempt to make war in *Germany*. There died that day of the Emperors side some principall men, among which was his sonne-in-law *CONRAD* Duke of *Franconia*, of whom all authors write, that he was the best and most valiant captain of his time. Of the Hungarians died in a manner all the Nobilitie, and three Dukes or Reguli, were taken prisoners, which the Emperor commanded to be hangd, for an example, and punishment of the rebellion and pride of that nation.

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This battaile was fought in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, after which he spent many daies in processions, and in shewing himselfe thankfull to God for so noble a victorie: which being ended, he sent the greatest part of his Armie against the Slauians, and other nations which warred against him; all which he vanquished and subdued with the like felicitie, and then went to visit sundrie townes and cities of his Empire, to the great ioy of his subiects. Great matters in these times passed in *France* and in *Spain*, and in other parts of the world, which I haue not time to relate: In *Italy* *BERNGARIVS* and his sonne *ALBERT* (seeing the Emperor busied in those dangerous warres) forgetting the good which they had receiued from him, committed many tyrannies and infolencies; aswell against the Church of *Rome*, as against the inhabitants of the countie: and therein also were other tyrants in diuers other parts. At this time died Pope *AGAPETVS*, who held that seate almost ten yeres, and after his death (by sinister meanes more by force and fauour, then by any iust forme of election) *OTAVIANVS*, a *Romane* borne, the sonne of aman of great power and authoritie in *Rome*, was chosen Pope, and called *JOHN* the twelfth; a most vicious wicked man, and giuen to all kinde of dissoluition and ribaldries; and aboute all, extreme cruell and conetous.

The commendation of Pope Otavianus, called John the twelfth. The death of Romane life, Greece Empt, Rome.

At this time died also in *Constantinople* *ROMANVS* the Greeke Emperor, who was a Prince farre vnworthe thereof; for he was both wicked and of a base mind, and suffered his seruants to rule him. In his time were two great warres in the East Empire; one against the Mahometists Infidels, who had taken the Ile of *Candia*; and the other in *Asia*, against the Turks and Persians. In the first, *NICPHORVS* (nephew to that *NICPHORVS* which in the time of *BASILIUS* was so excellent a Captaine) was General, and wan great victories: In the other, *LEO* was General, cousin germane to this *NICPHORVS*; both which had happie successe: In the rest of his government he was a wicked and cruell Emperor; for although that he had an excellent sharpe wit and vnderstanding, yet he abused the same. *ROMANVS* being dead, notwithstanding that he left two sonnes, *BASILVS* and *CONSTANTINE*, and one daughter called *THEODORA*; yet by reason of their young yeeres and the hatred borne to their father, they then obtained not the Empire; but yet afterwards in process of time they gat it: and the said Captaine *NICPHORVS* was chosen Emperor, who in the warres was very fortunate, and both valiant and carefull, but in peace carelesse and conetous.

Returning now to our Emperour *Otho*, I say, that it was about six yeeres after his first coming into *Italy*, in which time haueing ended the wars with his sonne, with the Hungarians and with the Slauians, as we haue declared; when as (besides other times, that he had been prayed and entreated) Ambassadors came vnto him from *Rome*, and from sundrie cities of *Italy*, entreating him to come thither, and to free them from the tyrannie of *BERNGARIVS*, and the cruell tyrannous Pope *JOHN*, who also sent Ambassadors to him: whereto *Otho* consenting, resolved vpon his journey into *Italy* with strong hand; and staying to see some things in *Germany* in order, he sent his now louing and obedient sonne *LUITOLPHVS* before him with the greatest part of his forces against *BERNGARIVS*; who after some victories obtained against him, and the taking of many cities, died of an infirmite: wherupon his father hastened his journey; but first he made his then eldest sonne called *Otho*, of the age of seuen yeeres, whom he had by his second wife, *CESAR* and his succesor. And being come into *Italy*, neither *BERNGARIVS* nor his sonne *ALBERT* durst keepe the field, but fled to their holds and castles; and *ALBERT* gat into the Ile of *Corsica*, and *BERNGARIVS* put himselfe into a very strong castle in Mount *Leon*: And so *Otho*, without shedding any drop of blood, took all *Lombardy*, and marched towards *Rome*, where Pope *JOHN* attended his coming, and had by all meanes possible sought his friendship; his conscience accusing him of his vices. In matters which passed at *Otho*'s second coming into *Italy*, there is some difference betweene the Historiographers which write the same; but I will follow that rule which the most of them haue set downe, and that which by many coniectures seemeth to be most true. Great cometo *Rome* (where of long time they had not sene any Emperor) he was receiued with beating felicitie and incredible pompe, by Pope *JOHN* and the Romanes; and with the like was by him crowned, hauing first sworn those things contained in the Chapter *Tibi Domine* in the thirteenth Distinction. The Emperour being enformed in what manner Pope *JOHN* had attained to the Papacie, and withall of his loose kind of life; after that he had remained there certaine daies, in friendly sort hee secretly admonished him to reforme his dissolute life, and the manner of his government in the Church; and seeing that his secret warning preuailed not, he spake to him in the Consistorie before his Cardinals, with greater authoritie & seueritie,

The death of Luitolphus.

The Emper. Otho crowned by Pope John the twelfth.

O 3

then the other would he should haue done: which being ended, in hope that the Pope would haue reformed himselfe, he departed from *Rome*, to seeke *BERNARDVS*; and beseeching him in a Citie which he had fortified, he daily assailed it with great force and resolution: in the meane tyme that he busied himselfe herein, Pope *IOHN*, with some of his confederats (showing himselfe an enemy to the Emperour) called *ALBERT* the sonne of *BERNARDVS* into *Italie*, and made a revolt against him: whereupon, *O T H O* leaving to besiege *BERNARDVS*, returned towards *Rome*, where the Pope had vsed great cruelty to those which held for the Emperour; among which (it is said) that he cut off the Noes, and put out the Eyes of some of the Cardinals and Citizens: but knowing with what furie the Emperour came, he durst not stay his bombing, but fled, and so lurked in sundry parts: and *O T H O* being come, the greatest part of the Cardinals, Clergie, and People of *Rome* informed him of the Popes lewde life, and the insufficiency of his election; desiring him to place a new: whereto he answered, that if their informations were true, they had authority of themselves to chooseth whom they listed: And they holding *IOHN*s election to be of no effect, made choise of another, whose name was *LEO*, the eighth of that name, who was presently receiued for Pope, the Emperour holding him for such. And leaving him seated in his throne, *O T H O* went from *Rome*, returning to his enterprise against *BERNARDVS* and his sonne *ALBERT*; wherein he vsed such diligence, and had so good successe, that *BERNARDVS* despairing to be able to defend himselfe, yielded to his mercie; and his sonne *ALBERT*, with his wife and children, were taken prisoners: And the Emperour *O T H O* (vsing his accustomed clemency and magnanimity) would not put them to death, but contented himselfe to banish them: *BERNARDVS* he sent prisoner, and banished into a strong Castle in *Saxony*; and his sonne *ALBERT* to *Constantinople*, and so ended the tyranny of the *BERNARDI* in *Italie*.

BLONDVS and other authors write that their imprisonment was as soone as *O T H O* came into *Italy*: but I follow the Abbot *WASSERBURGENSIS*, and the most part of all the other Historiographers.

Within few daies after that *O T H O* was departed from *Rome*, wherein he had left *LEO* the eighth for Pope, the *Romane* people, by the perswasion of Pope *IOHN*, and of his Allies and kindred (with the like lightnesse as they usually are moued) altered their mindes, and determined to cast out *LEO*, and to receiue *IOHN*; and so *IOHN* was restored, and *LEO* driven to flie, and to complaine to the Emperour at *Spolito*.

When the Emperour was aduertised hereof, making an end of such businesse as he then had in hand, he concluded to come within few daies with his forces to *Rome*, against his enemy Pope *IOHN*, who died there before his coming: some writers say, that a *Roman*, taking him with his wife, slew him, when he had continued Pope nine yeeres. The *Romanes* hoping Pope *LEO*, who was now with the Emperour, chose another called *BENEDICT* the fifth; and hee and they presently sent their Ambassadors to the Emperour, to entreate him to be pleased with his election: wherewith the Emperour was more offended then before, and gaue them a very sharpe answer: But the *Romanes* (who by this time loathed the Germans, murmuring against the Emperour) persisted in their opinion of holding *BENEDICT* for Pope: for this cause, *O T H O* remoued with his Army, and came to *Rome*, where Pope *BENEDICT* and the *Romanes* had made prouision of men and munition for their defence; and he first spoyleing the territory thereof, besieged the Citie, and brought it to such distresse, that they wrote wonder of the famine and want which the besieged endured; which was such, that being vaine to endure the extremity thereof, they gaue vp the Citie to *O T H O*; who being now Lord of that Citie, deposed *BENEDICT* whom he held for no Pope; and reestablished *LEO*, whom he brought with him: then he stayed some daies in *Rome*, setting all things in good order, and carrying *BENEDICT* with him, whom they had chosen in contempt of him, together with the sonnes of many of the chiefe men in *Rome* for his better securitie, he departed thence, and came into *Lombardy*, wherein, placing gouernours and garrisons in all the Cities which appertained to the Empire, he returned into *Germany*; where he was solemnly receiued by all the Princes and estates thereof: Within few daies *BENEDICT* (whom the Emperour brought with him) died of sorrow, six moneths after his election; so that Pope *LEO* remained sole Pope without any competency: but his prosperity continued but a while: for within little more then one yeere, after that he came to be Pope, he died also; and through his death they chose Pope *IOHN* the fourteenth of that name, but he was not receiued; for the President of *Rome*, who then was called *PETRUS*, rose against him, and with the fauour and assistance of the

Benedictus captiuitie
perpetuall
in prison, and
his sonne *ALBERT*
here to be sold,
by the Emperour
O T H O the
son.

Rome besieged
and taken by the
Emperour *O T H O*.

the *Decarcomi*, which were Rulers for one yeere; and of the two Consuls of the City (this was the manner of their gouernment at that time) and a certaine Prince which was Earle of *Campania*, whose name was *O T H O*, rising against the Pope, they became so mighty, that they captiued him, and committed him to the Castle *S. Angelo*; and afterwards, being masters of the Citie, they released him thence, so as he liued exiled eleven moneths: which being past, with the aid of *IOHN*, Prince or Duke of *Capua*, he was restored to his estate, and the afore said *O T H O* was put to death: this was in the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred sixty and seven. *O T H O* having reigned Emperour thirte and odd yeeres; and being in *Germany* aduertised of what passed in *Rome*, and much grieved therewith, he resolved presently to take his way towards *Italie*, to punish so great a contempt, and to supplant other Tyrants; and putting the same in execution, he came thither with great forces of foot and horse, and brought with him his eldest sonne and successor; coming to *Rome*, hee inflicted notable punishment vpon this prelate *PETRUS*, and the rest of the principall offenders.

This being ended, he sent his sonne *O T H O* with part of his Armie against the *Mopres*, who held many Townes in *Pulia*; and this *O T H O* drave them thence by force, and was then time Emperour of *Constantinople*: And for as much as her father would not send her vnto him, he resolved to make a conquest of those Lands which were subiect to that Empire in *Italie*, and did so: for which cause (as some authors write) the *Greekes* rebelled against *NICEPHORVS*, and depriviing him of his Empire slew him, taking *IOHN* for Emperour, whose sister or cozin germane *O T H O* afterwards married.

Others say that the cause of this warre was, for that the *Greekes* which dwelt in *Pulia*, held peace and friendship with the Infidels which dwelt among them, and did assist them. But, whatsoeuer was the occasion, *O T H O* and his sonne bereaued them of the best lands that they held in *Italie*; wherco *PANDULPHVS* Duke of *Capua* did him especiall seruice. All which being brought to a wished end; Pope *IOHN*, with the consent and good liking of *O T H O*, crowned and made his sonne *O T H O* his companion in the Empire, with great feasting and solemnity: and so, very joyfull and victorious, both the father and the sonne returned into *Germany*, leaving the Pope in peace absolute Lord of *Rome*; and so was *Italie* maintained seven yeers in peace without any tyranny.

The Emperours, being come into *Germany*, were with great joy receiued; and to them came Ambassadors of amity and friendship from all the Princes Christian. The rest of his life, which was not long, he spent in doing justice, in building of Churches and Monasteries, and in such like exercises: In which, in the six and thirtieth yeer of his Raig in *Germany*, and the thirteenth yeer after his Coronation in *Rome*, it pleased God to take him out of this world, in the month of May, in the yeere of our Lord 974.

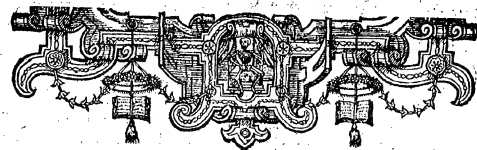
A little before the death of *O T H O*, *NICEPHORVS* Emperour of *Constantinople* was deposed and slain, who had reigned six or seven yeeres, and had obtained great victories against the Infidels: but, through his cuill gouernment in time of peace, they rebelled and slue him; And an excellent Captain, whose name was *ZIMISCUS*, was chosen Emperour: who, the better to confirm himself in the Empire, chose for his companions the two sonnes of *ROMANVS*, who was Emperour before *NICEPHORVS*, whose names were *BASILVS* and *CONSTANTINE*; and married himselfe to a sister of theirs called *THEODORA*. This proued an excellent and valiant Emperour, and subdued the *Russians*, and other northerly Nations, and also *PHOCAS* a Tyrant, who rebelled against him: of whose end you shall hear more hereafter.

Pope *IOHN* pri-
soned, the ca-
ple *S. Angelo*.

*O T H O*s second
coming into
Italy.

The death of the
Greek Emperour
Nicephorus.

The death of the
Emperour *O T H O*.





THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRSORE & EIGHTTH ROMANE Emperor; And of IOHN, BASILIUS & CONSTAN- TINE, Emperors of Constantinople.

(*)



This Otho was according to the order of the Roman Emperors, the second; but the third Romane Emperor of that name.

OTHO the sonne of OTHO, and therefore called the Second (yet in truth he was the Third) as soon as his father was dead, as well for his fathers worthinesse, as for that in his life time he was elect and crowned in Rome by the Pope, as wee have related, was without any contradiction receiued and obeyed for Emperor. This OTHO was a man of a great spirit, and very valiant, and so shewed himself in all his actions; though in the later end of his Raige hee was vnfortunate, as you shall vnderstand. Hee beginning to rule the Empire, all Christian Princes sent Ambassadors vnto him, to condole the death of his father, and to congratulate his succession; and the Princes of Germany came to do him homage: onely HENRY Duke of Baniere (who was his cousin germane, sonne of the other HENRY, brother to his father OTHO, of whom we haue made some mention, and whom his father made Duke of Baniere, being a man of great power, and therewith very proud) refused to yeeld obedience to the new Emperor: but OTHO raised an Army, and went against him, and compelled him to submit himself, and to yeeld his obedience; this befell in the first yeer of his Raige. From thence hee marched against some Towns in Slauonia, which took Arms against him. In the meane time, in the Prouince of Lorraine were some combutations, procured by LOTHARIUS King of France; vpon the newes wherof, OTHO returned into Germany: but the French King had raised such forces, and was so suddenly entred Lorraine, that he made himself Lord thereof; pretending that the Prouince did appertain to the Crown of France, And not content to haue subdued all that Country, within fewe daies after he marched forwards, spoiling and wasting the Country euen to Aken; where OTHO then was with small forces, nothing mistrusting that the King of France would haue proceeded so farre in that warre, where he was like to haue been taken, and was driuen to depart thence in more than haste: but the French King retiring with great prey and spoils; the Emperor, much displeased with his doings, raised a very mighty Army, and the next yeer following, with great courage and equall power, entred the Kingdom of France; in such manner, that the French King neither durst nor was able to fight with him; but retired, and fortified himself in the City of Paris: whither OTHO came (the King being therein) and spoiled the Country, in reuenge of the harms receiued; and in coming within sight of the City, he lost some of his people in a skirmish against the French: and seeing that the King salied not forth to giue him battell, and that he could not besiege him with any aduantage, he resolved for that winter to return into his Country: and in his retreat the King of France sent the Duke of Burgundy and other Princes, to charge him in the arieregard (as GLOVIN and other French Hi-

Historians write) and at the passage ouer a riuer, which was growne so high by reason of the raige, that it could not be waded through, he receiued great harme by his enemies, and they slew a great part of his Armie; which the Germanes doe not so brauely describe (yet they acknowledge to haue lost som of their people at that passage) and the Emperor being returned, resolved to haue prosecuted that warre; but it hapned otherwise: for he gaue ear to a treatie of peace betwene him and the French king, moued by certaine prelates; which was concluded, as we will shew you; wherof the warres in Italie, made by the Greeke Emperor, were the chief occasion; which passed in this manner.

IOHN ZIMISCUS (as is before recited) hauing obtained the Empire of Constantinople by the death of NICEPHORUS, and taken for his companions the two sons of the Emperor ROMANUS, whose names were BASILIUS and CONSTANTINE; and hauing obtained many victories, and governed the Empire very well, was poisoned in Constantinople, when hee had reigned six yeers and a halfe, and BASILIUS, and his brother CONSTANTINE, which were his brothers in law, remained Emperors; but BASILIUS bare the chiefest sway in the government, being now twenty yeeres old; who in proesse of time was many great victories, as well against tyrants which rebelled, as other people, and reigned fifty and ouer yeers; in which time many reigned in Germany, the story wherof I am to write, although I euer make in some mention of Constantinople, as I haue done hitherto.

In the beginning of the raige of BASILIUS, and of his brother CONSTANTINE, they being both yong, and of great power, and seeing that OTHO was busied in the warres of France, and grieuing that he and his father had taken the lands belonging to the Greeke Empire in Pulia and in Calabria; they resolved to recover the same, embracing the opportunitie, considering that OTHO was pestered with these troubles, and that the Popes were of small power by reason of the great tyrants which were in Rome; and in a manner through all Italie by reason of the Emperors absence: The two brethren hauing placed good Capitaines and Garrisons in the prouinces of Asia, and Gracia, took their passage into Italie, and brought in their Armie many Infidels, as well such as were newly entertained, as such as in former time had made warre in that countrie; and began to take Cities and Castles, and in short space tooke all the rest of Pulia, and Calabria: and Rome it selfe and all the countrie thereabout stood in great feare of them.

OTHO hauing intelligence hereof (at what time as he was in parley of peace with France) and grieuing much that the Greekes should recouer what he had conquered at the time of his fathers coronation in Rome, with a resolution to recouer and to defend the same, he concluded a peace with the French: wherein was granted to him the supreme iurisdiction, and all the prouince of Lotharingia, otherwife called Aufrasia, which afterwards was diuided into sundrie estates, as Brabant, Gelders, Cleue, Gulick, and that which now is called Lorraine; wherof he gaue the Dominion to the French kings brother, whose name was CHARLES, with the title of Duke, the more to binde the king of France to obserue the peace: And hauing taken such order herein, and in the rest of Germany, as was expedient; he went with great power into Italie, where his comming was long expected; and taking his way towards Rome, he was there againe crowned by the Pope, notwithstanding that he was so in the time of his father: and he required the Cities of Italie, that at a certaine time and place appointed, they should send him their men of warre, which was performed accordingly: and staying but a very small time in Rome, he drew all his Armie to one head; and so went to seeke his enemies, who refused not the battell: and both parties desiring the same, it was fought, wherein OTHO had very ill successe. For, hauing a greater number, and better men then were the Greekes, the Romanes, the Benenatians, and others which had the auantguard, at the first encounter charged so cowardly, that without making any resistance, they abandoned the field in such confusion, that they disordered the other Battalions and Squadrons of the Germanes: so as the Greekes encouraged hereby, followed the chace of them which fled; in such manner that OTHO's people, being vnabled to doe as they would, and ought to haue done, were broken and ouerthrowne, and a very great number of them slaine.

The Emperor seeing no hope of better helpe, fled from the battaile; and comming to the Sea side (which was not farre from thence) put himself into a small boat, which he found there by chance, thinking so to escape: but he was taken vnkowne by a Pirat, and carried into Sicilia, where he was discovered by a Merchant of Slauonia; who vpon promise of reward made by the Emperor, bewrayed him not, but agreed for his ransom. This is reported in sundry sorts: but

The Emperor of Constantinople poisoned Basilus, seized his brother Constantine, succeeded John in the Greeke Empire.

The Emperor made peace with France.

Otho taken by a Sea-pirater.

but in the end he was deliuered by the Merchants means, they nothing knowing that hee was an Emperor. And so he returned into *Italie*, and came to *Rome*, whereof the Greeks might haue been masters if they had knowne how to haue followed their aduantage; for, their enemies being ouerthrowne, they had not found therein any resistance: but, God hauing otherwise ordained, they left the war, contenting themselves with the victory.

O T H O, being com to *Rome*, gathered together the remainder of his Armie; and, adding thereto new supplies, the first enterprize that he attempted, was, to go to *Beneuent*: where hee put the greatest part of the Inhabitants to the sword, and sacked the City, because they fledde from the battell. It is written of him, that hee inflicted cruell punishment in *Rome* for the same cause; so as he was therefore called bloudy: the cause whereof was, The great grief and sorrow which he conceived for the losse of the battell, and his sight: considering, that through the fault and cowardize of his friends it had hapned: so as they write of him, that euer after, whilst hee liued, his countenance was euer sad and pensiu, and that hee often gaue great groans and sighes: and, finally, in his apparell, and in all other things, he shewed continual sorrow and extreme heauinesse; and all his speeches and discourses were, how he might be reuenged, and recover this losse.

After this, liuing in this care and melancholie in the City of *Rome*, he was taken with a mortal infirmity, which (as some say) came through sorrow (but not without suspicion of poison) which increased so, that hee died thereof, hauing reigned teene yeeres, in the year of our Lord nine hundred fourescore and foure. He left behinde him, when he died, one sonne called O T H O (as himselfe) of the age of twelue yeeres, who was afterwards Emperor; and another called H Y O N, who was Duke of *Saxony*, and one daughter called A L A S I A, which afterwards was married to a Prince of *Saxony*, whose name was A L R A N E or A L E D R A N E, and was Marquesse of *Monferrato*; in whom that house and state had beginning. All these hee had by his first wife, whose name was T H E O P H A N I A, who had been late wife to I O H N Emperor of *Constantinople*. He had also another daughter called V T I E H V I D A, by his second wife, which was the Marquesse of *Austrich* his daughter, who was married to T H E O D O R I C V S, the first Earl of *Holland*: and, O T H O being dead, the Greeks for that time continued Lords of *Polia* and *Calabria*.

The death of
the Emperor
Otho the third

THE
LIFE OF OTHO. BEING THE
FOURTH OF THAT NAME, AND
FOURSCORE AND NINTH ROMANE
Emperor; And of BASILVS & CONSTAN-
TINE, Emperors of Constantinople.

(* *)

THE ARGUMENT.

After long disputations and contentions about the election of the Emperor, between the Roman and the Princes of Germany; in the end Otho the sonne of the deceased Emperor, was chosen, being a child not fully twelue yeeres old; and so one Crencencius in the beginning of his reigne rebelled against him in Rome; who aspired to the Empire, and made himselfe a tyrant over many Countreies; persecuted the Pope, driving him to flee, but finally for feare of the Emperours, who came into Italy to protect the Pope, he made his peace with him, and became his subject: the Emperor being departed, Crencencius

gaine tooke Armes and made a new Pope: and persecuting the Pope made by the Emperor, he constrained him to flee to the Emperor, who conducting him into Italy, tooke Rome, and slew Crencencius; and the other Pope died miserably. At this time, an order and forme was set downe for the choosing of the Emperor, and the honor being giuen to the Germans, the Romanes were therewith much displeased, and conspiring against the Emperours, put him so to his sister, that he was driven to flee disguised; but in the end, unable to eschew treason, he died of poison, when hee had reigned eighteen yeeres.



In such manner as I haue declared, the Emperor called O T H O the Third deceased: and in the Citie of *Rome*, was great contention and controuersie about the election of a new Emperor, between the Princes of Germany which were there, and came with him; for some would haue his sonne to succcede him, whose name also was O T H O, being then but a child of cleuen and halfe yeeres old; being the fourth of that name, but the third of the Germanes. Others were of opinion (by reason of the childes nonage) to make H E N R Y Duke of *Banaria* Emperor, who was his fathers Cousin-germane, the first O T H O's brothers sonne; who being a mighty man and there present, fought to haue gotten his yong cousin into his power, to the end that he should not haue been chosen; and did so, and tooke vpon him the title of Emperor: And the Roman and Italian Princes (desiring to be freed from the Gouvernement of the Germanes whom they naturally hated) fought by all meanes that an Italian might haue bene chosen; and they named one who was a very mightie Roman, called C R E S C E N C I V S N V M I T A N V S, who at that time was Gouernour, and Confull in *Rome*: for (as it is said) they had established a new manner of Gouvernement, imitating the ancient custome; for at this time they had a certaine kinde of Consulate.

The Princes of Germany standing in feare of the Roman and Italian people (in a manner) by common consent, maugre H E N R Y Duke of *Banaria* (who thought to haue bene Emperor) resolved to choose O T H O sonne to the last O T H O; for although that hee were but young and scarcely twelue yeeres old, yet he gaue great signes and hope of a future excellent Prince; and taking him out of the power of the said H E N R Y of *Banaria*, they departed with him from *Rome* towards Germany, and came with him to the Citie of *Aken*, where he was crowned with great solemnity, and obeyed and held for Emperor; and so he was in *Milan*, and in other parts of the Empire. But in *Rome* C R E S C E N C I V S N V M I T A N V S, who (as we said) fought to haue bene Emperor, possessed himselfe of the Citie, and of the territory thereof; and for as much as Pope I O H N tooke part with O T H O, he made him to be apprehended in the third moneth of his Papacie, and committed him prisoner to the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, a wicked and impious act; where within five moneths after he died of sorrow. Afterwards I O H N the sixteenth came to be Pope, who was a couetous wicked man, and consented to the Tyranny of C R E S C E N C I V S afore named, and rebelled with *Rome* against the Emperour O T H O (whereof the Emperours nonage gaue the chiefe occasion, and for the same cause some Princes of Germany likewise rebelled against him) but within short space, hauing attained to the age of fourteene yeeres, he was of such courage and discretion, as he might well be accounted for a perfect and stout man: And with the ayde of those which continued his loyall subjects, he subdued and ouercame (although long first) all such as rebelled against him; with such happinesse and good successe, that he was held for the wonder of the World, seeing in him so great valour and fortie a judgement in so greene yeeres.

What Rebellsions these were, and in what manner he had so great good fortune, none of the Historiographers doe write particularly, that I could euer see; so briefly they passe over this place: Wherefore I can relate no more then I finde written; onely this they affirme, that for

Observing the
ordinary course,
this Otho was
the fourth of
that name, al-
though the third
of the German
Emperors.

Crencencius
apprehended
Pope John the
Sixteenth, and
committed him
prisoner to
the Castle S.
Angelo, where
he died of
sorrow.

for the space of ten yeeres, he was busied in pacifying and ordering the state of *Germany*: in which time *CRASCENTIVS* tyrannized *Rome*; which passed in this manner:

Pope *IOHN* the sixteenth, who (as I said) succeeded *IOHN* the fifteenth (as it pleased God) lived Pope but seven moneths; all which he spent vily; and hee being dead, a learned man was chosen, whose name was *IOHN* also, which was *IOHN* the seventeenth, but much unlike his Predecessor; for, he was an honest man and for being so, was soon at variance with the Tyrant *CRASCENTIVS*; who was of such power, that Pope *IOHN* was driven to leave *Rome*, and to giue place to his tyranny. He oftentimes sent to the Emperor *O T H O* for succours, and to come and reform the state of *Rome* and *Italie*: But the Emperor could not then perform his request, by reason of his other waighy affairs; yet afterwards he did it, as you shall hear.

In the mean time, *CRASCENTIVS* fearing the Emperours coming, acknowledging his error, practised with Pope *IOHN* to return, promising him to be obeyed and respected: and he so effectually handled the matter, that a peace was concluded between them; and the Pope came, and was received with great solemnity. But, this notwithstanding, the Emperour held on his way, and came into *Italie* with great power (which was in the eleventh year of his reign) and was received every where as he passed, with great joy and feasting: and so he came to *Rome*, where the Pope and *CRASCENTIVS* (after some treaties and ambassages which passed) made great preparation to receive him. And the Emperour being come neere the City; the Pope, accompanied with all his Cardinals and Clergie, and with all the Roman Nobility and Gentlemen, went forth to entertain him: and so in peace and good friendship the Emperour staid some daies in *Rome*; and, to gratifie the Pope and the Romans, hee went with his Armie to *Capua* and to *Beneuent*, which disobeyed, and were at warres among themselves: whom hee compelled to lue in peace, to the contentment of the Romans.

About this time died Pope *IOHN*; and the Emperour, returning to *Rome*, procured an vncle of his of the house of *Saxony*, whose name was *BENNY*, to be made Pope, and hee was called *GREGORY* the Fifth: who, being feared in his papall dignity, anointed and crowned the Emperour, with such solemnity and pomp as his father and grandfather had been before him: Which being ended, and *O T H O* imagining that the estate of *Italie* stood now in good form and order (considering that his vncle remained highest Bishop) he took his way towards *Germany*, and by the way visited *Lombardy*, and other parts subiect to the Emper.

In the mean time, whilst that *O T H O* was busied about the affairs of *Italie*, the Successors of *CHARLES* the Great were depose from the Crown of *France*; which although it concern not our History, yet for as much as it is a matter of great importance, I think it worthy to be reduced to memory; and thus it was: King *LOTHARY* being dead (who as we said died also against *O T H O* the Second) his sonne *LEVVVS*, succeeding him, within one yeer died also. This *LEVVVS* being dead, *HUGH* called *CAPTIVS* or *CAPT*, Earle or Gouernor of *Paris*, being a man of great power and authority in that Kingdom, tyrannically took vpon him the title of King, and made himself Lord of *France*; having no right thereto, but the right of warre; and first he took *CHARLES* (brother to *LOTHARYS*) prisoner by treason (who, by the death of his nephew *LEVVVS*, was called King) and caused him to dy in prison, and (subduing all such as made any resistance) got the Crown and Kingdom; which hath continued in his Successors vnto this day.

O T H O being returned into *Italie*; the Romans, who had euer murmured at the election of Pope *GREGORY*, and loathed the rule and command of the Germanes, chose the Tyrant *CRASCENTIVS* for Consul: by whose aid and counsel they again rebelled against the Pope; in such sort, that hee was driven to flee *Rome*, and earnestly to intreat the Emperour to relieue him; in hope that he would haue come to his rescue, or that *CRASCENTIVS* and the Romans, fearing the Emperours coming, would haue recalled him, and haue made peace with him, as they had done with his Predecessor. But it fell out cleane contrary: for, *CRASCENTIVS*, alleging that Pope *GREGORYS* election was violent (the Emperour forcing the same) hee caused the Bishop of *Placentia* to be chosen and made Pope, who was called *IOHN* the eighteenth (yet sundry Authors hold him not for Pope). Wherefore Pope *GREGORY*, leaving *Italie*, went into *Germany* to the Emperour; who, being highly displeased, leuied an Armie, and came into *Italie*, and so directly to *Rome*, where *CRASCENTIVS* had fortified himself, and provided a garrison to defend the same; and the Emperour besieged the City: which put the Romans in such fear; that they durst not stand to their defence; but, opening the gates, desired

The coming of
the Emperour
Otho into Italy

Hugh Capet
usurper of the king-
dom of France.

the Emperour to pardon them; and the two tyrants, *CRASCENTIVS* and Pope *IOHN*, withdrew themselves into the castell *S. Angela*, which *CRASCENTIVS* had so well fortified, that it was held for impregnable: whereupon *O T H O* came to a parley with him, to the end that he should haue yielded: and *CRASCENTIVS* presuming that his life should haue been saved (whereof he was put in some hope) deliuered vpon the castile; and hee and the Pope coming towards the Emperour, were apprehended vpon the way; and *CRASCENTIVS* was presently put to death by his commandement, as a violator of his faith, and one that had been twice a traitor. Others write that he caused him to be hanged, and Pope *IOHN*'s eyes to be put out, who afterwards died miserably: such are the rewards which the world bestoweth vpon those which to follow the same forget God, their owne honour and honestie. These tyrants being suppressed, the Emperour restored Pope *GREGORY* to his seate and dignitie, and let the best order in all matters in *Rome*, that the time would permit.

All this which I haue recited being ended, Pope *GREGORY* acknowledging the succours which the Church of *Rome* had received from the Emperour; and from the Princes of *Germany* (as a man affected to his native country, and to the Germanenation; by the will and content of the Emperour, and to prevent and eschue the discord which did arise, or might happen, about the choosing of the Emperour) made a law and Canon, which hath lasted about six hundred yeeres, euen vntill this day, which was, that the election of the Emperour, so long as the Empire should be void, should appertaine to six Princes onely, which we will presently nominate; three, whereof were Prelates, and the other three, secular Princes, viz. a Duke, a Marquess, and an Earle, and if by chance there should be equality of voyces betwene these six, the King of *Bohemia* (which then was no King) should also haue his voyce, and the party whereto he inclined, should make the choise, and their election should stand: the Prelates are, the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Archbishop of *Colein*, and the Archbishop of *Trier*: the Princes are the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*. And he further ordained, that no man should be chosen Emperour, except he were a Germane borne; and that being chosen by the Princes Electors aforesaid, hee should be called King of the Romanes, and not Emperour *Augustus*, vntill that he were confirmed and crowned by the Pope, as it is obserued vnto this day.

This decree and law (as most authors write) was made in the yeere, one thousand and two: which cannot be so, for all agree, that Pope *GREGORY* the fifth which made the same, died in the yeere, nine hundred ninety and seven: But this contrarietie is easily salued, for the Emperour *O T H O* died in the yeere, one thousand and two, or three; and so in that yeere, or the next, that law was put in execution, notwithstanding that it was made some time before, and therefore they say that it was made that yeere: And thus they are excused, which attribute this order and forme of election to Pope *SYLVESTER*, which succeeded Pope *GREGORY*, who indeed was the man which made the same. And hee further ordained, that the election should be made in the citie of *Frankford*, and that hee which was chosen, should come to the citie of *Aken* to be crowned King of the Romanes. And the Emperour *O T H O* ordained certaine prehemines and offices, which each of these Electors should hold in the Emperours house and court; as one to beare his Sword, another to be his Cupbearer, with such like, which concerne not our historie.

This being ended and concluded in this manner; some authors write, that the Emperour went into *Germany*, to set an order in the affaires of the Empire, where this election before recited was approved & ratified: others make no mention of this his going, but rather report, that he spent the rest of his time in *Rome*. Howsoever it was, after the death of Pope *GREGORY* (which was when he had been Pope two yeeres and halfe) in his place was chosen one *GILBERT*, a more excellent man for wit and learning, then any in his time was to be found: but he abused and ill employed the same; for he was a great Necromancer and enchanter, and gaue himself to bargaining with the diuell, and to other vnlawfull Artes: he was a French-man borne, and was called *SYLVESTER*, and had been the Emperours Schoole-master, whom most authors affirme, to haue learned Magicke in the citie of *Seuill* in *Spain*: which notwithstanding that it was in the power of Infidels, yet the Artes and Philosophie did flourish there.

This people held the chaire foure yeeres, in which time the Emperour came againe to *Rome* (or had not gone forth of it) and very effectually applied himself to the good gouernment of the Empire, punishing and reforming the abuses committed by sundrie, through the small

Crescentius
put to death.

Pope John the
eighteenth had
his eyes put out.

Pope Gregory
restored to his
seate.

The original of
the order of the
choosing of the
Emperours, or-
dained by Pope
Gregory the
fifth.

Pope Syluester
a Necromancer.

authority and worth of former Popes, and the tyrannies and factions which had been in *Rome*, all which was done by the Popes consent, as by him which had been the Emperours Schoole-master; and was placed there by his authority. The Emperour (as it is written of him) was a man of great vnderstanding, and of a very good condition: But the Romanes, who now were much discontented with the forme set downe, for choosing the Emperour, wherein they had no voice or authoritie, either to chuse or to be chosen; it being the chiefe seate and head of the Empire; and being also extremely grieved, to see that O T H O did so absolutely command in *Rome* and in *Italie*, and made to long abode there: first they began to murmure thereat, and afterwards secretly to conspire, and to practice his death; and in the end their enuie encreased, their audacioulines and contempt likewise encreased: whereupon, one day when the Emperour suspected no such matter, and the people which he then had with him in the Citie being but onely Courtiers, the Romanes arose with a great tumult; and putting themselves in Armes, slew many of the Germanes: and then went to the Palace where the Emperour was, and being vnable to enter at their first approach (for that his guard and Gentlemen which repaired thither defended the same) they compassed the house, in such sort as the Emperour had been either presently taken, or slaine; but that one H V O N (who was his Lieutenant, and governed a great part of the Emperours countries in *Italie*, with the title of Marquess, and was well beloued amongst the Romanes) came to a parley with them, desiring some treaties of peace and agreement: and with him ioyned H E N R Y Duke of *Baviere*, to whom they also gaue care; which restrained the furie and rage of the people: and holding them thus in talke, a meane was found whereby the Emperour (changing his habit) gat forth of the Citie, not being discouered, and went to the place where his forces lay (and the Pope did the like) whither repaired to him all those which fled from the furie: and so for that time he escaped death. But although that he was delinered from this publike treason, yet he could not free himselfe from that which was secret: for within short space after, being busie in gathering his forces together (with an intent (as some say) to haue gone into *Germany*, and as others say, against *Rome*) he was poisoned (as some write) by the wife of C R E S C E N T I V S the tyrant before named (whom he commanded to be hanged in *Rome*) with whom, as she was the fairest woman of her time, they say, that the Emperour being in *Rome* had secret conuersation, and that she faining to be greatly in loue, poysoned him in a paire of Gloues, which she sent him excellently perfumed: whereof within three or foure daies after, he died, the poyson working slowly and leisurely.

The death of the Emperour Otho by poyson Anno 1002.

Other Authors beleue not this, but that he was poysoned by others; yet they all agree that he died of poyson, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and two; when he had reigned eighteen yeeres complear, and liued only nine and twenty and a halfe, leaving no sonne to succcede him: which some affirm was the cause why he procured Pope G R E G O R I E to ordaine that manner of choosing the Emperour, as I haue already described: And they say moreover that he was married with the king of *Aragons* daughter, whose name was M A R Y, a woman not so carefull for the preferuation of the honour and honesty of her person, as shee ought to haue beene.

This Prince is accounted amongst the good Emperours, for his many vertues, and for that he ruled the Empire with justice, and vprightly. Before his death there appeared great signes in the firmament, as Comets, which continued many daies; and the most notable was, that one day in the morning about nine of the clock, there appeared in the element a great flaming fire, like to a burning torch, which continued a great while; and the light being vanished, there appeared in the same place the likenes of a Serpent. The body of the Emperour was carried by H E N R Y Duke of *Baviere*, and the other great Lords, into *Germany*, and buried in the Citie of *Aken*. A little before his death Pope S Y L V S T E R died in *Rome*, whither it seemeth that he was returned, who died through Gods great goodness (as it is written) very penitent for his sinnes; and in his place was chosen I O H N the 19, who dying within foure moneths after without doing ought worth the writing, another I O H N succeeded him, which was I O H N the 20, of whom we will hereafter make mention.

The Emperour Otho buried in Aken.

During the raigne of O T H O, in *Constantinsple* reigned B A S I L I V S and C O N S T A N T I N E, brethren; but (as I said) B A S I L I V S was the more valiant, and the man by whose counsell and direction, all actions were worthily and happily achieved in the wars: for he enlarged that Empire both in *Asia* and *Europe*, and obtained many great victories. In the beginning of their raigne (as is before declared) they came into *Italie*, and ouerthrew O T H O the Second: after this, their quarrels were with tyrants; the first was with a Captain called S C L E R V S a very

valiant

valiant man, and of great power, who was their Lieutenant in *Syria* and in *Phenicia*; who rebelling, made himselfe to be called Emperour: this was a very dangerous warre, but in the end he was ouerthrowne, and escaped by flight to *Babylon*: but afterwards (many things happening in the meane time) hee was reduced to their seruice. The second was with P H O C A S, another Captain of no lesse renowne and valour then S C L E R V S, who would also haue been Emperour, and to that effect had leuiued so great an armie, that hee doubted not to fight a battaile with B A S I L I V S, wherein he was slaine, and therewith ended his life and tyranny; and so achieved B A S I L I V S the two great exploits: after which ensued the warre which hee had begun with S A M V E L, King of the Bulgarians; from whom, the lands of the Empire had received much harme by fire and sword, in the time of the warres with the Tyrants aforesaid; of whom B A S I L I V S was sufficiently reuenged in many battailes, as hereafter shall bee related when time shall serue: the Greeke Emperours also held the greatest part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*; for the said B A S I L I V S and C O N S T A N T I N E recovered the same, when they ouerthrew O T H O the second in *Italy*, and they sent some thither, with the titles of Gouvernours and Capitaines, who were called *Calisti*, as in auncient time were the Exarchi: yet *Sicilia* was in a manner wholly possessed by the Infidels of *Africa*.



THE LIFE OF HENRY. THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOURSORE AND TENTH ROMANE EMPEROVR.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



Otho being dead, the Germane Princes Electors, according to their authority chose and crowned Henry Duke of *Baviere* (Cousin Germane to the deceased Otho) Emperour. This Prince, in the beginning of his raigne, was much troubled, by reason of certain rebels. He married against Robert King of France, and leuiued a power against the Duke of *Bohemia* which rebelled: in both which attempts, he obtained honourable victories. He made the King of *Hungarie* (who desired his sister in marriage) to be baptized; and went into *Italie*, whereto he had a great desire; and marching with an Army against the Infidels, which held many Townes in *Italie*, chiefly in *Pulia*, he subdued them. Returning into *Germany*, he invited Pope Benedict to come to visit him; and the Pope coming thither, he was received with exceeding great honour. He lived with his wife in continuall chastitie, and left her as good a maide as he found her; and so falling sick of an extreme infirmity, having performed all things appertaining to a good Christian, he departed out of this life; but he first intreated the Princes Electors, to make choice of a good Emperour.

1602



I cannot be denied, but that the three O T H O 's, the Father, the Sonne, and the Nephew, of whom but euen now we left to discourse, were very valiant and worthie Princes; and which repaired the credit and reputation of the Empire, very much torne and decayed; and for such are commended and recorded by Historiographers. O T H O then dying in *Italie* (as I haue declared) after that the Germane Princes and people were returned into their Countie, with the Emperours dead bodie, and had buried the same, with such solemnity as thereto appertained: the afore named Princes, that were made Princes Electors (which were the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Coleyn*, and *Trenter*; the

Pp 2

the

the Duke of Saxony, the Marquess of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of the Rhine) purposing to shew their Authority, and to choole an Emperour, met together in the Citie of *Frankford*; where knowing the many vertues and merits of *HENRY* Duke of *Baviera*, they chose him for King of the Romanes, and future Emperour *AVGVSTVS*; and hee was, anoynted in *Aken* by the Archbishop of *Mentz*, which was in a manner by the common consent of them all, excepting *HERRERY* Archbishoppe of *Coleyn*, who was of a contrary faction.

This *HENRY* was cousin german to *OTHO*, whom he succeeded in the Empire, and Nephew to *HENRY* Duke of *Baviera*, Brother to *OTHO* the first (yet second of that name) who by the same *OTHO* was made Duke of *Baviera*, as in his life we haue specified; and was the second of the Emperours so called: yet the Italian writers say, that he was the first, for they doe not reckon the other *HENRY*, Duke of *Saxony*, for Emperour (whose life we haue before written, who was Father to *OTHO* the first) for that he came not into *Italie*, neither was crowned there by the Pope. The election of the new Emperour was commended and approved by all those which desired the good of the Common-wealth, for that he was a good man: yet there were some ambitious, and vnquiet Princes, which rebelling, took Armes against him; but he shewing his power and valour, in short space tamed and brought them to his obedience: who they were which thus rebelled against the Emperour *HENRY*, I could neuer reade, for writers doe not specify the same.

This *HENRY* being confirmed and assured in his seate, desired to come into *Italy*: but hee could not bring it to passe, vntill the eleuenth yeare of his raigne, by reason of such warres as happened. First, some Authors write, that there presently grew warres betwene him, and *ROBERT* King of *France*, who (by the report of all writers) was also an excellent Prince, although the son of *HUGH* CAPET, which vsurped those Kingdomes: for what cause those two good Princes fell at variance I finde not written: but those which make mention thereof, say, that *HENRY* had the victorie in this warre; and that afterwards they came to an agreement: which being ended, there followed a farre more dangerous warre than the former: which was against *BODISLAV*, D. of *Bohemia*, who being of great power & ayded by the Slauians, the Polacres, Morauians and other nations, rebelled against the Empire; and the Emperour with a great power resolutely marching against him, the warres grew to bee very cruell; and some battails were fought, wherein *BODISLAV* was ouerthrowne: but not dismayed therewith, persisting in his rebellion, he reinforced his armie, and leuied the greatest power hee was able, and againe gaue the Emperour battaile, which, through the valour and courage of the Captaines and Souldiers of either side, was very doubtfull and terrible, but the Emperour *HENRY* with much difficultie obtained the victorie; and followed the same in such manner as *BODISLAV* was constrained humbly to craue pardon, and sue for peace: which was granted vpon very hard and heauy conditions; and so hee was subdued, and made subiect to the Empire, together with his Confederates.

This enterprise being ended, and hee free from warre, in the meane time that hee made preparation for his going into *Italy*, (which hee greatly desired) hee applied himselfe to matters of peace and good government, doing iustice to all men indifferently; and builded and enriched many Churches and Monasteries; and honored and aduanc'd Bishops, Monks, Priests, Friars, and other such like religious people. In those dayes (being importuned, and in a manner compelled by the great Princes of the Empire, wholly against his will) hee married the daughter of the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, called *AMIGYNDIA*, a religious Lady: with whom (vndiscovered and vnkowne to any, vntill his death) he liued most chastely, both of them obseruing voluntary virginity, without hauing any carnall knowledge the one of the other; which is one of the most rare things that I euer read, of any King or Emperour.

This Emperour had also a sister called *GISELA*, which (as they write) was the fairest woman of her time, whom *STYEFEN*, Duke and Lord of *Hungarie*, desiring to haue to wife, he could not obtaine his sue, except hee would first become a Christian, and be baptized (for although that in that Kingdom were many Christians, yet the Princes were Infidels) whereupon *STYEFEN* yielded, and became so deuout, that he is accounted amongst the Saints: and the Emperour gaue him his Sister, and with her the title of King, and so he was the first that was called King of *Hungary*. Some write that this *GISELA* was Neece and not Sister to the Emperour. In these accidents before related, *HENRY* spent ten yeeres of his raigne, and

Henry the first
and chosen
Emperour.

Bodislaus
Duke of Bohemia
ouertrowne
by the Emperour

voluntary chastity
observed by
the Emperour
and the Emperesse.

The King of
Hungary became
a Christian,
and was baptized.

and then resolved to leuie a great Armie to go into *Italy*, wherein had passed some great matters: among which, *MOLOCHVS*, Gouverneur of *Pulia* and *Calabria* for the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and with him *WILLIAM*, and his other brothers, (sonnes to the Duke of *Normandy* came about (some certain enterprises) joyned their forces together, and agreed with the Duke of *Salerno* and other Princes, to expell the Infidels of *Africa* out of the Ile of *Sicilia* where they inhabited; which they did with such force and courage, that within lesse than two yeeres they recovered the whole Island: whereof (according to the agreement) certain Cities and Towns were to haue bin giuen to the said *WILLIAM*, and to the other Dukes; but *MOLOCHVS* was satisfying the debt with part of the prey and booty which they had taken of all the rest would part with nothing, but put garrisons into all the Towns, to hold the same for his Lord the Emperour. *WILLIAM* and the rest, being discontent heerewith, came into *Italie*, where they took by force such Cities as were vnder *MOLOCHVS* government: and *MOLOCHVS*, coming out of *Sicilia* to make head against him, they joyned battell; and *WILLIAM*, obtaining the victory, became Lord of the most part of *Pulia* and *Calabria*: where dying, his brother *DROGOVS* succeeded; and afterward, through fundry accidents, his offspring became Lords of those Provinces, and in proceesse of time of *Sicilia* also for a long time after (first with the title of Dukes, and afterwards of Kings of *Sicilia*) and in the end of both the *Sicilies*, which are *Sicilia* and *Naples*, as in time shall be remembered in our History. Of the time when this *WILLIAM* and the Normans came into *Italy*, Authors differ; but so farre as I can conjecture by the true computation of times, it hapned at such time as I haue set down. This being past, Pope *SARADVS* died in *Rome*, and *BENEDICT* the Eighth succeeded him: yet *BLONDVS* calls him *STEPHEN*, which is contrary to the opinion of all other Historiographers; so as I imagine it was through the error of the Writer: for, in that time there was not any Pope that was called after that name.

In the time of this *BENEDICT*, the Emperour *HENRY* prepared for his coming into *Italy*, and came very mighty: and by the way visiting *Milan*, and the other Imperiall Cities, he came to *Rome*, where by Pope *BENEDICT* he was most solemnly receiued, and afterward crowned with exceeding feasting and magnificence; where making his abode some few daies space, he marched thence with his Armie against the Infidels, which through the aid and permission of the Greeks (to vs their seruice against the Normans) came into *Italie*, and had besieged the City of *Capua*: with whom the Emperour fought, and ouerthrowing them, forst them to abandon the Country.

After this, he went against *SVBAGENVS*, Generall for the Emperour *BASILVS*, for that he had supported the Infidels in *Pulia*; and, making cruell warre against him, dispossessed him of many Towns: and in the end laying siege (which lasted foure moneths) to the City of *Treya* which was but newly erected and ennobled, he took it by force; so as, expelling the Infidels, and taming the Greeks, leauing them some part of *Calabria* to inhabit, and in part fauouring the Normans, as those which had shewed themselves his obedient and dutifull seruants, hee left to them *Pulia*, whereof they were already possessed; and, returning to *Rome*, staid there certain daies, and thence went into *Germanie* with great honor; and by the way visiting *Milan* and other Towns, was receiued in *Germany* with great joy and solemnity: and so, his dominions being in peace, he spent his time in ministring justice, and in well gouerning his Empire. As the Emperour *HENRY* busied himself in those actions before specified, and had reigned two and twenty yeeres (some say, two yeeres lesse, yet *PLAYINA* and *BLONDVS* write, that hee reigned but eight yeeres, wherein they are much deceived: but I think for certain, that, as they were *Italians*, so they reckon his Raig but from the time that hee was crowned in *Rome*, which was in the twelfth yeer thereof; and so cometh their account to agree with the rest of the Authors: whereof let the Reader be well aduised, as well in this, as in what shall be said hereafter) at the end of this time he was taken with a greuous sickness; wherewith seeing himself oppressed, he commanded such of the Princes Electors as might come in so short space, to be sent for: who being come, hee counselled them, that after his decease they should chuse the valiant Prince *CONRADVS*, Emperour; who was one of the Dukes of *Sueria*, others say of *Francia*: the cause whereof may be, that he came of both houses; and so, after the German manner, was called by both names, as at this day the Dukes of *Baviera* are called Count Palatines of *Rhine*. Hee nominated this man vnto them, for that he thought hee was desirous of the Empire; and within fewe daies after died, viz. in the yeer of our Lord one thousand foure and twenty, leauing his

The Emperour
Henry's coming
into Italie.

The death of the
Emperour Henry
the Second.

wife as good a virgin as she came to him. It is written that she being accused of adultery, shew-
ed her innocence by going barefooted upon certaine places of fiery hot yron; and that the
Emperour became very penitent for permitting her to expose herselfe to such danger, being so
chaste and vertuous a woman.

In a manner above this time died BASILIUS Emperour of Constantinople: I say in a manner,
for that in this place, it is a hard matter to reconcile the times, by reason of the incertaintie and
varietie among writers: BASILIUS when hee died was seuentie and two yeeres old, and had
reigned two and fiftye, in most matters, in great prosperitie, at least in Affaires, as well against the
Bulgarians, whom hee compelled to pay him tribute, as against the Infidels; and dying left his
Empire to his brother, CONSTANTINE, who reigned three yeeres, and governed the same
negligently and viciously; and he before his decease, ordained and left a great and valiant per-
sonage, called ROMANVS ARISTOPHILVS, for Emperour; whom he first married to
his daughter.

This ROMANVS in the beginning, shewed himselfe to be an excellent and valiant Prince;
but being afterwards ouerthrowne by the Infidels in Asia, he altering his condition, became
couetous, and gave himselfe ouer to many other vices, for which cause hee grew to be somewhat
hated; that having reigned but fuyre yeeres, his owne wife ZON practised his death, by the hands
of one MICHAEL PAPHAAGONVS, with whom she liued in adulterie; and afterwards
married him, being a man very well conditioned; who by her meanes had the Empire, which
he valiantly and manfully defended the space of seauen yeeres, in the warres which he held with
the Infidels in Asia, in Syria defending the frontiers of Phenicia.



THE LIFE OF CONRADE, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND ELEVENTH ROMANE EMPEVOVR, AND OF

MICHAEL, Emperour of
Constantinople.
(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



Conrade the second was chosen Emperour accordingly as the Emperour Henry before his
death had ordained, and thereto had perswaded the Princes Electors; yet notwithstanding
his election was not without some contradiction and difficultie. Being in pos-
session of the Empire, he was to provide for many matters, and to subdue many Rebels,
which rebelled through the long vacation of the Imperiall seate, which was two yeeres
without any Soueraigne. But all these rebellions and tumults of warre were pacified
without shedding any drop of blood, or drawing of sword; for he subdued them all through
his humanitie and clemencie: these warres hindered him three yeeres. This being done, he
came into Italie with a very great Armie, and tooke Milan: which was a most rebel-
lous Citie, then any of the rest; and coming to Rome was crowned by Pope John the
one and twentieth. Afterwards understanding of certaine tumults in Germany, hee speedily returned; and thus enter-
prise

prise being ended, he came againe into Italie, where many Cities had revolted: but inflicting terrible punishments upon
the malefactors, he came at length to Rome, to relieve the Pope against such as molested him; and having reform-
ed all matters in Italie, he returned into Germany: where being assailed by an infirmitie, hee died, having reigned
Emperour ten yeeres.



HE Princes Electors of the Empire being assem-
bled, to choose a successor to the Emperour HENRY
(whose History we haue now written) notwithstanding
that he aduised them to make choice of CON-
RADE, yet they could not so easily agree, but that
the difference continued betweene them the space
of two yeeres, nor being able to resolve, who
should, or ought to be Emperour, whereof many
inconueniences and disorders ensued, and many
Cities and Townes in Italie, and some Princes in
Germany, attempted to set themselves at libertie,
and to shake off the Imperiall yoke: wherewith the
new Emperour Elect was afterwards greatly trou-
bled. At the end of this time, the aforesaid CON-
RADE was chosen & crowned Emperour, as HEN-
RY had willed; yet he was in some sort contradicted,
particularly by CONON one of the Dukes of Baviere, and Vncle to the late Emperour
HENRY; who would haue been Emperour.

This Emperour CONRADE was a singular good man at armes, and had been Generall in
the warres for the Emperour HENRY. Here authors doe vary, and contend about the matter,
viz. Whether, that he were of the Dukes of Suenia, or of Franconia, and spend many peeces
about prouing their opinions; but I will auoide this trauell, notwithstanding that it seemeth to
be most certaine, that hee was of the house of Suenia, or (as I said above) was peraduenture
descended from both the houses, and after the Germane manner, enioyed both titles, as at this
day is vsed. But let it be, as it shall please the reader. He was chosen as a man which best de-
served the same; which hee afterwards very well verified and made manifest. As soone as hee
was inuested, he wrote his letters to all parts, procuring peace and friendship with all the Kings
and princes which desired it, and commanded his subjects duly to obserue the same: but the
two yeeres vacation had bred such a custome of libertie, as they rebelled against him. The first
was BODISLAVS, Duke of Austria, whom HENRY had subdued, and made tributarie to
the Empire, who (taking vpon him the title of King) denied both his vassalage and tribute:
against whom CONRADE leuied an Armie, purposing to haue gone against him in person;
but at the same time BODISLAVS died and left two sonnes, the one called OTHO, and the
other MISICVS. MISICVS was the elder brother, and remained absolute Lord, and im-
itating his father, persisted in his rebellion against the Emperour, and expelled his brother OTHO,
because he would not ioyne with him in the action; and this OTHO departed pre-
sently to the Emperour, who entertained him well, but was so much displeased with his brother
MISICVS his presumption, as he sent the same OTHO with part of his Armie to begin the
warre: and within few daies, he himselfe followed with the rest, and entred the countrie with
such power, that MISICVS durst not abide his coming, but went into Bohemia, to craue
aide of WALDERICVS, Duke and Lord thereof, who was also one of those which rebelled
against the new Emperour.

WALDERICVS hauing entertained and assured him; in lieu of ayding him, sent to treat
secretly with the Emperour, with an intent to haue deliuered him into his hands, thinking by this
meane to haue come to the better composition. But the Emperour disdaining to circumuent
his enemy by Treason, was so much displeased with WALDERICVS for his treacherie, as
besides that he would not accept his offer, he shewed the greatnesse of his generous and noble
disposition, by sending to MISICVS, secretly aduising him to come to his obedience, or to
seeke reliefe some where else; for in Bohemia he had no securitie. MISICVS understanding
what passed, and well considering the Emperours bountie, went out of Bohemia; and coming
into his countrie, left the Ensignes and title of King, which his father and he had vsurped, and
with a small traine, came and yielded himselfe into the Emperours power, humbly submitting
himselfe

The loyalty of
the Emperour
Conrade.

himselfe, more in regard of his kinde and gentle admonition and aduice, then for feare of his force: and the Emperor pardoned him, and granted him peace vpon the same conditions as before.

Following the example of MISIEVS, the Duke of Poland and all the rest which had taken Armes, and rebelled, came to the Emperours seruice and obedience; amongst which were STEPHEN King of Hungary, and WALTER Duke of Bohemia, notwithstanding that they first failed not to try the utmost of what they were able to doe by Armes. In all which CONRADE spent the first three yeeres of his reigne, and could not accomplishing as he desired, goe into *Italy* to be crowned; where he had much to doe, by reason of the great leagues and confederacies made against him, that they might free themselves from the imperiall yoke and subjection.

Conrade came into Italy.

This time being expired, and having taken order for the estate of *Germany*, he leuied the greatest Army he could, and came into *Italy*; but he first nominated his sonne HENRY, King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as *Milan*, and all the Townes in that quarter, which in former time were wont to be most seruiceable and in greatest subjection, were now in Armes, and rebelled, he therefore marched directly thither, and so it behoued him to doe for Pope GRIGORIUS the fifth (in the rule and Canon which he made in the time of OTTO the Third, concerning the Princes Electors, and the choosing of the Emperor) instituted and ordained, that he which was chosen, besides the golden Crowne which he should receive of the Pope, should be crowned with two other Crownes; the one of straw in *Monza*, a Citie in *Lombardie*; and the other of Iron, in the Citie of *Milan*; which (of set purpose) I haue referred to be written in this place, and doe here finde it written by those Authors which I follow. Wherefore, for the full accomplishment hereof (although I haue not read that any his predecessors had done the like) the Emperor, battering and forcing such townes as would not receiue him, came to *Milan*, which then was more obstinate and rebellious then any other, and doing much harme in the territorie thereof, he narrowly begre the citie with a siege, with a resolution to haue ruined and burnt the same, for the great displeasure which he had conceived against it; and for an example to the rest. Which he might and had easily performed, and that in short space (as many writers affirme) but that (I know not vpon what occasion) he raised his siege and went towards *Rome* (no man daring to make head against him) where Pope JOHN the one and twentieth most solemnly receiued him, and with the like solemnitie crowned him with the Crown of gold: at which coronation (as affirme some authors which I follow) was KANTVS King of *England* in pilgrimage, with whose daughter, they say, that HENRY, sonne to this Emperour CONRADE, was before this time married. And there was also RODOLPH, King of *Burgundie*, and Vncle to GISLA the Emperesse, who was descended from CHARLES the Great; and being deprived of his citie of *Burgundie*, by ROBERT brother to the French king, came to implore the Emperours aide and succours.

CONRADE being in *Rome*, there arose a great tumult betweene his traine, and the citizens, in so much that they all took Armes and fought a whole day together, and many were slaine of either side, but the Imperialists had the better; and the Emperour in the best manner he could, pacified this ryot: and staying but a short space after this in *Rome*, he departed thence and out of *Italy* also towards *Germany*; for his sonne-in law ERNESTVS Duke of *Suecia*, son to the Emperesse GISLA, by her first husband Duke of *Suecia*, rebelled, and made warre, seeing him persecuted in *Italy*. But he being come into *Germany*, ERNESTVS, being of no sufficient power long to defend himself, was soone overthrowne, and fled to the Mountaines, where he was afterwards taken and slaine by the Emperours souldiers, and his estate was giuen to his brother, whose name was HARMAN. At this his coming (so farre as I can gather, comparing the times with the accidents) CONRADE gat by his Captaines the countrie of *Burgundie*, and made it subiect to the Empire, which one hundred and odd yeeres had been subiect to the house of *France* (but yet there had been very mightie Kings and Dukes therein) which was effected by the will and testament of RODOLPH, who was present at the Emperours coronation in *Rome*: and hee bequeathed it to the Emperours son HENRY, which could not be done without war and bloodshed; for the King of *France* of the one part, and a certaine mightie Earle of another, pretended right thereto, and were possessed of great part of the countrie; but to be short (for herein much might be said) at this time the supreme dignitie of *Burgundie* was transported to the Empire: yet ROBERT GAOUIN in the end of his fift booke, saith, that *Burgundie* was then diuided into two parts, the one remaining subiect to the French, and the other to the Empire.

The diuision of Burgundie into the Duchy and the Countie.

The Emperour CONRADE hauing ended these things so happily for his profit, after that he had liued quietly some yeeres in *Germany*, without any accident worthy writing (by reason of which, the History of his time is more briefe than of other Emperours) he resolved to come the second time into *Italy*: for at the first, by reason of the small time that he made his abode there, he could not settle things in such order as hee desired; and also for that he understood that the Italians sought aid and relief from the Slauians and the Hungars, against him, with a determination not to yeeld him any obedience. So as, hauing all things in a readinesse for his journey, as speedily as he could he departed, and came with greater expedition and power than anie man thought of: and in his journey ruining some Towns, and punishing some offenders, which thought to haue made head against him, he came to *Milan*, which presently yeelded; where he punished the guilty for former offenses, and remained some daies therein.

Conrade's second coming into Italy.

Departing from thence, he took all the Cities in that Territory; and then went to *Rome* to see the Pope, and to relieue him against such as disobeyed him (which now, as I coniecture, was BENEDICT the Ninth, JOHN the one and twentieth being dead, who was Pope eleuen yeeres). And from thence with great power he trauelled ouer all *Italy*, visiting all the lands belonging to the Church of *Rome* and, to the Empire, not finding any resistance whatsoeuer: yet in *Pulia* and in *Calabria* the warres were still on foot between the Grecians and the Normans.

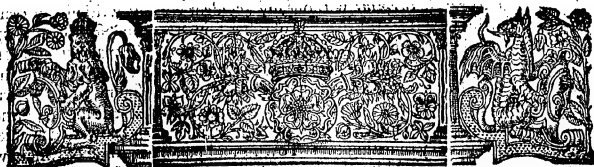
In this manner returned CONRADE into *Germany* triumphing and mighty, whose History I haue written very briefly; for, so do Authors handle the same: and thinking now to repose himself after his former toils (which for the space of fifteen yeeres that he was Emperour he had endured) he was taken with an infirmity, whereof within fewe daies hee died, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand and fortie; some adde thereto three yeeres. Hee left behinde him one sonne whose name was HENRY; who, as I will presently tell you, succeeded him in the Empire.

The death of the Emperour Conrade.

In the time of the Emperour CONRADE, MICHAEL PAPHLAGONVS (as is already said) reigned Emperour of *Constantinople*, for that ZOE took him for her husband; with whom she had liued euer since the deceale of ARGIROPOLVS her first husband; and hee ruled the Empire seven yeeres. After his decease shee took another husband of the same name, called MICHAEL CALAPATES; and being accustomed to that trade, hee made him Emperour: but, for that he liued with her but foure moneths, shee remained a widow. By reason whereof, the same ZOE, together with her siter, THEODORA (which were the Emperour CONSTANTINE's daughters) gouerned the Empire three moneths: and as shee was both inconstant and incontinent, so shee resolved once again to haue a husband; and vpon this occasion banished her siter, and married a man whose name was CONSTANTINVS MONACVS, for that he came of the line of the Emperours; who neuertheless was a wicked and euill Emperour: which was the occasion that the Empire began to decline, and to be of small account. At this time died the Emperour CONRADE. What end this Emperour CONSTANTINVS MONACVS made, more shall be said hereafter.

THE





THE
LIFE OF HENRY, THE THIRD
OF THAT NAME, AND THE
FOVRESORE AND TWELFTH ROMAN
Emperour; And of those which in his time reigned in

CONSTANTINOPLE.

(**)

THE ARGUMENT.



IN the beginning of this Emperours Reign there were some troubles, for that he was not chosen according to order: nevertheless, being held for such, he married upon the Duke of Bohemia, which debited him tribute; and, taking him prisoner, constrained him to become a good and obedient subject. He afterwards took Arms against the Hungars, a self for that they had given aid to the Bohemians; as for continuing some unquietness in Bohemia; and gave them a very great overthrow: the Bohemian King being dead, making him not bold to make benefit of the Emperours clemency, he restored Peter to the Crown; and afterwards subdued the Duke of Bohemia, which denied him obedience. He came into Italy; where he reformed the state of the Church, which was out of order; and was crowned in Rome; and afterwards, being his forces against the Infidels, he drove them out of Libya, and living continually in Germany, he sent a Pope to Rome (his name was Innocent) to make unto him by the Cardinal concerning the Popes election, who being received by the Cardinals, showed like a Pope; this Pope, going against the Duke of Normandy, being in a battell taken prisoner, was the very same day set at liberty, and obeyed the victor. This Emperour then again made war against the Hungars, for punishing Peter their King to death; and after many incidents came to an agreement with them: in which time there were so many calamities and scourges sent from God into the world, that the Emperour falling sick, died of sorrow when he had held the Empire 17 years.



them by election, seeing they could not do it by inheritance: which in truth seems to be but a de-

device to frustrate and prevent the law and decree made and established by the Emperour Otho the Third, and Pope GREGORY the Fifth, concerning the place where, in what manner, and by whom, the Emperours (the Empire being void) should be chosen; and that it should not be inherited by succession, but by election: whereupon there grew some question & doubt about the matter; viz. Whether this HENRY should be held for Emperour or no: for, the Princes of Germany held it for very inconvenient and vnjust, that his father should nominate him; and that it was a dangerous matter to introduce such a custome, for, this was a thing that ought to be done by the Princes Electors onely; but in the end (they acknowledging his good parts and deserts) he was confirmed and crowned Emperour, and generally obeyed for such, according to the accustomed manner: onely GRATISLAVS Duke of Bohemia, whom the Abbat WESPERGENSIS, BLONDVS, PLATINA, and OEDERICVS, call FRATISLAVS (a man of great power) rebelled against him, denying any superiority, or to pay him any tribute, which (as JOHN CUSPINIAN saith) was one hundred cowes, and five hundred Marks of Silver yearly. Against whom, HENRY (as a new Emperour, of a great courage, and desirous to winne honour and reputation) raised a great Armie, and that sooner than he should haue done: for, they write, that he began his warre in the winter, and therefore failed of his expectation, and that through the vnseasonableness of the time, and the distemperature of the Countre, in skirmishes and encounters he lost many of his men, which were taken and slain by the enemy; so as for that time hee had the worst, and was driuen to retire, without accomplishing what he had projected, and with losse of reputation: wherewith he was so much grieved and ashamed, that presently in the beginning of the next spring he returned to the warres of Bohemia with all the force he was able to make: and GRATISLAVS, growne proud of his late good success, and through the new supplies which came to him out of Hungary, offered him battell, wherein (notwithstanding that both Armies fought courageously) in the end the Duke was overthrown, and afterward taken flying: and the Emperour (showing what compassion the other craved) granted him life, and pardoned the offense vpon security, that from thenceforth he should be a loyall subject; first gathering in the arrears of three years tribute which was behinde vpaid, as COSMVS de Andrepragana recounteth in his Annals; whereby the Emperour wonne much honour. And presently after this, followed another warre against the Hungarians for the same occasion.

Henry the Third chosen Emperour.

The Emperour Henry's victory against the king of Hungary.

By the death of King STEPHEN, who was K. of Hungary, PETER came to the Crown: against whom, for some ill usage, his subjects rebelled, and made a kinsman of his, King; whom the Abbat WESPERGENSIS calls VBO, and others call him ABA: and the Tyrant ABA being of greater power than the King, PETER was expelled his Countre, and driuen to seek justice and relief from the Emperour HENRY; who notwithstanding that hee was not well pleased with him for assisting the Duke of Bohemia against him, yet for that he had subdued them both, he as his soueraign Lord entertained him, seeing that to him it appertained to do justice, and not to permit any tyranny in his time: and ABA or VBO being aduertised hereof, and having sent his Ambassadors to the Emperour to shew him the equity of his cause, and to desire his confirmation in the Kingdome, not contenting himself in that he had tyrannized Hungary, entred Austria and Banaria; and robbing and spoiling those Countreies, carried great booty and prey out of those Quarters. This he did at such time as the Emperour held a Diet or Parliament in Colein; where the Princes of Germany were assembled: whereupon, by the generall consent of them all, the Emperour (accompanied with some of the Princes) with a great Armie departed from Colein towards Hungary, sending GRATISLAVS Duke of Bohemia before to begin the warre: which, ABA the Tyrant-king of Hungary fearing, hee sent Ambassadors to meet the Emperour vpon the way, with all the booty and prey that they had gotten in Austria and Banaria; intreating him for peace, promising to do what he should enjoy him vnto, conditionally that he might not be deposed from that Kingdome: whereto the Emperour for that time yeelded and consented, moued thereto by a rumor spread abroad, that the Duke LORRAIN, with the aid of France, was in Arms and rebelled; which was the occasion of the peace granted to the King of Hungary, to the end that the Emperour thereby might haue the better leasure and opportunity to follow the warres of Lorraine, which were so much doubted. But ABA made not the benefit of that peace, which a wise and a peacefull Prince would haue done: but hee intreated his subjects rather with greater pride and rigor than before, putting many of the chief of them, to death: vpon which occasion the Emperour the next year following (with no lesse an Armie than the former, but with greater resolution) entred Hungary; where ABA already attended his

as CHURCH said to S. PETER, Put thy sword into the sheath. But being prisoner, G. S. V. S. entertained him with great honour, and presently the same day let him at liberty, and gave him company and servants fit to attend on him, where with he went to Rome; and they afterwards came to a composition between themselves. Herein is a great confusion among the Historiographers; for the Germanes write that this Pope went into Germany to see the Emperor, and that he called a Synode or Council in the City of Metz, and that the Emperor came the second time into Italy: Others write nothing, either of the Popes going, or of the Emperors second coming; in the rest they all agree. L. M. held the chiefe five yeeres and a halfe; and when he was dead, one G. S. A. D. V. a Germane Bishop born in Baviere, was chosen, and called V. N. O. R. the Second, which they did to gratifie the Emperor: and presently without any delay, to the end he should not be discontented, for that they had made choice of a Pope without his consent; the new Pope and Clergie sent I. D. B. A. N. D. to him, who performed his legacie in such sort, as the Emperor approved and confirmed what they had done.

Whilst these things passed in Italy, the subjects of P. A. A. King of Hungary (whom the Emperor had placed in that Kingdom) rebelled against him; and sent into Poland for certaine great men of Hungary which lived there in exile, one of which was called A. N. D. A. V. V. and another L. V. E. N. A. V. who were their Captaines; and after other great matters (which I omit) they killed on their King, and putting out his eyes, caused him die in prison; and with the help of certaine Barbarians and Infidels which came to their aide, slew some Bishops: which when the Emperor understood, he made great preparation for war against them, especially against A. N. D. A. V. V. who tooke upon him the name of King; and having built and rigged up a great number of Barks and Ships, the Emperor came downe the river Danubius, from Austria to Buda, and to other places, where this A. N. D. A. V. V. and the rest were, which voiage had ill success, for his adversaries gat certain excellent swimmers and divers which would lie a long time under the water, and these in a night boughed the Emperors barks, in such sort, as the greatest part of his munition and victual was lost; so as he was constrained to returne with his people in the best manner he could, without effecting any thing of worth. Afterwards he twice entered Hungary; in the first, notwithstanding that he went with great preparation of horse and foote, yet he obtained no notable victorie; and the third yeere he made peace with the Hungarians, A. N. D. A. V. V. remaining still their King; who acknowledged a certaine kinde of superiority.

This being ended, and it seeming a small time since that the Emperor began to repose himselfe; through the secret judgement of God, great calamities ensued in many countries, as famine, cruell plagues, horrible earth-quakes, and other lamentable disasters; after which ensued the death of the Emperor; the end of whose raigne was, for the causes afore said, pitifull and sorrowfull. It is written, that for sorrow and griefe, to see so great afflictions and miseries happen in his time, he fell sick and died; leaving behinde him one sonne about about ten years old, called H. A. N. Y., whom before his death he made to be crowned king of the Romanes, the Electors consenting thereto; and three daughters, which afterward were married to severall princes the raigne threene yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand fiftie seven.

In Constantinople during the time of this Emperor H. E. N. R. Y. (of whom we now treated) raigne CONSTANTINVS MONACHVS, by his marriage with the Emperesse Z. O. A., as I said in the end of the Emperor CONRAD: This CONSTANTINVS was a negligent and vicious Emperor, and a publike ill liver. In his time began the Turks to be of great power in Asia, and did much harme in the territories of the Empire. This Emperor was also much troubled by some which rebelled against him; yet he at length subdued them all: and so betwene prosperity and aduersitie, he raigne threene yeeres. In his time also the Empire did greatly decay, both in power and authority. One only good qualitie he had, which was, that he was an Alms giuer, and a great relieuer of the poore; and made a great Hospitall for old men only, such as through their great age being decrepit, could not get their living. Both he and the Emperesse died (in a manner) at one time, and both of the plague.

The husband and wife being dead, T. H. E. O. D. O. R. A., sister to Z. O. A., had the Empire, by the authority and sentence of the Senate, and people of Constantinople, and governed the same with such equitie, justice and quietnesse, for the space of two yeeres, that they sorrowed she had not lived much longer. Before her death, by the counsell of certaine Eunuchs (by

Peter king of Hungary was taken by his subjects, and had his eyes put out.

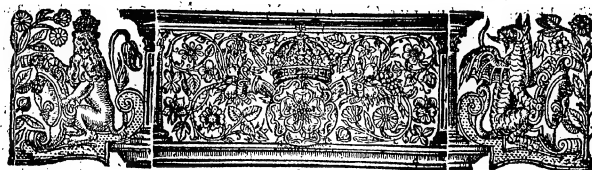
Emperors swimmers.

Calamities by Gods providence

The death of the Emperor Henry the second.

When the Turks began to grow mighty in Asia.

(by whom she was much ruled) she made Y. S. A. C. I. V. S. CONNENVS Generall of her forces, who was a valiant and wife Captaine. T. H. E. O. D. O. R. A. being dead, a man of great age, called M. I. C. H. A. E. L., was made Emperor: but proving to be incapable and insufficient for the government, which he had not ruled one whole yeere; by a generall consent he was deposed from the Empire, and Y. S. A. C. I. V. S. CONNENVS (whom T. H. E. O. D. O. R. A. had made her Captaine Generall) was chosen in his place; who raigne threene yeeres; and although he made a good shew of himselfe, yet (considering his short time) he could not doe any notable exploit, and him succeeded CONSTANTINVS D. V. C. A.



THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE FOURTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOURSCORE AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN Emperour; And of those which in his time raigne in

CONSTANTINOPLE.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



Henry being yet a child when his father died, and chosen and proclaimed Emperour; it behoved him for many yeeres space to live under the government of his mother, who by the consent of all men took the charge of him, and the protection of the Empire; but afterwards, being come to riper years, he would no longer live under her command, but took the government into his own hands. His first warlike enterprise, was against the Saxons; wherein he behaved himselfe so gallantly (notwithstanding that he was but young) that he brought them to his obedience: yet they afterwards rebelled, for that he would not endure the insolvency of the Pope and Court of Rome, which he little regarded. This second warre was farre more dangerous than the first (although he had the victory) and made him more disobedient to the Pope than before; whereupon he was solemnly excommunicated, and deprived of the title and dignity of the Empire, for that hee called a Council in Germany against Pope Gregory. Of which excommunication he could never be absolved, untill that hee had three daies together come barefooted to intreat the Pope for pardon, who met him at Vercelli. Whilst the Emperour was in this parley with the Pope, many Princes of Germany rebelling against him, made another Emperour, which was Rodulph Duke of Saxonia; with whom Henry coming to a battell, had no such victory as hee expected; but was again excommunicate, and deprived of the title of Emperour, which was given to Rodulph newly chosen: upon this occasion, Henry being much incensed, chose another Pope called Clement, and made a schism in the Papacy, which was the occasion of very great warre: but Henry, after the death of his competitor Rodulph, came into Italy, and besieged Rome; and entering it, was crowned by the hands of Pope Clement; the other Pope being retired into the Castle Saint Angelo: to whom great succours coming, Henry abandoned Rome, and with Pope Clement went into Germany; and Pope Gregory, accompanied with his suite of Cardinals, went to the City of Salerno, where hee ended his daies. At this time followed the enterprise of Jerusalem, and the rebellion of Henry's eldest son Conrade, because the Emperour sought to make his second son called also Henry, his successor: which being done, he also rebelled against his father; so as there was more than civil warre between them, neither could there any means be found to appease them, neither could this warre be brought to spend but through the death of the said Emperor Henry; who having publicly (but by constraints) renounced all his jurisdiction of the Empire unto his sonne, and afterwards repenting

and seeking to recover the same, could obtain no composition with him; and as for sorrow and grief falling sick, died, God suffering him to make a miserable end.

Henry, the three Emperors called HENRYS, of whom we have treated, were very valiant and worthy Princes in Arms; as, the father of him of whom we now begin to write, and the other two before mentioned: but none of them can be compared to this Fourth, of whom we are now to discourse. It is certain, that he was valiant and addicted to Arms, as being trained up therein, and was one of the most excellent Princes that ever was; for, unto this day it is not found written, that any Emperor came so often to blowes with his enemies, as he did: for, all Authors affirm, that he fought in ranged battels with ensignes displayed, threecore and two severall times, and for the most part had ever the victorie; to which number JULIUS CESAR or MARCUS MARCELLUS neuer attained (which two in their time excelled all others).

The qualities of the Emperor Henry the Fourth.

This Emperor reigned fifty yeeres. He was a man liberrall, well spoken, very wise, and had many other natural gifts and vertues: but (as saith this Author) he stained and blemished them all with his ambition, for hee would be Lord over all both spirituall and temporall, concerning the Canons and Decretals of the Church of Rome: which was the occasion, that in his later daies, he was disobeyed by those which ought him greatest obedience, which were his owne children. The Historie of his life cannot but be longer then ordinarie, for that it treateth of many great accidents which happened in the space of more then fiftie yeeres that he reigned. I say then, that when his father died, he was not fully ten yeeres old; but yet for his fathers worthines, and his mothers vertues, called YNS (an excellent & discrete woman) he was crowned and obeyed for Emperor and King of the Germanes, as his father in his life time had intituled him; and, by the consent of the greatest part of the Princes, his mother governed both his person and the Empire: And all that time he ruled very wisely and valiantly, as well in peace as in warre, against some Princes, which, for that she was a woman, and her sonne the Emperor so very a child, rebelled against him. Into *Italie* he sent one GILBERT for Gouverneur, who afterwards was the cause and motiue of great schisms and dissensions in the Church of Rome. Of those which rebelled, the first was a great Lord called FRANK of *Gilbergh*, and his brethren and kinsfolks, who were men of great power: but he took so good order with them, that he compelled them to sue for pardon, and to yeeld their obedience. The greatest trouble and difficulty that she had, was against ROBERT Earle of *Reinsfelz*; with whom in proceesse of time, HENRY had most cruell warre: who, by the aid of ROMOLDVS Archbishop of *Cassance*, took the Emperors sister MAVD, and married her; thinking by this title to become Emperor: and the Emperesse (to gratifie him, and to reduce him to her sons service) made him Duke of *Suenia*, which then was void through the death of OTHO who died without issue; which Dukedome was promised to a great Earle called BERTOLD: in recompence whereof, the Emperesse gaue him *Carinthia*. And so he pacified the great troubles which then arose; and som other by force, with the aid and assistance of such as remained loyall Subjects. But in the end the yong Emperor growing to riper yeeres, by the aduice of some which were of his Councell, disobeying his mother, sought to be free from her authority, being thereto perswaded chiefly by ANO (and, as others say, OTHO) Archbishop of *Colein*; who dealt so cunningly, that hee got him into his protection: and by the assistance of some others, hee assembling the Princes, alleged that it was very vndecent and vsite to be ruled by a woman, seeing the Emperor was of sufficient discretion and vnderstanding to do what was conuenient.

The Emperor being gotten out of the power and controulement of his mother, the Archbishop commanded in such sort, that all went to wrack: for, being bred up in such liberty, he did what he listed, which in the end was the cause of his ruine; for, he became both licentious and presumptuous, favouring some, and grieving others: by reason whereof he was ill beloved of many; and gaue himself to hunting, and to such other sports as that age is chiefly delighted withall. His mother, seeing herself so little regarded, and that she could bear no more sway with him, went to Rome, where he lived and died in a Cloister of Nuns.

Germany standing in these teares, in *Italie* a little before this time died POPE NICHOLAS the Second, when he had held that Chair foure yeeres. This Pope recovered much of the Church-lands which were vsurped by sundry Captaines and Gouvernours, which did make themselves tyrants. And he also gaue the title of Duke of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, to GUESCARD a Nor-

The dignity of Cardinals.

a Normane being already Lord of those prouinces, who made himself and his countries subiect and feudatorie to the Church of Rome. This Pope held a Councell, wherein he ordained that from thenceforth, the Cardinals onely should chuse the Popes, thereby to auoide the factions and dissension which arose concerning the same; as it appeareth in the chapter *In nomine Domini* in the three and twentieth distinction; which is obserued vnto this day. By this meane, the Deacons and Cardinals Priests attained to great authoritie and credit: for vntill then, they were not of any such account (although already very much esteemed).

This name and dignitie of Cardinals, was in Rome at the beginning but a troublefome and painefull office; for they were as the Curates of parishes, and had the charge of ministering the Sacraments and of burying the dead, and were called Priests Cardinals; as the more worthie and of greater reputation: and as Rome was then held for the head of all other Churches, so these Priests Cardinals were regarded and more respected than any other; and they afterwards attained to greater preheminance, for that they were euernere vnto the Pope; and being in the time of this Pope NICHOLAS the second established Electors, they grew to be of greater reputation; but not in so high a degree, as we now see them, vntill the time of Pope INNOCENT the fourth, about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand two hundred foure and fortie; for hee gaue them libertie to ride on their footeclothes, and to wear such robes as they now vse to wear, to the end, that as they did excell other men in their degree and ornaments, so should they in their behauior and vertuous conditions: wherefore to paint SAINT AMBROS with a Cardinals crimson hat is a meere mockery; for in his time there were not any: and so althrough the dignitie of Cardinal came to bee the greatest and the highest degree next to the Pope, and they accompany and counsell him in all matters of importance: but many of them haue carried themselves so prophanly, as they haue giuen iust occasion to the world, to note and murmure at their Consistorie.

Pope NICHOLAS being dead, ANSELME Bishop of *Luca* was chosen, and called ALEXANDER the Second, against whom, GILBERT Gouverneur of *Lombardy* for the Emperour, by the consent of certaine Bishops of that Prouince, made a Schisme in the Papacie, and chose another Pope: But GOTHFREDVS and his wife MAVD, (which were the greatest Princes in *Italie* at that time) protected the first Pope: And in Rome and abroade elsewhere; followed many slaughters and murders of the one and the other partie, vntill that in the end Pope ALEXANDER preuailed, and the other Pope fled to *Milan*.

Whilst these matters passed in *Italie* (the Emperor, as it was said, permitting and allowing the same) the like or greater were tolerated in *Germany*; for he suffered Priests to marry, and gaue Benefices and Bishopricks without the Popes licence or authoritie: wherewith the Pope was much displeased, and twice or thrice sent his Ambassadors to the Emperor about that business. And in other matters were great troubles and factions, and many rose against the Emperor: the first were the Saxons: for from OTHO Duke of *Saxonia* and *Bauiera*, who was accused of treason, the Emperor tooke the Duchie of *Bauiera*, which his mother had giuen him, and gaue the same to a Noble man, named GYLFHO; against these Saxons the Emperor attempted his first wars, when he was not full 18 yeeres old; wherein shewing himself to be of an high mind, and free from feare or cowardise, he personally fought in many battailes and skirmishes against that people, which is, and euere hath been accounted for one of the most valiant Nations of the world: but he finally ouerthrew them, and compelled them (for this time) to yeeld him seruice.

Having obtained these victories, the Emperor sent into *Italie* for his Ambassador to the Pope, the Archbishop of *Coleyn*, with sufficient authority to conclude what to him seemed best to be done, and to excuse him of such things as were laid to his charge: who being come into *Italie*, he put GILBERT out of the Chancelorship and gouernment of *Lombardy*, which the Emperesse INES had giuen him, and placed therein the Bishop of *Berzell*: and from thence, with great authority and majesty, he went to Rome, where (Pope ALEXANDER giuing him publicke audience) he made a solemne Oration; wherein in effect, in the behalfe of his Lord the Emperor, he reproved the Pope, for hauing accepted the Papacy without his confirmation, with other matters in the behalfe of the Emperour: whereto HILDEBRAND, by the Popes order, answered peremptorily, alleging that the Pope ought not to attend any such confirmation; and he so sharply reprehended the Emperor, as the Archbishop was constrained to rest satisfied and to craue pardon for his speech. After this, many matters followed in *Italy*, which (unwillingly) I omit, to the end to treat of what passed in the time of the Emperor HENRY, of whom only I write this History.

The death of pope Nicholas.

About this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand sixty and six, EDWARD King of England dying without issue, he made WILLIAM Duke of Normandy his heire, who with the aide of BALDVIN Earle of Flanders, obtained the Kingdome; and so the houses of England and Normandy were united, and so haue continued a long time in the kings thereof, and in their successors.

The Archbishoppe of Caley having dispatched his businesse in *Italie*, returned (discontent with his answere) into *Germanie*, and within few daies after died POPE ALEXANDER, hauing held that seate eleuen yeeres and a halfe: Afterwards the Archbishoppe of *Rauenna* reuolted from the Church of *Rome*. ALEXANDER being dead, by the generall consent of all the Cardinals and Clergie, HILDEBRAND the Arch-deacon (often before named) was made Pope, and was called GREGORY the seuenth; who sent his Ambassadors to the Emperour, praying and requiring him to become an obedient sonne to the Church, and to alter the manner of his gouernement in *Germanie*; and thereby gaue him further to vnderstand, that he was resolu'd not to allow thereof, but to vse his authoritie to reform the same.

POPE GREGORY at this time (as some approued Authors write) injoynd the Bishops of *Germany* (contrary to the antient Lawes) not to suffer the Emperour to conferre any Bishopricks, who he said would giue them to vnworthy men or not fit, neither should they from that time require any confirmation from the Emperour; which care and ordination did not belong to any secular Princes, but to the holy order, and chiefly to the Bishop of *Rome*, the President thereof.

The Emperour hereto gaue a doubtfull answere, but performed in effect nothing of what was required; maintaining, that the Pope ought not to accept the Papacie without his confirmation, according to the agreement made betwene his father the Emperour, HENRY the third, and POPE CLEMENT the second, and so these Ambassadors returned without any conclusion: this was in the seuenteenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand seuentie foure. At this time, (and also before and after it) the Emperour had cruell warres with the Dukes of *Saxony*, which againe rebelled against him, they alleging the Emperours disobedience to the Church of *Rome* to be the occasion thereof. This was the most dangerous warre that euer he vndertooke, wherein passed many perillous Incounters, the Emperour hazarding his person (so valiant and warlike he was) and he principally fought one veyie bloody battell, wherein he preuailed; but (as sayth BONDVS) with the losse of fiftie thousand men: and the Emperour and his brother in lawe RODOLPH, who afterward was his great enemy, fought therein with their owne hands most valiantly.

During these Combuitions in *Germanie*, *Italie* was not free from factions and controuersies, betwene the Imperialists and the Popes adherents. GILBERT, the abouenamed Archbishop of *Rauenna* (who had been Gouernour for the Emperour in *Italie*) finding that the Pope had resolu'd to excommunicate the Emperour, he secretly agreed with one CINCIVS a young Romane Knight, a man of a bold spirit (whose father was Prefect of the Citie) that he should seise vpon the Pope; assuring him that the Emperour would accept thereof, for a speciall peece of seruice; and he accordingly put the matter in execution: the Pope being vpon Christmas Eue saying Masse in the Church of Saint MARY the greater in *Rome*; this CINCIVS with a good guard, entred the Church, and laying hands vpon him, caried him away, and in a Tower detained him prisoner. But the people as soone as it was day (being aduertised thereof) went to CINCIVS house, and setting the Pope at libertie, rased the Tower, from the toppe to the foundation: And of all such of CINCIVS his seruants as they found, they cutt off the Noes, and banished them from *Rome*; and CINCIVS escaping the death (which they desired to haue giuen him) by flight, durst not stay in *Italie*, but went into *Germany* to the Emperour: This Archbishoppe GILBERT, whose practice was not yet discovered, letting a good countenance vpon the matter, departed the Citie; but being come to *Rauenna*, hee was by the Pope excommunicate and depriued of all his ecclesiasticall dignities and Benefices.

In *Germany* were no lesse contempts, against his Holinesse then in *Italie*: for (as the Abbot WESBROMPT and other Germane Authors report, besides the Italians which verifie the same) by the procurement of STABRINDS Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, with some other Bishops and Abbats which ioynd with him, a Councell was held against the Pope, (the Bishops of *Saxony* disallowing and contradicting the same) in which Councell it was resolu'd,

that

that GREGORY should not be held for Pope; and that they all should renounce their obedience vnto him: Whereupon the Emperour and his Councell, sent for Ambassadors to Pope GREGORY, a Priest, whose name was ROVLAND.

The Pope in like manner called a Councell against the Emperour, at Saint JOHN DE LA TERRE in *Rome*; where ROVLAND being arrived, and the Pope and his Councell giuing him audience, he in the behalf of the Emperour, required GREGORY to desist from any longer exercising the papall function, and to resigne the authority of Pope: and he likewise signified the same to the Cardinals, willing them to repair into *Germany* to the Emperour, who would nominate a Pope. GREGORY was heerewith much troubled; and for as much as ROVLAND was an Ambassador, he commanded him presently to depart without any answer, and without any other disgrace. But it is also written, that the Emperours mother at the Popes request went into *Germany*, accompanied with many great Prelates, to perswade her sonne to desist from intermeddling with the donation of Bishopricks or other ecclesiasticall Benefices; to forbid the marriage of Priests, and to yeeld obedience to the Church of *Rome*: but for that it took no effect, the Pope vey solemnly excommunicated the Emperour, and depriued him of all imperiall dignity; and he also excommunicated all such as took his part, and freed all the Princes and Lords of *Germany* and elsewhere, which ought him any duty or allegiance, from their oaths, homage, and bands of obedience or subiection, giuing free liberty to all men; and authority to the Princes Electors to chuse another Emperour, such as should best please them. The Archbishop of *Mentz* was likewise excommunicate, and depriued of all ecclesiasticall dignity, and with him all such as had been in the Councell aforesaid: but before the Pope had proceeded so far, he aduertised all the Princes in Christendome, of all, both past and present; and the Emperour wrote to them, in like manner defending his cause, and excusing himself against the Popes accusations.

The Popes terrible Sentence being published in *Germany* (as there were many that took his part, principally the Prelates of *Saxony* and others) RODOLPH Duke thereof, with many other Princes, called a Diet or Councell; wherein they resolu'd to require the Emperour to ask the Pope forgiveness, and to submit himself to the Church of *Rome*: which if he refused to doo, they concluded to renounce their obedience vnto him. The Emperour, notwithstanding that he was a very braue man, and exceeding valiant (as some say, fainedly; and as others say, of his owne accord) promised to do what they required, which he openly protested. Finally, it was agreed, To send to the Pope to come into *Germany*, where full and entire obedience should be yeelded to him; and in the name of the Princes and Lords assembled at that Diet or Councell, the Archbishop of *Trenier*, and others of great account, went to the Pope, and intreated him with such instance, that he was perswaded to take his way toward *Germany* to meet the Emperour, who staid (as they said) for him, and would suffice to ask him forgiveness, and submit himself into his hands. The Pope came to the City of *Bercelli* in *Lombardy*; where being aduertised, that the Emperour marched towards him with great troops of men at Arms, fearing that he would haue either slain him or taken him prisoner, gaue out his journey, and turned into the Country of *Gothreds* and his wife MARY, and was by them protected in an expugnable Town and Castle, called *Cansio* or *Cansio*; whither within fewe daies the Emperour came: who, lodging his Army before the Town, in great humility sent to intreat the Pope to absolve him of his excommunication, offering to become his obedient sonne and subject; and three daies together came barefooted to the gates of the City, to sue for this absolution: but the Pope would not yeeld thereto. In conclusion, there passed many treaties, oaths and promises; but at length (through the instant suit of the said MARY, and of ADELAYS Earle of *Saxony*, and, as some say, of INES the Emperours mother also) the Pope, admitting the Emperour into his presence, absolved him: but whereas he had depriued him of his Empire, and had laid other penalties vpon him for former matters, he referred that to the judgement of the next generall Councell, which should presently be called; and the Emperour promised to stand to the Councels arbitrement, and to banish from his company CINCIVS, who seised on the Pope in *Rome*, and some excommunicated Prelates.

The Emperour continued some daies in those parts (as some write; expecting when the Pope would haue come forth of that City; imagining that he, trusting to the peace, might haue bin apprehended) and departing from thence, he went to *Paula* in *Lombardy*, where the before-named CINCIVS died; and the Emperour, by reason of the great abundance of rain which fell at that time, made his abode there for certain daies: in which he was giuen to vnderstand, that

The Emperour Henry the Fourth excommunicated the Pope.

The Emperours submission, who came 3 severall daies barefooted to the city gates wherein the Pope was sitting for absolution.

A Councell held in Germany against the Pope.

Rodolph Duke
of Saxony chie-
fen Emperor.

to Duke
of Suenia Empe

A battell be-
tween the Em-
peror and the
Duke of Saxo-
nia.

in Germany the Saxons and other his enemies (among which were BARTOLD Earle of Carinthia, the Duke of Baniere, RODOLPH Duke of Suenia, and others) rebelled against him; and assembling themselves together (denying him their obedience) made the Duke of Saxony Emperor, of whom we haue hitherto made mention; who was a man of the greatest accompli- both for power and valour, of his time in Germany. This (after the Abbat WESPERGANGS his computation) was in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the twentieth yeer of the reign of the Emperor HENRY the Fourth.

These newes being brought to the Emperor HENRY (as hee was a man of an high minde and great courage) with the greatest fury of the world hee departed towards Germany, and by the way gathered together all such his friends as took his part, which were many: and RODOLPH, assisted by the Saxons and Suenians, accompanied with some Princes and great Prelates; the most cruell war began between them two, that had been euer seen in Germany, which lasted full four yeers. In the beginning whereof (besides sundry conflicts and accidents of warre, whereto either of these Emperors did set their hands) they came to a pitched battall, Armie against Armie: which because that their forces were in a manner equal, and both the Generals very valiant, was very doubtfull and bloody: HENRY to defend the Empire, and RODOLPH to get the same, did both that day marceiles in Armes in their owne persons. Finally, authors affirme, that either partie fought with such resolution, that hauing spent the greatest part of the day, the battell was ended without any certaine appearance of victory, both Campes remaining full of dead and wounded bodies; and each Generall was constrained of necessity to withdraw his Armie from the other, to refresh and relieue his troups; but yet the warre ceased not.

In the meane time both these Princes sent their Ambassadors to the Pope, either of them entreating him to condemne the other: and the Pope returned Ambassadors to both these Princes, requiring them both to lay downe their Armes, and HENRY (according to the agreement made with him in Lanusio) to permit a generall Councell to be held in Germany; and that either of them should stand to such arbitrement, as by that Councell should be concluded. RODOLPH accepted these conditions; but HENRY answered that he was not bound thereto, except the Pope would first excommunicate RODOLPH; and so prosecuted the warre with greater resolution then before. The Pope receiving this answer, sent a new excommunication against him, and ratified the election of RODOLPHVS; to whom (as IOHANNES DE COLYMA, ANTONINVS, VINCENTIUS, IOHNCYSPINIAN, IOHNCARTON, and many others doe write) he sent a Crowne, wherewith he should be crowned, with this inscription, *Petra dedit petro: Petrus diadema Rodolpho*.

After this, both these Emperors resolved againe to try their fortunes by battaille; notwithstanding that it was in the midst of winter, which was no lesse cruell and doubtfull then the former, but rather more, and therein (as saith PLATINA) was as little signe of victorie, as in the last; some authors attribute the victorie to RODOLPH, and others to HENRY; the cause whereof was (as saith the Abbat WESPERGANGS and some others) for that in the beginning RODOLPH's vauntguard of Saxons was put to flight, and HENRY prosecuted the victorie: wherein the Duke of Bohemia, who bare RODOLPH's imperiall standard, made a great shew of his valour, which standard his successors afterwards bare in the wars, in remembrance of this victorie. And in the meane season, RODOLPH's arierguard spoiled the Emperour HENRY's campe, and so they might well retire without any defeat, and either party might pretend to haue gotten the victorie: this is the cause why it is so diuersly reported. But howsoeuer it was, HENRY was wounded, although not dangerously, but yet the war ceased not; for shortly after either of these Emperors reinforcing his Army, desired to fight the third battaille, with power against power, (notwithstanding that betweene them there were daily some encounters) and neither partie refusing the fight, the two Armies ioyned, and they fought with greater furie then at any time before: for the harmes which were done, and the slaughters of their people of either side were so great and so many, and their hatred and malice was growne to so high a degree, that they thought on nothing else but how to kill and destroy; with this desire and rage they maintained the fight: wherein after the death of an infinite number of men, and the effusion of much blood, HENRY obtained the victorie, and RODOLPH was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his Saxons, which were very good men, but notwithstanding RODOLPH's ouerthrow, yet (as a valiant Prince) gathering his forces together, and reinforcing his Armie, he retired into Saxony, which was his best refuge: where were some treaties of peace

A third bat-
telle betwene
the Emperour
Henry the
fourth, and
Rodolph Duke
of Saxony.

and of a composition to be made betweene the Emperor HENRY and him; which tooke no effect, for HENRY would not determine the warres, but by the sword: for as he was a man of a great and high minde, so hee refused to subdue all his aduersaries by his power; and his haucie courage was such as could endure no riuall or equal; which through his late victory greatly encreased.

The affaires of Germany standing vpon these tearmes, HENRY still following the waite, fought the Popes destruction, and procured to be assembled in a citie in Germany, such prelates as took part with him, in the name of a Councell; which chose the before named GILBERT Archbishop of Rauenna, Pope (who was Pope GREGORY's capital enemy; and a wicked man, and had laid the plot before mentioned for his apprehension in Rome by CINGIS) hee was called CLEMENT. Hereupon besides the miseries which afflicted Italy began a schisme and diuision in the Church of Rome, for those which took part with the Emperor HENRY held him for Pope. The Emperor at that time sent his sonne HENRY into Italie, there to gouern such estates as were subiect vnto him, and to make warre against such as held with Pope GREGORY: of which that MAWDE (before named) was the principally; who leuied her forces and came to a battell with HENRY the sonne, wherein hee was ouerthrowne: for which the Pope was wonderfully grieved, comparing this ill fortune, with the schisme made by Pope GILBERT. The Emperour was herewith so much encouraged, as leuying the greatest power that he was able to make, he went to seeke RODOLPH, who (as I hauid) was in Saxony, making preparation for the warres, and was already in such order, that he doubted not to fight with the Emperour, in hope to haue ouerthrowne him. And so they fought a most cruell and bloodie battaille, wherein (as then there were no Cannons, Culuerins, Musket shot, or other artillerie, as now is vsed) neither partie wanting either force or courage, or standing in any feare or doubt to come to blowes with the other, with dint of sword and lance, they flew and wounded their enemies; the two Emperours in person fighting in the thickest of the prease. This fight was maintained the greatest part of the day; the end whereof is related by Historiographers diuersly. The most common opinion is, that the Emperor HENRY's Armie was ouerthrowne, and that RODOLPH had the victorie; but he was sore wounded and lost his right hand: some say that hee receiued that hurt by mischance amongst his owne people, which wound bled so much and pained him so sore, that he could not prosecute the victorie, and therefore was constrained to retire himselfe, to a strong castle to be cured, where within few daies after he died. So as the Emperor HENRY of a man conquered became a conquerour: for RODOLPH being miffing, his people disbanded, and so HENRY became Master of the field. Yet BLOONDWISSETH, that the Emperor HENRY fled out of the field the same day wherein the battaille was fought, and lay close in a castle, vntill that he was certified of the death of RODOLPHVS; and that he then came forth to enioy the victorie, through the death of his enemy, whom he had not ouerthrowne. CARTON writes that when RODOLPH was readie to breath out his last (his right hand which he had lost in the battaille being brought vnto him) detesting the wickednes and the treacherie of Popes too late, speaking to a troupe of Bishops which were about him: This is the right hand (sayed he) by the which I confirmed my plighted faith vnto the Emperour. This is an argument of my periuic (you being the motiues) and a testimony of your wicked treacherie whereof you shall giue an account vnto God. RODOLPHVS his seruants going about to burie the body of their deceased Lord, with the ensignes and ornaments of Emperour; some asked of the Emperour HENRY; wherefore he suffered RODOLPHVS to be buried with such honour, seeing that he was a tyrant and his enemy: whereto he made an excellent answer: I would to God (quoth he) that all mine enemies were (like RODOLPH) buried with the ornaments and ensignes of Emperours.

The Emperour HENRY hauing slaine his competitor RODOLPHVS, making small account of the rest, seized Suenia into his hands, and dispossessed BERTOLDVS thereof; to whom RODOLPH had giuen the same, and leauing garriisons in the frontiers of Saxony (which was not yet thoroughly pacified) and establishing the best order he could in all parts of Germany, with his victorious Armie he took his way towards Italy; whither he came within few daies, hauing with him Pope CLEMENT who was chosen in Germany, with a resolution to depose Pope GREGORY; to whose aide the forenamed MAWDE had sent a great supplie of men; and Pope GREGORY had already fortified and victualled Rome: for the Emperour came with so great force and furie, that there was no reason to attend his comming in the open fields; so as without encountering or resistance, he came to the very walles of the citie, whereto he presently com-

A fourth bat-
telle betwene
the Emperour
and Duke Ro-
dolph: and last
ende.

A notable sig-
ning of the Em-
perour Henry
the Fourth.

Rome besieged
by the Emperor
Henry,

manded assault to be given: but he found such resistance, that being out of hope to enter it at that time, he burned and spoiled the suburbs and Countie round about, continuing his siege before the Citie notwithstanding; which was one of the most famous that hath beene scene before any City in the World, as well for continuance of time, as for the many accidents and adventures in Armes, for it continued above three yeeres, in which time there were many cruell assaults and sales; and the besieged endured great famine, and want of all things necessary: in the meane time the Emperor made some incursions into *Lombardy*, and into other parts of *Italie*: the Germane Pope CLEMENT commanding his Armie in the time of his absence. In this siege the Vatican was taken, wherein are the Popes Palace, and Saint PETERS Church, which were ruined and burnt by the Emperor, together with the best and fairest houses and buildings.

Whilest now the Emperor was busied in *Italie*, they were not quiet in *Germany*: for besides the ordinary warres, the Saxons advanced a great man, called HARMAN, to the dignity of Emperour: but this was a matter of small moment which did little disturbe HENRY, for they themselves expelled him. In the end, after so long a time as the Pope was thus besieged in *Rome*, ROBERT GVISCARD a potent Norman, Prince and Lord of *Pulcia* and of *Calabria*, grieving to see the Pope thus distressed, resolved to give over his warres with the Grecians in *Dalmatia* and in other parts, and (as the Popes liege man) to come to the reliefe of *Rome*: and to that effect left his sonne BOHEMUND in his place, and leaved forces and other necessities, fit for so high an enterprise.

The newes hereof, being every where published, the Emperor with greater care and circumspection more strictly continued his siege; and using as well policie as force, he caused to be published amongst the Romanes, that his desire was, but to be absolved and crowned by the Pope; and that confirming him in the Empire, he would presently depart from *Rome*: Whereupon the Pope would not give care, except the Emperour would give securitie for the performance of his promise: For, knowing that all was but dissembling and deceite, he would rather continue constant in his resolution, then yield shamefully to such basenesse, and thereby lose himselfe: But the Emperour used such meanes, that the greatest part of the Romanes (being tired with so long and so cruell a siege) went over to the Emperours Campe; and others promised to tell the Popes his face, that he did ill in not receiuing him into *Rome*, seeing he promised to depart againe speedily: Besides this, the Pope was certified, that some had resolved whether he would or no, to let the Emperour into the Citie: Whereupon he withdrew himselfe into the Castle S. Angelo, and with him all the Cardinals; and made a Nephew of his, whose name was RUSTICVS, to possesse himselfe of another Castle called *Septem Sella*, wherein he was well aduised, for the Emperour was presently receiued into the Citie, and with him the Germane Pope CLEMENT, and the said Castles by his commandement were presently besieged, which was in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand fourescore and foure: And the Emperour with great solemnity was anointed and crowned by Pope CLEMENT, more accompanied with men of warre then with Bishops and Prelates. Yet not omitting to batter the Castles, wherein Pope GREGORY and his Nephew were; the assaults given were so furious, that RUSTICVS was druen to yeeld himselfe prisoner: But the Castle S. Angelo was so strong, that the Emperour could not preuaile against it.

The affaires standing in this estate, the said ROBERT GVISCARD so much hastened his coming with so great force, that (as the Italian Authors write) the Emperour durst not stay for him, but giving it out that by reason of some urgent affaires in *Germany*, it behoued him presently to depart, he left part of his forces for the defense of the Citie, and to continue the siege of the Castle, wherein the Pope was; and fortified the Capitoll, which then was strong, and repaired other towers and fortresses decayed.

The Abbat WESPERGIMUS, and other Germane Authors write nothing of any such feare the Emperour was in, but make mention of all the rest: But howeuer it was, he went out of *Italie*, and with him his Pope, whom RICHARD Duke of *Beneuent* did support for a season: Within few daies following, ROBERT GVISCARD came to *Rome* with all his troops of Normans and Calabrians (it had been better that he had neuer come, as it afterwards happened) and others which came to his aide, to set Pope GREGORY at libertie: for from else where it was not to be expected, for in *Gracia* the Emperours were at wars: and from *France* could come no reliefe, for that *Lombardy* held for the Emperour: and in *Spain*, the Princes were troubled and turmoyled with warres against the Moores; so as onely ROBERT GVISCARD, had

had meanes to doe it and none other: Being come, the Citizens of *Rome* which had receiued the Emperour, with the assistance of those which he had left in garrison, offered themselves to defend the Citie, so as he entered it by force, with the ayde and fauour of some which were within it. He found so great resistance in his aduersaries, that the two factions oftentimes fought within the Citie, the greatest part of the Citizens taking part with the Imperialists: and there was so great disorder and confusion, that the greatest part of miserable *Rome* was burned and ruined; for whatsoever either partie gat, they ouerthrow or set on fire: so great was the rage and fury wherewith they made this warre. But in the end ROBERT GVISCARD and the Popes partie preuailed against their enemies, they took, burned and destroyed the Capitoll; and left *Rome* so ruined, that neither ATTILA, or any other barbarous nation, did euer commit the like spoiles: for at this day there are orchards, vineyards and gardens, where before that warre, were dreeces, houses, Churches and other sumptuous buildings. ROBERT hauing obtained so pitifull a victory, went to the Castle S. Angelo, which vntill then was besieged; and freeing Pope GREGORY from thence, restored him to his seate and palace. But within few daies after, the Pope considering into how miserable and pitifull estate the Citie was brought; by the counsell of the said ROBERT, he determined to absent himselfe; and being accompanied with the same ROBERT, and with his Colledge of Cardinals he went to the Citie of *Salerno*, where he afterwards died, hauing bene Pope twelue yeeres, one moneth, and three daies: It is written that this Pope was a iust, an vpright, a wise, and a charitable man; and an almes giuer: but it is certaine that he was an obstinate, presumptuous, stout, and firme defender of the Romane prelatie, with the liberties and immunities thereof. BRUNVS, and SIGISMUNDVS report him to have beene both ambitious, a Negromancer, and an Inchaunter; and that he had poisoned seuen other Popes before he could attaine to the Papacie.

Before we proceed any further, it shall be very requisite to make some relation of the Emperours of *Constantinople* (seeing that we are not to discourse of other kingdoms and commonwealths to the end that hauing ended herewith, we may proceede with our HENRY and the successors of Pope GREGORY. I say then that in the space of seuen and twentie yeeres of HENRY's raigne, little more or lesse, five or six Emperours had raigned in *Constantinople*, before which time, the Turkes, Persians and other nations made themselves Lords of what the Greekes held in *Asia*: whose euent was this, as we said in the end of the life of HENRY the Third, father to this HENRY of whom we now write. The better to understand the matter, it shal not be amisse to returne to YSAIVS CONNENVS, who raigned two yeeres Emperour in *Constantinople*: to whom succeeded CONSTANTINVS DEVA, who in the beginning behaued himselfe very valiantly, subduing and punishing such as rebelled against him, and in the rest was a very deuout Christian: but, being infected with the disease of couetousnes, he was therefore contemned both by his owne subjects, and by the Barbarians; and in his time were lost many Towns in *Asia*: and in *Constantinople* was so great an earthquake, that the Churches and other Buildings fell down. And so his Empire being unfortunate, he died in the seuenth yeer of his Raign; and his sonnes remaining his successors, his wife EVDOKIA took vpon her the government, who held the same space of seuen moneths onely: for, by reason of the wars with the Turkes and Barbarians, the Greekes made her to take to husband a great man amongst them, called ROMANVS DIOGENES, to help to defend the Empire, who, not content to gouerne in the behalfe of her sonnes, but proclaiming himselfe Emperour, vsurped the Empire, and going into *Asia* with an Army against the Turkes, had variable successes, and was sometimes victorious, and sometime vanquished; and in the end was in a battaile ouerthrowne by them, and many of his people slaine; and being afterwards by the Generall of the Infidels well intreated and set at libertie, coming to *Constantinople*, he found alreadie placed in his throne the eldest of his wiues sonnes, called MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS: And notwithstanding that hee attempted by force to haue recovered the Empire, yet he could not bring it to passe, but was taken prisoner, and had his eyes put out (a crueltie much used in *Gracia* in those daies) and banished in the habit of a religious man to a certaine Island, where he died, when he had been Emperour about the space of foure yeeres. MICHAEL PARAPINASSVS remaining in the Imperiall throne, grew to be so carelesse and negligent, and therewith of so little worth, that hee applied himselfe to nothing but to making of verses, and to dressing the gown wherewith he was grieved: he held the Empire fix yeeres and halfe, with great losse in *Asia*, the Infidels conquering many cities thereof: for which cause his subjects rebelled against him, and chose for their Emperour a man of great fame and parentage, whose name was NICEPHORVS BOTANUS.

Rome taken
by Robert

Hildebrand,
called Pope
Gregorie the
first, a notable
Inchaunter
and Negro-
magician.

A great earth-
quake in Con-
stantinople.

who was defended from the Emperor P^{er}otto as above mentioned: this man much honoured the brothers of his predecessor, who in the year 1044, who were the *sons of CONRAD* and *Blondy* before named; and giving them offices and commands, to wit: *Bohemond* and *Bohemond*; which rebelled against him, for which and other things which he did, he was very ill requited, for they being his sons and brothers, Emperor fought to be his felons; and so the youngest and most valiant of them, called *Antioch* (procuring friends) deposed him from the Empire, and set the same for himself, when he had reigned three years, causing him to be a religious habit. And this *Antioch* held the Empire seven and thirty yeres, and fought many battles, both with Infidels and with Christians, but chiefly with *Robert*, *Count of Sicily*, and *Count of Calabria*, who reigned Pope *Gregory*, as we have related; who also thought to have been Emperor of *Gracia*, which was he continued with the aid of the Venetians. In this estate stood the affairs of *Gracia*, at such time as the Emperor *Henry* the Fourth departed out of *Italy*, and Pope *Gregory* the seventh died: wherefore let us now returne to speak of them.

The Emperor *Henry* the First, being departed out of *Italy* in such manner as we have declared, and leaving *Rome* in such combustion as is before said, he came into *Germany*, where he called a Diet or Councell in the Citie of *Metz*, as well to justify himselfe concerning such matters as were done in *Italy*, as to prosecute the warre against the Saxons and their adherents. In this Councell (being perswaded and in a manner compelled by sundry prelates) he yielded to the restoring of some things in the Church, as so decreed that Priests should have no wives, and some other matters; yet he perswaded in supporting Pope *Clement*, who was chosen against Pope *Gregory*, and in such other things as before he did. This Councell of *Metz* being dissolved, the Emperor againe prosecuted the warre against the Saxons, in which betweene both parties costed great spoiles, many slaughters and great batailles and encounters; wherein the Emperor did often hazard his person; and in the most of them fighting most valiantly, obtained the victory, they being of either side great Princes, Captaines, and very valiant men, with many of which he came to an accord in the end; and so grew daily more potent, yet never without enemies. Wherein succeeded many and sundry accidents, which the brevity of the Historie permiteth me not to relate in particular.

In the meane season while he was thus busied, Pope *Gregory* the seventh died in *Salerno*, in whose place was chosen (notwithstanding that *Clement* was still called Pope) an Abbat, called *Dionysius*, who being installed, was called *Victor* the Third; This Pope also withstood the Emperors proceedings.

At this time also died *Robert* *Count of Calabria*, and of great part of *Sicily*, to whom succeeded his sonnes, *Robert* and *Bohemond*. *Victor* continued Pope one yere and four moneths onely; and being dead, they chose to succede him, the Cardinal of *Hostia*, whose name was *Onyx* and called him *Urban* the Second; who in the beginning of his Papacie was somewhat troubled in *Rome*, by some which were Emperours adherents, and took part with Pope *Clement*, who yet lived, whom a certain Duke of *Italy* maintained in his Countrey: Whereupon this Pope (for his better safety) went from *Rome* to the Citie of *Melfi*; but he after wards removed to the Citie of *Placencia*, (there to be of the greater power, by reason of *Mary*, the great Lady so often before named) where he called a Councell, wherein some new orders were made; but he still upheld and maintained the quarrell of his predecessors Pope *Gregory* and Pope *Victor*, against the Emperor and his followers: And there also he held not himselfe to be safe, for that the Emperor *Henry* was of very great power; wherefore he resolved to goe into *France*, where what befell him you shall understand.

In this place Authors doe greatly varie, in relating the acts of this Emperour: for some make not any mention of his second coming into *Italy*; others hold it to have bene at this time; and those which write it, agree not well together in the times, neither doe they distinctly set downe what he did there; which hath bene a great trouble to me, and hath bred a great confusion: wherefore let the reader passe it over as he may, for I cannot certainly auerre, which accidents preceded the other.

The Abbat *Wespergus*, and *Blondy* say, that the Emperor *Henry* after that he had buried his first wife, whose name was *Berry*, and had married againe the second time, came into *Italy*, and made his abode there about seven yeres, making warre against the

Popes

Popes dominions in his own person, and that he took many cities by force; among which were *Montes* and *Ferrara*, which were held by *Mavv*. And *Blondy* likewise affirmeth, that others write that these cities were in the same warre recovered by *Mavv*, by the suffrance and ayde of *Conrad* the Emperours eldest sonne, who openly favoured her and the Pope against his father: whereupon (they say) *Mavv* grew to be so hardie as to ioyne all her owne forces, with the power of his friends and allies, to stop the Emperours passage to *Rome*; and that she fought with him and overthrew him; so as he was constrained to depart out of *Italy*. Howsoever it was, among such diversitie of opinions, the truth is, and is approved by all without any difference, that in this time the Pope being come into *France*, he called a generall Councell in the citie of *Clerevaunt*, in the yere of our Lord 1094: where having treated of many things concerning the faith, he attempted the greatest matter that ever any other Pope had done; which was, the conquest of *Jerusalem*, and other cities in the East, which of long time had been subject to *Mahomet's* successors; and he solicited the same in that Councell, with such instance and efficacy, and his speeches so incensed the hearts of the people, that many great Princes resolved to undertake the action: for out of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Italy*, and *Germany*, there went so many, that all writers affirme, they did exceede the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, which took for their devise the signe of the Crosse: the chiefe Commanders of the onefide, were *Peter* the Hermit, and another great Lord Duke of *Lorraine*, called *Godfrey* of *Beillon*, and his two brethren, the one called *Eustace*, the other *Baldwin*, and with them other great Princes: And on the other side went *Henry*, brother to the French King, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Stephen* Earle of *Chartres*, *Raymond* Earle of *S. Giler*, and *Bohemond* Prince of *Otranto* in *Italy*; and others of equall and inferiour degree.

Some taking their way through *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Gracia*, passed over into *Asia*; and others through *Italy*, (taking for their good speede, the Popes blessing with them, who then was *Urban* the Second) and passing the seas, they divided themselves into two Armies, although not without great trouble and difficultie; the cause whereof was *Alxius* Emperour of *Constantinople*. In the end, these troops passed over into *Asia*, and made cruell warres in sundry parts, principally in *Syria*, and in *India*: This was one of the greatest actions that ever was; which I forbear to write at large, as well for that it maketh nothing to my purpose; as also, for that so great an enterprize deserueth a particular historie; but the successe then was, that after many batailles, having taken many cities, and continued the warre the space of three yeres, the citie of *Jerusalem* was taken by *Godfrey* of *Beillon*, the Duke of *Normandy*, and the Earle of *Flanders*, and others, in the yere of our Lord, one thousand ninety and nine, upon the 15 day of Iuly: four hundred and ninety yeres after that it was first taken by the Sarazins, in the time of the Emperor *Heraclyus*.

The citie being taken, the sayd *Godfrey* was made King thereof; and of all the countrey round about it. Other of the Princes and Captaines before named, remained Lords and gouernours of other great cities and townes in *Syria*; yet many of them returned to their countreys, after the performance of so honourable an action; among which were the Eatles of *Flanders*, of *S. Gils* and others: And the war continuing, this kingdom remained in him, and his successors, the space of fourescore and eight yeres; which being expired, through the weakness, and dissension among the Princes, it was againe lost, in the time of the Emperor *Baris*. As *Ross*, as hereafter you shall understand.

Let us now returne to our discourse of the Emperor *Henry*, who at such time as these matters passed in *Jerusalem*, being returned out of *Italy*, the last time that euer he was there; wherein he then left his eldest sonne *Conrad* for his Lieutenant; assembling then some of the Prince Electors in the citie of *Culen*, hee labored to haue his sonne *Henry* to be chosen King of *Romanes*, whom he had already made Duke of *Franconia* (which was his house and patrimony) which *Henry* was his second sonne, and whom hee loued best. When this was made knowne to his eldest sonne *Conrad*, hee was much discontented and grieved at his fathers proceedings; and therefore resolved openly to denie him his obedience (as to an Emperour; which was a Schismatike, and excommunicated) and so hee seized into his hands all the Lands of the Empire in *ITALIE*, finding all men well affected thereunto for the hatred which they bare to his father; and he held the same nine yeres with the title of King of *Italy*; his father either dissembling, or not daring to come against him. And they say that he gouerned as a wife and vertuous Prince: at the end of which time, he fell sick and dyed.

R r

about

Council of

1094

the conquest of

the holy Land.

Many Authors

write of this

war, as Abbas

Wespergus, in

the life of

Henry the 4th.

Paulus Emilius

in his fourth

booke of the his-

tory of France.

Metulian his

third booke of

the history of

Anien.

Blondus in his

fourth of his se-

cond Decade.

Antoninus.

Platina.

Sabellicus.

Nauclerus.

The death of
Godfrey of
Bouillon.

about the yeere of our Lord, one thousand and twentie: and at the same time died GODFREY the new King of *Ierusalem*, whom his brother BALDVIN succeeded, and Pope VRBANE the Second likewise died in *Rome*, and there succeeded PASCAL the Second: and within few daies after died CLARENT, who was made Pope by the Emperour: and after his deceale, the Earle of *Capua*, and others attempted to make one ALBERT Pope; and afterwards one THEOPHILACTUS: and in *Ravenna* one MAGNIFOLVS, a man of great courage and power attempted to haue made himself Pope; but none of all these continued long: and so PASCAL remained Pope in *esse*, who performed great matters both touching the spirituality and temporality, in reforming the corruption of manners, and recouring and defending the patrimonie of the Church: which the Emperour could not hinder, as he would haue done; for at that instant, his sonne HENRY (being desirous to rule) rebelled against him, and warres began betweene them two, which were more then ciuill, which I will breefly set downe. The Emperour HENRY (the better to assure himselfe in his estate) procured his sonne HENRY to be choſen King of the Romanes (publishing that he meant to go into *Italy*) and summoned a generall Councell to be held in *Rome*, with intent (as some write) to haue depose Pope PASCAL. The Pope being aduertised hereof, he presently excommunicated him: for which cause, after many accidents which happened (which for breuitie I ouerpasse) by the aduice and counsell of some of the Princes and prelates of *Germany*, his sonne HENRY began to take Armes against him, pretending that he did it, for that his father was disobedient to the Church, and that he abhorred his Simony, and other crimes which hee laid to his charge: and in short space vnder this pretence (which as is most likely, was rather to depose his father, then for any loue he bare to the Pope) he grew to be so mightie, that his father offered him large compositions, to reduce him to his obedience; which taking no effect (for the son was resolu'd to be absolute) they took Armes, and each of them assembled their forces and leuied Armies and began to make cruel war one against the other. The sonne was aided and assisted by the Dukes of *Baviera* and *Saxony*, and by other Princes and great cities; and the father by the Duke of *Bohemia*, and the Marquess of *Austria*, with other mightie Dukes and Earles. In the beginning, neere the citie of *Ratisbona*, with the aide of those of that citie, the father obtained the vpper hand against the son, so as he was drinen to retire to reinforce his troups: afterwards much desiring a bataille, the sonne came against the father, in whom his men now for his old age had lesse confidence then in former times. And the Armies and Emperours drawing neere together, they stood the space of three dayes continually in fight the one of the other, marshalled, and readie to fight; a little riuer being betweene the two Camps, where were many skirmishes, in which died many notable personages; and both father and sonne being resolu'd to fight, the night before they should haue fought; LISOPOLVS the Marquess of *Austria* being wearie of the fathers quarrell, holding it vnfruitfull, counsell'd him to withdraw himselfe and not to fight; but seeing that his aduice was not accepted, hee retired with all his forces, and the Duke of *Bohemia* being aduertised thereof, did the like, and presently after this there came a gentleman of his sonnes troups, to warn him to looke to his person, and to take heed whom hee trusted, for hee was in daunger: whereupon the old Emperour, with some small troups of horse, and those the best that he could chuse, forsooke the Campe, and went into sundrie parts, exploring aide and succours. The sonne by reason of the fathers flight, seized into his hands the best and most of the cities of *Germany*, and the most of the Princes came to his side: and then he went against the citie of *Spire* (wherein his fathers treasure and iewels lay) and took the same.

After this were moued some treaties of peace betweene the father and the sonne, which was concluded vpon condition, that they two should meete in the towne of *Binge*, which lieth vpon the *Rhine* side, before that the Councell should be assembled, which the sonne had promised to be called, of all the Princes Secular and Regular, to bee held in the citie of *Mentz*, the next Christmas following; which was in the end of the yeere of our Lord one thousand, one hundred and fise, and the beginning of the yeere one thousand one hundred and six. They two meeting there, the sonne protested that hee pretended nothing but the peace of the Church of *Rome*, with a reformation of abuses in *Germany*; that his father should be absolved and reduced to the Popes obedience; and that hee neuer meant to bereaue him either of title or dignitie of Emperour, but that he should set matters in such order as was conuenient. The father promised to do all that he ought to doe, and offered more then hee either would or could performe: but the one distrusting the other, the father said that he would stand so that which the estates should conclude in *Mentz*, and in the best maner he could, departed

Henry rebelled
against his fa-
ther the Empe-
ror.

A bataille
fought betweene
the father and
the sonne.

departed thence to a strong Castle, where he made account to liue in safety in the meane time. But the sonne being there with his troups, hee shut vp all the waies and passages towards that Castle, in such sort that the Emperour could haue no conference with any, without the knowledge of his sonne. Some authors write, that he was taken and committed thither prisoner by his sonne; and that his sonne made him to renounce the Empire, and that he afterwards died in his power. But the Abbat WESPERGENSIUS (an author of those times) and OTHER FAISINGENSIUS, and the most and best Historiographers write, as I haue related it.

Christmas day being come, all the great Princes of *Germany* met in *Mentz*, excepting the Duke of *Saxony*, who could not come, by reason of his great age, and with him Pope PASCAL'S Legates; where the said Legates (as it was thought) not without the sonnes consent and procurement, againe pronounced the Popes censure against the father, and all such as took his part: and as they debated hereof, and of the Emperour which was in the Castle (who offered to performe what they required, humbly suing for absolution, for which purpose he desired to come to *Mentz*) the sonne protested that he neither desired, neither pretended any other thing, but that his father should reform himselfe, and become obedient to the Church of *Rome*, but in truth the issue did manifest, that his principal intent was to make himselfe Emperour. The Popes Legates answered to the Emperours offers and promises, that they neither could, neither had authority to appoint any penance for the Emperour, neither could they giue him any absolution, but that it must be done in a generall Councell, and that by the Popes direction, as it had been decreed by GREGORY the Secuenth concerning his deprivation, and all the rest. Matters standing in this estate, all men were now most affected to the sonne, and desiring to winne his grace and fauour; for they saw that he was mightie and victorious, and the father as he was a man of great courage, comming to haue put himselfe into *Mentz*, many Princes and prelates went forth to meete him, and perswaded him, that vnlesse he would wholly bring himselfe to ruine, there was no remedie but to renounce the Empire to his sonne, and to repose his trust in him.

The Emperour
Henry the
Fourth renoun-
ced the Empire
to his sonne.

HENRY seeing himselfe thus distressed, and finding no redresse or counsell in any body, accepted hereof, as some say voluntarily, as being tired and worne out with wars and troubles. Finally, reposing his trust in his sonne, or in despair by reason of the soleme decree, hee resigned his title to the Empire to his sonne HENRY; and sent to him from the Castle wherein he was, the Crosse, the Lance, the Scepter, the Globe, the Crowne, and his other Imperiall ensignes and ornaments: which renunciation being receiued in the Councell, by a generall consent HENRY the sonne was choſen and created Emperour, and called HENRY the First, after the Germane, and fourth after the Italian writers; for they allow not of HENRY the first, as is before said: and the election was confirmed and ratified by the Popes Legates; and like an Emperour, in that Councell he treated with the Popes Legates, and with the Princes of *Germany*, of all matters spirituall and temporall, concerning the Empire: and for his Ambassadors he sent certaine men of great account and authority to Pope PASCAL, and so continued and was held for Emperour. But before many daies were past, the father seeing himselfe deprived; and his sonne exalted, repenting, secretly sought and procured friends, to the end to haue been restored; and wrote to the French King, and to other Kings and Princes, complaining of his sonne, alleging that he was forced to what he did; and standing in some good hope, he openly shewed his intent, and leuied men of warre, the Duke of *Lorraine* taking his part, and some others, with the cities of *Colen* and *Gulike*, and other imperiall townes.

Henry the
First
deposed Empe-
ror.

The sonne hauing intelligence hereof, againe raised great forces, and desiring to haue gone to a Councell in the citie of *Liege*, he sent three hundred men at Armes to take a bridge vpon the riuer of *Maze*, all which were either taken or slaine by the Duke of *Lorraine*, who tooke the fathers part, and came vpon them at vnawares: whereupon HENRY the son proclaimed him traitor, and deprived him (being absent) of his Duchy of *Lorraine*: in the meane time, the father entred the citie of *Colen*, fortifying and furnishing the same with men and munition, and thence went to haue put himselfe into the citie of *Liege*, whither the Councell was called, which is a most strong citie: in hope (as hee was a man of great spirit) to haue been restored, hauing some other assistance, besides those already named; principally amongst the common people, by whom he was wel beloued, they being moued thereto with compassion to see him deposed. The sonne with his forces went against the citie of *Colen*: and they within it fearing the siege sent Letters and messengers, in generall both to him and to all the estates, in the name of his father, complaining in that he was thus deposed and decciued; and laying great matters to his sonnes charge, hee excused and iustified his owne cause, so much as he might, desiring to be

Henry the
Fourth
deposed
the Emperour.

R r z

relieued;

relieved: whereto the son made answer, reciting his fathers excess, his simonie, his schisme, and rebellion committed against the Pope and Church of *Rome*, to the general prejudice of the states of the whole Empire; protesting further that what he did, was to doe God service, by obeying his Vicar, procuring the vnion of the holy mother Church of *Rome*, with many other matters which the Abbat *WASPERSIS*, *BLONDVS*, and other authors do set downe at large. Finally, he sent him word, that he should not dote by reason of his old age, but that he should come priuate, and aske forgiveness of the Church; and that then the equitie of his cause should be heard, both for himselfe, and for all the princes which were with him. The father not onely refused to follow his sonnes direction, but ill entreated his Ambassadors; so as they could hardly returne to their Campe before *Coleu* in safety. Whereupon the Sonne (seeing that hee could not take that Citie in any short space) hee marched with his army towards *Lorraine*; and before his departure, sent a second ambassage to his father, the effect whereof was, that if he desired iustice, he should peaceably come to the Councell, which he summoned to be held at *Aken*: if otherwise, he gaue him to vnderstand, that by the consent and will of all the Princes, he was resolved to make warre vpon him, as against a common enemy. These Ambassadors came to the citie of *Liege*, where *HENRY* the father then lay; who was so enraged with his sonnes answer and resolution, that he did and said many things in furie. Matters standing in this estate (whereof it was both thought and feared, that great warres, troubles, and other evils would haue ensued) it pleased God to take compassion of his people, which by reason of the cruel warres betweene the father and the sonne, endured daily grievous and intolerable oppressions, robberies, and irreparable calamities; which was, by taking the old Emperor *HENRY* out of this world; which happened on the seventh day of August, about the fiftieth yeere of his raigne, and in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and six. It is written, that he died of passion and griefe to see himself (as it were) a prisoner, and besieged in that castle, and deposed and forsaken by his owne sonne and blood. By the discourse of this Historie, it may seem to the Reader that the Emperor *HENRY* was an vnworthie and ill deseruing Prince, considering that he was excommunicated by the Pope, and his Empire giuen to an other, his onely Sonne took Armes against him, his Nobles rebelled, his subjects forlooke him, and in a manner all the world abandoned him, being in the end forced to resigne the Empire to his Sonne, and the Imperial ensignes and ornaments violently wrested from him: yet for the Readers better satisfaction, I will set downe what *CARION* (whom *MEXIA* voucheth among his other Authors) writeth of him in thre tearmes. Thus dyed *HENRY* the Fourth, a valiant and warlike Emperor, most louing to his Countrey, the last reuenger of the Imperiall Maiestie; who when hee had fought 62 batailles, hauing felt the sharpest stormes of aduers fortune, yet he was neuer daunted nor dejected, neither did he euer abandon or betraie himselfe, or those things which concerned the Maiestie of the Empire by the constitutions of his Predecessors. The dead bodie of the Emperor *HENRY*, was buried by the Bishop of the place where he died, in a Monastery; from whence (by the decree of the Prelates, and consent of his owne sonne) it was afterwards removed, to the end, that (as a man excommunicate) he should not be buried in Christian buriall, and was caried to *Spire*, where, in a prophane place, was made for him a marble sepulchre, wherein he lay fye yeeres; at the end of which time it pleased the Pope to permit him to be buried in Christian buriall. This Emperor had two sonnes, and three daughters by his first wife *VERBA*, who was the daughter of a great Marquesse in *Italy*, allyed to the Lady *MAVVD*: his sonnes were *CONRADE*, who died before him, and *HENRY* the Fifth which succeeded him; his daughters names were *INES*, which married with *FREDERICK* Duke of *Suenia*, and was mother to the Emperor *CONRADE* the Second; and *LIMPERO* which married with the Duke of *Carinthia*, and *SOPHIA*, which was wife to the King of *Hungary*. In *Constantinople* at this time raigned *ALEXIVS*, whose Empire continued seuen and thirtie yeeres, and hee died afterwards in the time of *HENRY* the Fifth: and to him succeeded his sonne *CALIOIANNES*, as hereafter you shall vnderstand.



THE
LIFE OF HENRIE. THE FIFT
OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRE-
SCORE & FOVRTEENTH ROMAN

Emperour; And of ALEXIVS and CALOI-

ANNES in Constantinople.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.

HENRY having taken vpon him the government of the Empire, after that the death of his father was known, all the Cities and Princes, which had bin his adherers made their peace with him, and became his subjects. He sent Ambassadors to the Pope, promising to become his good Sonne; to whom he granted to call a Councell, wherein all matters concerning the Church should be reformed, chiefly those which were introduced by his father. He committed the Count *Palatine* to prison, by reason of some alterations, and made wars against the King of *Polonia*, who insulted himselfe King, and subdued him; but not without great difficulty. He came afterwards into *Italy* to be crowned by Pope *Pascal*: and being come to *Rome* in *S. Peters Church*, he seized vpon the Pope, and committed him to prison, sacking *Rome* and the territory thereof; neither would he release the Pope until that he had confirmed his priuiledges of investing Prelates in the Benefices of *Germany*: the Pope being out of prison, and the Emperor returning crowned in *Germany*, the Councell did annulle the authority giuen him of investiture. At *Mistrey* granted by force: which when he understood, he was incensed and committed the Bishop of *Alencon* to prison, who favoured the Popes party. But the Emperor coming into that City the people remained and apprehended him, and would not release him, until that he had promised to set their Bishop at liberty. He was afterwards excommunicated and in danger to haue bin deposed from the Empire, but leaving *Germany*, he went to *Rome*, where he found not the Pope, neither would he come thither so long as the Emperor was therein; neither would he giue credit to his promises, or believe any thing that he said. He againe returned the third time into *Italy*, and set a schisme in the Church, and understanding of the Popes coming against him, he returned into *Germany*, and then made his peace with the Pope lastly, humbly submitting himselfe to him. There ensued in those parts a very grievous famine, and a pestilence, and the Emperor falling extremely sick, dyed, without leaving any Sonne to succeed him; when he had raigned Emperor, little less then twenty yeeres.



IN that I was longer then ordinarie in writing the life of the Emperor *HENRY* the Fourth, whom the Italian writers call the Third, I haue already made my excuse; which was, for that he raigned a long time, in which many great accidents happened: and as hee was a most warlike Prince, valiant, and high minded, so his raigne was troublesome and vnquiet: by reason whereof, all men (excepting some few which tooke his part) were well pleased with his death, which (as it then seemed) brought to the estates of *Italy* and *Germany*, a cleere skie and desired, after the cloudie stormes of cruell combustions: and to his sonne *HENRY*, who was Emperor in his life time, all lay smooth before him: *Colein*, and all the other cities which had held against him, submitted themselves, yeelding their obedience; and the Duke of *Lorraine* submitting himself, sought his grace and fauour, and so he became absolute

Lord over all: and then sent Ambassadors to Pope PASCAL, who with the assent of his Cardinals and of the Emperours Ambassadors, summoned a Council to be held in October, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and six, in a citie of *Lombardie* called *Gardacastello*, vpon the river of *Po*; where many things touching the state of the Church both in *Lombardie* and in *Germany* were reformed: and the Pope deposed such as were not confirmed by his authority.

In the second yeere of this Emperour HENRY (the better to corroborate the peace betweene the Pope and him) it was agreed that the Pope should come into *Germany* to the citie of *Augsburg*; where the Emperour (for certaine daies space) expected him: but the Pope vpon some ieaiousie & reposing final trust in the people of that citie, by reason of their ancient haired, came not, but went into *France*, where he assembled a Synode in a citie called *Treves*; whither came a great number of prelates: and in that Council amongst other matters which therein were handled, it was ordained, that the Emperours authoritie concerning the prelaties and Church dignities in *Germany*, should be abolished, and that he should not therein inuest prelates, contrarie to the Popes Canons and Decretals: which when he understood, he sent to the Pope, intreating him not to determine so of the matter, but to allow him such right of donation, as his predecessors had done to the Emperour CHARLES the Great. This matter was greatly argued, but in the end it was deferred till the next general Council, and so the Pope returned to *Rome*, and the Emperour in his progresse visited sundrie cities of *Germany*; and vpon some occasion apprehended the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, whose name was SIGISBERT, and for a time held him prisoner: I call him of *Rhine*, for the difference betweene him and other Counties Palatine.

At this time ALXIS King of *Hungary*, came vnto him to complaine and to desire iustice against his brother COLOMAN, who had deposed him, and made himself king; whereupon the Emperour entred *Hungary* with an Army, purposing to haue restored him: but through want of victuals, and by means of other disasters and disgraces which befell him, he was driuen to retire without effecting aught, and so COLOMAN enioyed the kingdom, the Emperour permitting the same. There likewise grew warre betweene him and the Duke of *Poland*, who with out his leaue, entitling himself King, denied to pay him any tribute, or to be subiect: to which warre hee went with a mightie Army (it behoued him to do so, for hee was to encounter a mightie enemy) and some write that they came to blowes, and that the Emperour had the victorie: but not without much bloodshed and great difficultie; and so *Poland* returned to the Emperours deuotion, and paid the tribute accustomed. In these actions and others of lesse moment, the Emperour spent little lesse then five yeeres, which were in the beginning of his raigne: in the end of which, moued with a desire (common to all Emperours) to be crowned by the Pope, he resolved to come into *Italy*, and to that effect ordained a Diet or Council to be held in *Ratisbon*; wherein shewing his intent, his departure by common consent was generally applauded: and leuying thirtie thousand choise men (besides the Princes and other voluntaries, which had a desire to serue and follow him in that iourney) he came into *Italy*, where other troupes of the states of *Lombardie* ioyned with him, and by the way befell many accidents, which I omit to relate such as were of most importance.

Afterwards taking his way towards *Rome*, many ambassages passed betweene him and Pope PASCAL; he requiring to be crowned, and the other promising the same; but vpon condition, which was, that he should relinquish his demand concerning the inuesting of prelates: about this matter some things so fell out, that the Pope grew ieaalous and mistrusted the Emperour. But in the end the Emperour promising to maintaine and obserue the priuileges and immunities of the church of *Rome*, and to desist from inuesting of prelates, as is aforesaid, the Pope sent a solemne ambassage to meete him, offering him amiable and friendly entertainment. Whereupon he came to the citie, vpon the twelfth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eleuen, being the first Sunday in Lent, where he was solemnly received by all the Clergie and Romane people, with the greatest prouision, and shew of joy, that the Pope and citizens could possibly make, and the Pope accompanied with all his Cardinals, attended his coming in SAINT PETERS Church porch. The Emperour with his Princes and men of warre being entred the gate of the Castle S. Angelo, alighting, mounted vp the steps to meete him, and kist his foote: and the Pope blest him, and raising him vp, three severall times embraced him; and then they went together into the Church, and comming to the high Altar, where the Pope that day was to say Masse, they sate downe vpon seates prouided for them; where the Emperour

Emperour againe desired the Pope to confirme the priuileges which he and his predecessors had held, concerning the nomination of prelates, and the donation of Benefices; which the Pope absolutely denied. Some authors say, that the Pope requested the Emperour (in performance of his promise) to renounce the right which he chalenged to haue in ecclesiasticall causes; and that the Emperour therewith displeased, arose, and with his Germane Bishops and Princes went into a chappell from whence he sent him his answer; and denying what was required, persisted in his demand concerning the confirmation of his priuledge: so as there was much strife and contention about the matter.

Some report this after another manner; which is no great marvel though it so happen amongst Historians; seeing that we daily read, that when sundry men haue seene a matter which hath happened in their sight, yet the same men which then were present, haue afterwards related it after diuers manners, each one pretending to tell the truth. I say this, for that some men are so hard of beleefe, that if they finde any contrarietie amongst writers, they account the whole Historie to be a lie: which is too great a seueritie. But returning to my storie, I say, that although they differ herein, yet all Authors agree, that vpon this occasion the Emperours Captaines and Companies entred the Church; and the Masse being ended, by the Emperours order, the Pope was apprehended, together with the most part of the Cardinals, and that the Germans made boote or prize of the Bishops, Priests, and other the Popes friends.

The Citizens and people of *Rome*, tooke this in such disgrace, that bating them to their weapons, they went against the Imperialists, which held the Vatican; where, fighting with incredible furie, they forced the Emperour to abandon that part of the Citie, and to withdraw himselfe to his Campe; betweene whom and the Citizens for three or four daies space, were great skirmishes, and much blood was spilt, and many men were slaine of either side. Yet BLOONVS and some others report, that during the three daies that the fight lasted, the Emperour held the Vatican, and that he being vnable to defend it, abandoned the same and went vnto his Campe, leading the Pope and his Cardinals with him prisoners. Finally, these three daies being past, he removed his Armie, and pitcht his tents at the foote of Mount S. Syluester; and so marching forwards, left the Pope with some of his Cardinals in a place of strength; and theret he left in another place, guarded with great troupes of souldiers, and then marched vp and downe the Countrey, burning and spoyling the Castles, Townes, and Villages, neere thereabouts; and so within some few daies after, with great furie returned to *Rome*, and sate downe before it; but the inhabitants were resolved not to receiue him, except hee would first for the Pope and his Cardinals at liberty: But he persevering earnest in his demand, would haue his request first performed; imitating (in the action, although not in the intent) the Patriarch IACOB, who wrestling with the Angell, said, I will not let thee goe, except thou first bleste me. Wherefore the Pope to auoid further inconueniences, and to get out of the Prison wherein he was detained, came to a composition with the Emperour, and confirmed to him the priuilege of inuestiture which he required, and admitted and allowed those prelates which the Emperour had preferred and inuested. And so all being concluded, the Pope was conducted to *Rome*: and at the day appointed, the Emperour entred the Citie, and came into SAINT PETERS Church, first setting a good guard in the Ports and Turrets of the Vatican; and with the accustomed solemnitie was therein by the Pope crowned, with apparance of very great joy and gladnesse generally, by reason of the wished peace, after so long and tedious warre.

The coronation being ended, the Emperour (taking his leaue, and the Popes blessing with him for his good speede) departed from *Rome* very peaceably; and so passing through *Italy*, and the estate of *Lombardie*, he returned into *Germany*; where hauing made sufficient prooffe that his father dying, and acknowledging his fault, desired to be forgiven, he obtained leaue to burie him in the Church; which was performed with accustomed solemnity; and in *Italy* and in *Germany* generally was peace.

A little while after this, died that great and mighty Princeesse MARY, who was Lady of many Townes in *Italy*: This Lady after her death, left a great part of her estate to the Church, among which, is reckoned the Citie of *Ferrara*: but the Emperour FREDERICK neuertheless afterwards challeged to be her heire, by reason of the alliance betweene her and his mother. The Emperour being in *England* (solemnizing his marriage with another MARY, daughter to the King of that Countrey; Pope PASCAL at the request and perswasion of his Cardinals and Clergie, summoned a Council of Bishops and Prelates of many Nations; in which

The Council of
Treves.

The warres of
Hungary.

The warres of
Poland.

The Emperour
Henry the Fifth
came to Rome.

Pope Pascal ap-
prehended by
the Emperours
Henry the Fifth.

Pope Pascal be-
ing released from
the Emperours
prison, crowned
him Roman Em-
peror.

Mary the Em-
press daughter
of Henry the
First, King of
England, and
wife of the Em-
perour Henry
the Fifth.

Councell (amongst other matters) it was concluded; that the privilege granted by the Popere the Emperour, for the inueſting of Biſhoppes and other Clergie men, ſhould be reuoked, and held for none; ſith it was exacted by force, the Pope being then his Priſoner; and for ſuch they declared and publiſhed the ſame, excommunicating the Emperour, if he perſiſted in the execution thereof: in this Councell were one hundred Biſhops, ſome Archbiſhops and Patriarchs, and all the Cardinals.

This being made knowne to the Emperour, he was much diſcontented for the ſame; and much more, after that he vnderſtood that many of the principall prelates in Germany tooke part with the Pope againſt him, and had left his ſeruiſe; amongſt which was ALDBERT Archbiſhoppe of Mentz, a very mightie Prince, whom the Emperour commaunded to be apprehended, and held him about two yeeres Priſoner; whereof enſued many great tumults: And ſome Biſhops were ſo hardie (being authoriſed by a Cardinall Legate in Hungary) as to excommunicate the Emperour: The number of thoſe which conſpired againſt him, daily encreaſing, he fearing the like fortune as befall his father, appointed a Councell to be called in the Citie of Mentz, there to treat of thoſe affaires, offering to ſtand to that which ſhould be determined; and to right any wrong that he had done.

The day appointed for this Councell being come, and the Emperour therein appearing, ſo few made their repaire thither, that he was therewith much troubled, and highly diſcontented, and therefore with greater inſtance procured the aſſembly, but it little auailed him: for before they could come, the inhabitants of Mentz mutined againſt him, as well for that he held their Biſhop Priſoner, as for that in former time in the warres betwene him and his father, that Citie had endured much loſſe by his means: whereupon they putting themſelves in Armes, went to the palace where he was, whereof they became maſters, and of his perſon alſo; and threatening to kill him, they made him to promiſe ſatisfaction for the loſſes and injuries they had received, and that he ſhould preſently ſet their Biſhop ALDBERT at libertie: all which he promiſed and confirmed with an oath, in ſuch manner that they holding themſelves ſatisfied, left the Palace; and the Emperour departed, and in performance of his promiſe, preſently releaſed the Archbiſhop: but yet notwithstanding he continued much diſpleaſed, for the ſame done him in that Citie, and no leſſe with them which failed to come to the Councell. The next yeere, which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and ſixteenth; he holding his Chriſtmas in Spire, many prelates aſſembled themſelves in the Citie of Coleyn, and with them ſome Princes, with a reſolution to ſeek to deprive him, for that he was excommunicated, and diſobedient to the Church of Rome: which he (to his great diſliking) hauing vnderſtood, and deſiring to redreſſe the ſame, ſent his Ambaſſadors to that aſſembly, promiſing to beare what ſhould be impoſed, and proteſting that he was in all points ready to ſatiſſie the Pope: but his Ambaſſage was ill received, and as ill answered; for they ſent him word, that he ſhould make his peace with the Pope, and conſorme himſelf to his will, otherwiſe, they would neither ſerue, nor obey him, but generally would all forſake him. Whereupon hee tried his friends, ſeeking ayde by all meanes poſſible; and as Princes neuer faile to finde ſome to helpe and aſſiſt them (ſome of duty, and others in hope of gaine) he gathered many men together, thinking to effect his buſineſs by force: and depriving ſome of his aduerſaries, which held with the Pope againſt him, of their eſtates, beſtowed many graces and fauours vpon his followers; and leauing a great Armie, reſolued to goe into Italy, as well to be ſarre abſent from the fury of Germany, as for that he purpoſed (as he gaue it out) to come to ſome agreement with the Pope: for he had newes (which were certaine) that through factions and partialities in Rome, which aroſe for that the Pope would not beſtow the Prefecture, or office of Lord Preſident, vpon the ſonne of him which laſt preſided, the moſt part of the people rebelled againſt him, and fought with ſuch aſtook his part; and the matter came to this iſſue, that it behoued him to leaue Rome, and to goe into Pulis, where he was harbourd by WILLIAM the Feudatorie Duke thereof, and by ſome other Princes.

The Emperour coming with his Army into Italy, he tooke his way directly for Rome: yet ſome write that he firſt ſent his Ambaſſadors to the Pope, and requiring abſolution vſed ſome complements; but for as much as he would not make ſuch ſatisfaction as was required at his hands, the Pope would not abſolve him.

Others write, that the Emperours Ambaſſadors found the Pope in Rome, and that he vnderſtanding of his coming, would not ſtay for him. But howſoeuer it was, he came to Rome with his wife without any reſiſtance (but yet he found not the Pope there) hauing firſt made

cruell warres in the territories of the Church as he came: And pretending that his coronation was violent, and done by force, although by the Pope, he therefore made himſelfe to be crowned againe by an Archbiſhoppe, whoſe name was MAURICE DE BRACHIA, whom he brought with him; the whole Clergie, together with the people of Rome murmuring thereat.

This being done, he departed thence, and made very cruell warres againſt all ſuch towines as held for Pope PASCAL: But knowing that through his abſence Germany was like to bee loſt, for (as all writers aſſume) at that time juſtice and equitie took no place, and there were ſuch warres, factions, robberies, inſolencies and other diſorders, as cannot be recited: Wherefore he marched with his Armie thitherwards, taking his way through Lombardy. Comming into Germany, with the aid of FREDERICK Duke of Suenia, and of CONRAD Duke of Prussia, which were his Nephews (being his ſiſters ſonnes) and of ſome other Princes which followed him, without any ſtay he went to make warre againſt the Duke of Saxony, who reſcuing his obedience held for the Pope; with whom he fought a terrible battail, and had the victory; whereby his power and authoritie greatly encreaſed with thoſe which had rebelled againſt him.

While theſe things paſſed in Germany, Pope PASCAL came to Rome, and after ſome troubles which there aroſe, he departed out of this life, hauing been Pope thirteene yeeres and a halfe, in the yeere of our Lord, one thouſand, one hundred and eightene: and in his place was choſen a Cardinall, whoſe name was JOHN, and was called GELASIVS the Second. About this time alſo died ALEXIVS the Emperour of Conſtantinople, and to him ſucceeded his ſon CALIOANNES, as I haue ſaid.

The Emperour hauing receiued newes of the death of Pope PASCAL, and of the Election of GELASIVS (ſeeing himſelfe excommunicate, and ſhunned by many prelates and Princes, which neither ſerued him, nor ſaw him, although they warred not againſt him) ſetting the affaires of Germany in the beſt order he could, with a great Army, he came the third time into Italy, addreſſing his way to Rome, where Pope GELASIVS durſt not ſtay his coming; for in Rome were partialities and factions againſt him. Whereof the Frangepanes (who were many in number, and of great power) were the chiefe; yet ſome others tooke his part, as the Colis, the Normanes, the families of the Leoni, and the Colunneci, which then beganne to grow great.

The Pope being fled from Rome in his Gallies downe the riuer of Tiber; the Emperour comming thither, he pretended that the Election of GELASIVS was inſufficient, for that he was choſen without his conſent, and therefore procured ſuch Biſhops and prelates as were of his faction, to make that MAURICE, who (as I ſaid) crowned him, Pope; and they did ſo, and called him GREGORY, who being inſtalled and lodged in the papall Palace, abſolued the Emperour, and confirmed and ratified his donations and inueſtures: And hauing ſet vp this new Idol, whom the Romanes in diſgrace called Bardinus, the Emperour recommended him to the protection of the Frangepanes: who were ſo much diſcontented with the Election of GELASIVS, that they would haue killed him; and then tooke the field and ſpoiled the Lands of the Church, to make his Pope GREGORY Lord thereof. Which Pope GELASIVS vnderſtanding, with the aide of WILLIAM Duke of Pulis, ROBERT Duke of Capua, RICHARD, and other great Lords of Italy, he leuiſed ſuch an Army, that the Emperour doubting what would follow, publiſhed, that ſith he was abſolued of his excommunication, he meant to returne into Germany. And being departed, Pope GELASIVS (leauing the Army which he had raiſed) came to Rome, where, betwene ſuch aſtook part with him, and the Frangepanes, which held with Pope GREGORY, were ſo many encounters, and ſo many men ſlaine, that he was driuen to forſake Rome, and (in a manner) to ſlie into France, where he died in the Monaſtery of Clunia, hauing been Pope almoſt one whole yeer and a halfe.

He being dead, CALIXTUS the Second was choſen, who before was called GUIDO; and before his coming to Rome, the Anti-pope GREGORY BYRDINO, departed thence, and went to a Towne that was called Sutrie, where what happened to him, you ſhall hereafter vnderſtand.

The Emperour to auoide loſſe of time, preſently when he came into Germany beſieged the Citie of Mentz, againſt which hee bare an old grudge, for the injury which he had received: and holding it ſtraightly beſieged, ſundry inſurrections were rayſed againſt him; for ſuch as before had ſhewed themſelves his enemies, feared that he would now be reuenged on them all: Wherefore

Wherefore with him, and against him, were euery where making of parties. **ALDEBERT** Archbishop of *Mentz*, with the aide of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of other Princes and Prelates, had a great Armie in a readinesse: and of the contrary side, the Duke of *Suenia*, and others, had no lesse on his behalfe, in such manner as it was feared that great warres would haue ensued. But the Emperour (being perswaded by some, his loyall seruants, and certaine other Ecclesiasticall persons, which interposed themselves) inclined to peace, which was treated of; and all the differences and controuersies were referred to the arbitrement of certain Princes of the Empire; and a Diet or Councell was appointed to be holden in the Citie of *Wittenberg*, wherall controuersies should be decided and ended: and it was so. And those which were appointed to be Arbitrators and Iudges of this controuersie, and of the rest, being there assembled (and certaine Legates, as some say, being also there from Pope **CALIXTUS**) it was by common consent determined, that through all *Germany* a generall and vniuersall peace should be proclaimed and kept: between the Emperour, and all the Princes both Ecclesiasticall and Secular; and that the Princes in like manner should maintaine the same peace amongst themselves, vpon paine of death: And that whatsoever was taken from any Church, should presently be restored: and that the like should be done by any thing withheld from the Emperours chamber of accounts or Exchequer: And that the like should also be done between all estates, which had taken aught (from other) by violence: And that all matters in controuersie should be speedily decided: And that iustice should be equally administred in all parts: And that all offences and wrongs past should be forgiven and forgotten: And that theues and robbers by the highways, should be sought out and punished: And that such order should be taken, that the country should be maintained in peace: For the due execution whereof, the most sufficient personages that could be found, were appointed; and euery where was done all that was possible to further the same.

As touching the excommunication and the Popes fulminations and censures; and the differences between the Emperour and him, all was referred to be at Pope **CALIXTUS** his order and discretion; to whom the Emperour sent Ambassadors about the same in great humilitie.

This being ended, Pope **CALIXTUS** sent his Legate *Alatre*, and Ambassadors Cardinals, to another meeting or generall Diet held at *Wormes*; the Emperour being there present, where peace and concord was concluded between them: And the Emperour acknowledging the Pope for Christs Vicar here on earth, and vniuersall Pope of the Church, desired abolution; and resigned into the Legates hands, all the right and title that he could pretend to the inueſting of Prelates, and donation of any spirituall dignities; and then gaue vp the possession of all Townes and goods belonging to any Church; and bound himselfe to vie his best meanes, that if any other Princes vsurped any, they should be restored; and himselfe to be obedient to the commandements and Injunctions of the Church, and to aide, protect, and defend the same. The Decrees and Letters-patents made hereof at large, were carried to the Pope, who allowed thereof, and gaue his Bull; whereby he granted that all the Prelacies and Abbeyes which in *Germany* should be voided, should be provided by the Election of the Chapters of the same Churches, and that the Emperour might be present at the Election: provided alwaies that it should not be made by force, or for bribes, or through any other kinde of Simonie; and that hee which was chosen might recieue from the Emperour, all that was merely Laicall or Temporall, but must haue recourse to the Sea of *Rome* for the rest, according to the Popes Canons.

This being ended, the Emperour and all those which stood excommunicate, were publickly absolved, and then the Letters-patents and instruments were solemnly read; which befell in the Month of September, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, twenty-two: But thus (saith **CARION**) the Constitutions and Imperial Lawes made by **CHARLES** the Great, and maintained for the space of three hundred yeeres, by the seditious conspiracy of his owne subiects, and a fatal successe, in fauour of the Popes, almost in an instant, were made void and ouerthrowne: What miseries fell both vpon Church and Common-wealth by this grant; What mischiefs Popes haue done, being armed with this tyranny; what did they not attempt to ouerthrow the authority of Emperors, being much shaken: Finally, how often by their cruell practices, *Germany* being in combustion, hath taken Arms against it selfe, and imbrued her self, with her own blood, our fore-fathers haue felt and lamented: By pretext of this Session, the Popes haue violently taken the lawfull power of the Keyes of the vniuersall Church, and haue

ſlayned

ſlayned themselves to be diuinely conſtituted Lords and Iudges of all Churches, Bishops, Pastors and Kings: Finally, of the whole Christian World, in all causes whatsoever: they forced Bishops to take the power of their administration from them; and to the Keyes they added new diuine worship, and the making of new Lawes, which whoſeuer should inſurre, it was lawfull for them to declare them members cut off from the bodie of Christ; ſeditious Hereticks, Schismaticks, and to damne them perpetually: Finally, by the weapon of excommunication, they haue vsurped earthly poſſeſſions, and haue ſettled and diſpoſſeſſed Kings.

The Emperour from thence went to *Norrenberg*, from whence he diſpatched the Popes Legates very well contented, with great gifts and preſents both for the Pope and themselves, and they returned to *Rome*: By reason whereof Pope **CALIXTUS** and all the *Romish Court* made ſhew of great joy, for the recovery of their loſt ſattee Sheepe: and truly they had great reason, for it much imported them; and they recovered him but by great good hap.

In this time **ROGER** Earle of *Sicilia*, who afterwards was King, and very mightie, being vncle to **WILLIAM** Duke of *Pavia* and *Galabria*, knowing that **WILLIAM** was gone to marrie with the Emperours ſiſter of *Conſtantinople*, came into *Italy*, and by force rooke all that his Nephew held there; and hauing made himſelfe Lord thereof, he was called King, of *Italy*; and afterwards leauing the title of *Italy*, he was called King of *Sicilia*: I haue reduced this to memory, to the end that the Reader may haue the better light of what ſhall be ſaid hereafter; and may alſo vnderſtand, that his ſucceſſors haue bene euer ſince called Kings of both *Sicilies*, which are *Naples* and *Sicilia*.

The Emperour **HENRY** being reduced to the Popes obedience; in liſtle more then two yeeres which he liued afterwards, he had two warres, the one againſt the *Hollanders*, and the other againſt **LAWES** the French King: Againſt the *Hollanders* he went with an Armie, and ſubdued them; againſt the King of *France* he leued a great Army, in the behalfe of his father in law, **HENRY** King of *England*; and marching towards *France* the warre ceaſed, and he returned: for the Citie of *Wormes* rebelled, and he went thither, and beſieging it, tooke it by compoſition, and puniſhed the offenders.

At this time in *Remedied* Pope **CALIXTUS**, when he had bene Pope fix yeeres, within two moneths; and in his place was choſen **LAMBERT** Biſhop of *Hofia*, and was called **HONORIUS** the Second. **CALIXTUS** before his death ſent a great Army, vnder the command of a Cardinal, againſt Pope **GREGOIRE** who liued in *Sutria*; which beſieging the place, tooke him priſoner, and brought him to *Rome*; where he was ſhamefully to diſgrace him) made to ride vpon a Cammell, and the Pope granted him his liſt vpon condition that he ſhould ſpend the reſt of his time in a Monafterie.

In *Germany* the Emperour applied himſelfe to purchase the good will of his ſubiects, and to make himſelfe well beloued; taking warning by his fathers ſucceſſe. But there befell in all that Countrie ſo great a peſtilence and famine, that it was thought (as all writers affirme) that the third part of the people periſhed: for which calapitrie and affliction, the Emperour being very ſorrowfull, fell ſick, and within few daies died, penitent for his ſinnes, deſiring God to forgive the ſame. And although it pleaſed God to giue him a good death, yet he left neither ſon nor daughter that might ſucceede him, but two Nephewes which were his ſiſters ſonnes, the mightie Dukes of *Suenia*, and of *Franconia*, the one called **ROBERT**, and the other **CONRAD**: ſome Authors call **CONRAD** Duke of *Suenia*, and others of *Franconia*. He died the firſt day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord one thouſand one hundred twenty and ſix, when he had reigned about twenty yeeres: and thoſe which account but fourteen, reckon but from the time of his coronation in *Rome*; but I euer make my account from the day of his Election: His body was embalmed and borne to *ſpire*, and there buried amongst his Anceſtors.

When the Emperour **HENRY** died, in *Conſtantinople* reigned **CALIOIOANNES**, who was an excellent Prince and very neceſſarie for that Empire. Hee was very liberal, loved iuſtice and equitie, and obtained many great victories in *Aſia* againſt the Turkes and Perſians; and recovered from them many Cities which his father and predeceſſors had loſt: His brother **LAWES** being General of his Armies, whom hee deereſly loved, and leued Italian ſouldiers in ſteed of Greekes. But with theſe vertues, enuying the Warres and Conqueſt which were made in *Aſia*, hee did greatly hinder the French and others which went thither; and for the ſame occaſion fell at variance with the Venetians, which

The Emperour
at ſecond from
the Popes ex-
communication.

2509 Earle
of Pavia and
Galabria

The death of the
Emperour Henry
the ſixt.

1724

The Emperour
reconciled to
the Pope.

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which tooke from him by force certaine Ilands in the *Archipelagus* : of his end shall be spoken hereafter.

At this time in *Ierusalem* beganne the order of the Knights Templers, and also the order of the Knights of Saint Iohn, called afterwards of *Rhodes*, and now of *Malta*, where they inhabit.

The beginning
of the order of
the Knights
Templers, and
of the Iohns
of the Rhodes.

THE
LIFE OF LOTHARIVS, THE
SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND
FOVRSORE AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN
Emperour; And of CALOIOANNES, Emperour
of Constantinople.

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THE ARGUMENT.

HENRY the first being dead, Lothary Duke of Saxony was chosen Emperour; against whom Henricus Nepheues (aspiring to the Empire) in the beginning of his raigne rebelled, who after many fortunes of warres, in the end became his subiect. He came into *Italie*, to the aide of Pope Innocent, against a Pseudo-pope which had driven him out of *Rome*. The Emperour was no longer returned into *Germany*, but the other Anti-pope, whose name was Anacletus (through the fauour and assistance of the King of *Sicilia*) made Pope Innocent to flee : Whereof the Emperour being advertised, he returned into *Italie*, and restored Innocent to his seate, and named Roger King of both the *Sicilies*. But returning victorious towards *Germany*, he died in the Mountaines of *Trent* : when he had ruled the Empire fourteene yeeres, leaving neuer a sonne; that might succede him in the Empire.



same reason, the two brothers fought by all means that the one of them might haue bene Emperour, and with all their might withstood LOTHARY. These two brothers (as I said) were Nephews to the Emperour HENRY the First, and his sisters sonnes, who was the daugh-

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ter of the Emperour HENRY the Fourth. LEOPOLD Marquesse of *Austria*, and CHARLES Earle of *Flanders*, by reason of their estates and power, sought also to haue gotten the Empire. These foure great Princes being competitors, by the procurement and industry of ALBERT, Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, who remembering that he had bene imprisoned, and ill treated by HENRY, for contradicting his friends; found meanes to draw the Princes Electors to meete at *Mentz*, where they chose LOTHARY Duke of *Saxony*, Emperour. Where-with CONRAD and FREDERCK were so much discontented, that in lieu of doing him homage as to their Emperour, they rebelled against him as their enemy : and in him wanted neither will nor industry to persecute them.

Lothary the second chosen Emperour.

First, he sent to Pope HONORIVS the Second, to complaine of them; who approued, and was well pleased with the election of the Duke of *Saxony*; for as much as by that house the Popes had euer been relieved and supported; wherefore he might easily obtain of the Pope, to command them (by his censures) to yeeld their obedience. But these two brothers (taking Arms) found so many friends, and their Lands and Countries were such and so great, that a cruell warre began between them; which I omit, for that I finde it briefly written : yet it continued many daies, and came to that issue, that CONRAD the elder of these two brethren, with the help of his brother FREDERICK, and of GODFREY Count Palatine of the *rhine*, was called Emperour : and raising the greatest power that he was able (leaving his brother in *Germany* to make head against LOTHARY) he went into *Italy*, and took many Imperiall cities in the State of *Lombardy*; where the Archbishop of *Adrian* crowned him with the Crown of iron; by reason whereof, Pope HONORIVS afterwards depri'd him of his Archbishoprick, and set another in his place : and the Emperour LOTHARY being thus distressed, knowing that HENRY of *Bauiere* (who was called the Proud, and was descended from the lineage of the famous GYLFHONS; of which, the Abbat WESPERGANSIS and other Authors make so great account) was a mighty Prince and very valiant, he practised with him to marry his one daughter, whose name was GERTRUDE; and to the end that he should be a faithfull and loyall seruant vnto him, he gaue him with her for her dowry, the title and succession of the Duchie of *Saxony*, which after his death he enjoyed, and was Lord of both estates : yet afterwards in proceesse of time there were alterations in them, and in others; whereof I will make no speciall relation, for that it requireth too long a time : yet I will sometimes speak thereof as occasion shall be offered.

of the Duke of
Bavaria for
the Duke of
Saxony

The Duke of *Bauiere*, and other Princes now helping the Emperour with all their powers, made cruell warre in CONRAD's Countries, whilst that he was buisie about his Coronation in *Lombardy*, with intent to haue gone to *Rome*. But as he had leuiued mo men than he was able to pay, and wanted meanes to giue them satisfaction, he was driven to return into his Country, and to join with his brother; and being returned, was not of power able to make head against the Emperour, or at the least to go through with what he had begun : whereupon he sought to make some agreement with him, and to obtain his fauour; which was effected (as faith the Abbat WESPERGANSIS) at the intercession of Saint BERNARD, he renouncing the name and title of Emperour, and giuing other security to serue him as a Subject: the like did his brother FREDERCK. And so ended the Emperour LOTHARY this warre, which (as he writeth) was very bloody : during the which, in *Rome* died HONORIVS the Second, hauing bin Pope siue yeeres; and to him succeeded INNOCENTIVS the Second, a Roman born, who as soon as he was Pope, resolved to haue driuen ROGER Earle of *Sicilia* out of *Pulia*, where ROGER was called King of *Italy* (as I said in the end of the life of the Emperour HENRY) hauing taken the same from WILLIAM, who was his Nephew, or (as some say) his cousin germane : and leuying a great Army for those warres, he went thither in person. But for as much as Authors differ in the recitall thereof (the Italians accounting it to be at this time, that the Pope was taken prisoner there : and the Germanes affirme it to haue happened in the time of CONRAD the Third, who succeeded LOTHARY) we will therefore leaue it vntill that time; in which it seemed most likely to haue passed.

But here we will speake of another disaster, which befell Pope INNOCENTIVS; which was, that with the fame of his imprisonment, or (as I rather beleue) of his death; a mighty Roman, of great power, whose name was PAVR LEO, came to *Rome*, publishing the news thereof; and procuring fauour and assistance, was chosen Pope, and called ANACLETVS; who taking all the Gold and Siluer out of the Temples and Churches, and giuing the same to his followers, grew to be of such power, that Pope INNOCENTIVS being returned to *Rome*, could

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could not make his partie good against him, but was constrained in a manner by flight, to get him into *France*, and from thence into *Germany*, to the Emperor **LOTHARY**; who by reason of the peace and agreement between him and Duke **CONRAD**, was growne very rich and of great power; who giving him very good entertainment, offered to goe in person to restore him to his estate: and although that the affaires of *Germany* were not yet thoroughly settled, yet he in short space made ready a faire Army, and they both together departed towards *Italy*, but by seuerall waies, diuiding their Army, to the end to march the more commodiously: and againe meeting neere to *Rome*, were there receiued; where Pope **ANACLETVS** durst make no resistance; whom his friends had hid so secretly, as at that time, he could not be found; which was in the sixt yere of the Emperours raigne: And so with great solemnity Pope **INNOCENT** was restored to his chaire; and with the like or greater, the Emperor **LOTHARY** was by him crowned; and within few daies after, returned with his Army into *Germany*, not finding any contradiction or resistance.

The Emperour **LOTHARY** being arriu'd in *Germany*, and hauing by the consent of the Princes thereof summoned a Councell to bee held there: By the Authority of the Empire, hee resolved to goe himselfe in person against the Duke of *Polonia*, because hee refused to pay the Tribute, in acknowledgement of superiority, which he ought for the space of twelve yeeres behinde-hand, unpaid: But the Polacres not daring to stand to the hazard of Warre, the Duke accompanied with men of peace, came forth of his Countrie to receiue the Emperour; whom the Emperour would not see, neither admitte into his presence, before such time as hee had paid him all the arriereages due for so many yeeres past; and the Duke accomplishing the same, came to see the Emperour in the Duchie of *Saxony*; whither being come, and hauing promised to perform the premises, he return'd home in peace.

At the same time the King of *Hungary* sent his Ambassadors and presents, in acknowledgement of superiority. Pope **INNOCENT** in the meane time had ill successe; for within few daies after the Emperours departure out of *Italy*, and that he had called a Councell to be held in the City of *Spire*; Pope **ANACLETVS** aforesaid (through the fauour and assistance of his friends and kinsfolks, and of **ROGER** which was called King of the *Sicilies*) returned againe to *Rome*, and tooke vpon him as Pope, being already Lord of the Citie, and of some other townes: whereupon Pope **INNOCENT** sent to the Emperour, imploring his aide and succor, to restore him to his dignity.

The Emperour setting the affairs of *Germany* apart, and raising a greater Army then at the first, within short space came into *Italy*; with whom (besides those which the Abbat **WESPERGONVS** setteth downe) came his sonne in law **HENRY** Duke of *Baniera*, with great and very good troups of men of warre: **OTHO** **FRISINGENSIS** saith, that **CONRAD** Duke of *Suenia*, which in former time had bene his enemy, came with him also: and being arriu'd in *Italy*, entring *Lombardy*, he found great warre and dissension between the Cities of *Cremona*, and of *Milan*, and he as soueraigne Lord, tooke vpon him to decide the cause of their difference; and finding those of *Cremona* to be faultie, he proceeded against them; and they rebelling were by him subdued by force. From thence he went to the Citie of *Parua*, and so to *Bolonia*, visiting and pacifying the other Cities of *Lombardy*; which through ciuill contention, and the long absence of the Emperours, were in a manner at liberty, and tyrannized; all which he subdued and brought to subiection: and from thence (sending his sonne in law with the one halfe of his Army into *Tuscane*, to receiue the Pope, which lay in *Pisa*) he himself by another way went with the rest into the *Marca di Ancona*, wherein he assaulted and tooke many townes which rebelled; as well against him as against the Church of *Rome*; which he recovered and restored. Afterwards joyning with the Pope and with his son in law **HENRY**, he took his way towards *Rome*, where he restored the Pope to his seate and Palace; and thence marched forwards, to warre against **ROGER**, who with the helpe of his friends and subjects, had raised a great Army, vaunting in braue tearmes, that he would fight with the Emperour. But **ROGER** shamefully retiring without daring to meete him, put his men into garrisons, to defend his countries; but the Emperour followed the warres with such expedition and courage, that within short space he became Lord of *Pulia*, and *Calabria*, and of all the rest that **ROGER** held; and constrained him to flie out of *Italy*, and to get him into *Sicily*. And to the Emperour his being there came Ambassadors from **CALOIOANNES** Emperour of *Constantinople*, to congratulate his victories obtained against **ROGER**, whom he much hated, and against whom he had afterwards great warres.

Roger King of Sicily a German out of Italy.

At this time died the Antipope **ANACLETVS**. And so the Emperour finding no resistance in *Italy* (hauing subdued the rebellious, and rewarded and honoured those which had faithfully serued him, in such manner that they write of him, that since the time of **CHARLES** the Great, not any Emperour had euer liued there in so great power and authority) he returned into *Germany*: but before his departure, he bestowed vpon a great German Prince, who was his neere kinsman and favorite, whose name was **RAYNOLD**, the State of *pulia*, with the title of Duke thereof, which he tooke from **ROGER**. About which gift, notwithstanding that the Pope was well content therewith, **OTHO** **FRISINGENSIS** (who was an eye witness and an Author of those times) writeth, that there was some difference betwene the Emperour and the Pope: The Pope alleging, the Countreies of *Pulia* and *Calabria* to be subject and feudatory to the Church of *Rome*; and that the fauor and title which was giuen to **RAYNOLD**, should haue bene giuen by him, and not by the Emperour: but in the end, a meane was found, that it was done in both their names; and the Armes and Ensignes of Duke, were giuen to **RAYNOLD** by them both; and so **RAYNOLD** remained a Duke; and the Emperour departing, left many good men of warre with him, whereof he afterwards stood in neede, as you shall heare: And so leauing the Pope in *Rome*, he returned towards his countrey, triumphing of his victories. Vpon the way coming to the Mountaines of *Trent*, he fell so grievously sick, that vnable to trauell any further, he died in a little village, in the thirteenth yeere after that he was chosen Emperour, and in the seuenth after his coronation in *Rome*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight: his body was carried into *Saxony*, and there most sumptuously entombed, and by his death grew great alterations, both in *Italy* and *Germany*, as shall be related.

He left no more children behinde him when he died, but his only daughter **GERTVDE**, who (I said) was married to **HENRY** Duke of *Baniera*; for his onely sonne called **LOTHARY** died a child before him.

In the time of this Emperour (as he was a great Iusticer) the lawes and institutions collected by the Emperour **IVSTINIAN**, were againe reuiued and tooke effect; which through the diuision and declining of the Empire, were growne out of vse, and in a manner quite forgotten; and **VERNERVS** whom **ACVSIVS** (a glosser vpon the ciuill law) calleth **YRNERIVS**, sought, and tooke out of the auncient Libraries, the bookes of the lawes which **IVSTINIAN** had compiled, and abbreuiated out of the institutions of the Pretors and Ediles, and auncient Emperours; which lay forgotten, and euen lost: and hee corrected and reduced the same into the best form he was able; which the Emperour **LOTHARY** commanded to be read in Schooles, and that all Pleas should bee determined by them; and so it is obserued vnto this day.

Within a while after this, these lawes beganne to be glosed vpon by **Azo** a famous Doctor; and afterwards succeeded **ACVSIVS**; and they haue still so increased, that since that time there haue been many great and famous men in that facultie; which hold the greatest authority and degree in the estate and government of all Common-wealths. In *Constantinople* yet reigned **CALOIOANNES**, warring against the Infidels, and against **ROGER** King of *Sicily*.

Roger King of Sicily a German out of Italy.

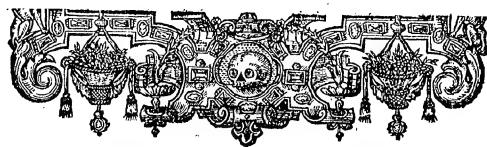
The death of the Emperour Lothary.

1133

A reformation in the ciuill law.

The beginning of the ciuill Lawyers.

THE





THE
LIFE OF CONRADE, THE
THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND
FOVRSORE AND SIXTEENTH ROMAN

Emperour. And therein is treated of CALOIOAN-
NES, and of his sonne EMANVEL,
Emperours of Constantinople.

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THE ARGUMENT.



After Lothary succeeded Conrade, Nephew to the Emperor Henry the Fifth, who was chosen by the Electors, and confirmed by the Popes Legate. He was in the beginning of his reign disturbed by the sonne in law of Lotharius, who withheld from him the Imperiall ensignes; and not only refused to deliver them, but also to yeelde him any obedience; whereupon the Emperor proclaimed him Rebelle, and tooke from him by force many estates: but this war had so many variable accidents, that the Emperor therein spent seven yeeres, during which time, he took no great care how matters went in Italie. He went to the warres of the Holylands, and being comm into his enemies Countreys, received so great an overthrow, that scarcely remained the tenth man of those which went with him. After this rout, he prosecuted his attempt, in company of the French King, from whom he afterwards departed; holding his being with him for dishonourable. He returned thither the third time, and together with the Kings of France and of Jerusalem, did nothing of any account. Afterwards, fith it pleased not God to fauor the proceedings of the Christians in this enterprise, neither of the Princes returned into his Countrey: And the Emperor being comm into Germany, whilst he was making preparation for his going into Italy, he was crowned, died (as many men thought) of poyson, in the sixteenth yeer of his reign.



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I haue already related how that the Emperor Lothary married his only daughter to HENRY Duke of Bauiere (called the Proud) who was a valiant and mighty Prince; and that he gaue him the title of Duke of Saxony, which was his house and patrimony; and that this HENRY did him great seruice in his journey into Italy, and also against the two mighty brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK, Dukes of Suenia and Franconia, who were his enemies a long time: for when Lothary was chosen Emperour, they thought to haue had it for one of themselves, being Nephews to the deceased Emperor HENRY the Fifth, and Grand-children of the Emperour HENRY the Fourth. When-as the Emperour Lothary was dead, his sonne in law HENRY Duke of Bauiere, who came with him, and was already called Duke of Saxony, gat into his custody the Imperiall Ensignes; as the Scepter, the Croffe, the Crowne, and the Globe, imagining that he should haue had vse for them; for that he thought to haue bene Emperour, but they were of little vse to him: For the two brethren, CONRADE and FREDERICK Dukes of

of Suenia and Franconia (afore named) were of so great power and authoritie, as assembling the Princes Electors in Confluence (where the Riuer of Mosella joyneth with the Rhine, THEODORICUS a Cardinall and the Popes Legate being there present) CONRADE was chosen Emperour, and all the Princes swore to him homage and obedience; which the Saxons and Bauiarians only opposed with HENRY their Lord, and his brother GVELPHO, who was a great and valiant Prince. Whereupon the new Emperour called a generall Diet or Councell to be held in the citie of Bamberg, whither came the widow Emperesse, late wife to Lothary, and the Deputies of Saxony, to acknowledge and yeeld obedience vnto him: But Duke HENRY would not appeare, neither would he send the Imperiall Ensignes which he had in his power: and so by all the Princes there assembled, with the Emperours authoritie, he was enjoyned to appeare and to send the Ensignes afore said, by the feast day of Saint PETER and PAUL then next following; which he did (for he durst doe no other) but would not come himselfe in person: Whereupon the Emperour (desiring to be at peace) after two or three summons, enjoined him, within a certaine prefixed time, to make his appearance in the Citie of Ausburgh; for which purpose he presently caused a Councell to be summoned, and made great preparation, meaning to haue proceeded against him with all rigour and seueritie.

The Councell being assembled, HENRY accompanied with many men of warre, of Saxony and of Bauiere, came neere to that place where it was held, and lodged his Campe, and began to treat of meanes to come to the Emperours obedience; which treaty continued three daies without any conclusion: for the Emperour required him to resigne certain lands which his father in law the Emperor Lothary had given him: but the Emperour holding himselfe not in safety in that Citie, departed without any speech of his removing, vntill he was gone, and went to the Citie of Herbispoli: where many Princes meeting, by the generall consent of them all, he pronounced sentence against HENRY of Bauiere; whereby he condemned him in the losse of all his estates: and many great matters happened, which we will declare, when we haue told you what befell in Italie to the Pope and to Duke RAINOLD, whom the Emperour Lothary made Duke of Pulia and Calabria, with ROGER King of Sicily; which passed in this manner:

As soone as the Emperor Lothary was dead, there grew so great alterations and troubles in Italy, that ROGER in great haste raised his forces, and went into Pulia, with a resolution to haue reconquered those Countreys, whereof he was dispossessed: But RAINOLD had fogood men with him, that he fought with him in battell, and ouerthrew him; so as he was driuen to returne with losse of part of his Army: And being busied about making new preparation for the same enterprise, RAINOLD died in the time of his good fortune; so as without any great difficultie, ROGER recovered all the Countreys of Pulia and Calabria, which he first tooke from his Nephew, and which had been his grand-fathers. Pope INNOCENT seeing what passed, he sent to the Emperour to desire him to come into Italie, or to send an Army to driue ROGER out of that Countrey: but for as much as the succours came slowly (as writeth GOTHFREDVS VITERBIENSIS) the Pope leuied a great Army, and went against ROGER: but as he was no very expert man of warre, so by a deuce his Army was ouerthrowne, and himselfe together with his Cardinals taken prisoner. But ROGER making a conscience of the matter, set both him and all his Cardinals at liberty: for which his liberality and courtesie the Pope confirmed him King of Sicily; and ROGER as his liege man did homage to the Pope, calling his Countreys the Church Patrimony; and so remayned ROGER and his successors kings of Sicilia, and Lords of Pulia and Calabria, and was a very mighty Prince.

This being passed, ROGER fearing the Emperours comming into Italie, he sent to sollicite HENRY the proud, and his brother GVELPHO, with Letters and money to beare Armes against the Emperour CONRADE, with whom they already had great warres: for HENRY the Proud being condemned by the Emperour, in the losse of all his estates of Bauiere and Saxony; and the Emperour hauing giuen the Duchie of Saxony to ALBERT cousin-germane to the Duke; and Bauiere to LEOPOLD sonne to the Marquesse of Austria (who was the Emperours mothers brother) so as all was in combustion, and the warre was prosecuted with great crutchy, the one party seeking to hold and to defend their estates, and the other to get the same: and he which chiefly followed this warre was GVELPHO, brother to HENRY the Proud; for HENRY now by reason of his old age could not well beare Armes; and hauing provided a very good Armie, the Emperour went against GVELPHO, and fought a battaile with him,

Conrade chosen
Emperour.

Warre between
the Pope and
Roger King of
Sicily: wherein
the Pope was o-
uerthrowne, and
taken prisoner,
with all his
Cardinals.

Warre between
the Emperour
and the Duke of Baui-
ere and Saxony.

Warre between
the Emperour
and the Duke of Baui-
ere and Saxony.

which was very doubtfull, for GVBELPHO was an excellent Captaine and very valiant: but he being ouer-matched, was ouerthrowne, and lost many of his men, both Banarians and Italians; which ROGER King of Sicilie had sent to his aide, and he himselfe escaped by flight. But he was a man of so haughtie a minde, and therewith vied such industry and expedition, that within few daies he reinforced his Army; and fought aide of the King of Hungary, who repined at the prosperity of the Empire, for that he would not acknowledge any superiour: and so to his aide came many Calabrians and Sicilians, sent by ROGER King of Sicilie: and the Emperour of necessitie was driuen to doe the like, and made his eldest sonne called HENRY General of his Army, who afterwards died before his father: and he besieged a Towne called *Winperg*. And lying before it, his sonne HENRY, neer to a place called *Biosen*, fought a battaile with GVBELPHO, in which, some of GVBELPHO his partie (which were Italians) cryed, GVBELPHO, GVBELPHO, after the name of their Generall; and the Imperialists cryed, GIBELLIN, GIBELLIN, for that HENRY their Generall was bred vp in a place so called.

The originall of the Guelphs and Gibelins.

Some Authors affirme, that vpon this occasion it afterwards followed, that in the controversies betweene the Emperours and Popes, the Imperialists tooke their name of Gibellins, and the Popes partie, Guelphs. And from hence sprang the cruell factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins in *Italie*: Heereof are other opinions, which import not much to be treated of in this place.

The battell was very cruell, but GVBELPHO his troups (being of diuers Nations and conditions) did not so well second and relieue one another, as HENRY's did; so as GVBELPHO was likely to haue been ouerthrowne. And finding no other remedie, to auoide a further danger, he abandoned the field, and HENRY apparently had the victory: who after that he left the pursuit, joyned with his father the Emperour at the siege of *Winperg*; which being greatly distressed, yielded to mercy. But all the grace the Emperour would grant to the inhabitants, was to permit all the women which were in the Town, freely to depart, and to haue to their owne vse whatsoever they could beare on their backs: Whereupon they vied a commendable and memorable deceit, which was, that as they went forth of the Towne, each of them tooke her husband vpon her back, and those which had none, tooke their children or brothers, and so comming into the fields, set them at libertie: and notwithstanding that FREDERICK the Emperours brother alleged that it was deceit and colouage, and therefore not to be permitted; neuertheless the Emperour held it for well done, and commended them for the same. And truly I hold it for one of the most memorable acts done by women that euer I read of.

A commendable deceit vsed by women in Germany.

Through these two ouerthrowes, the partie of GVBELPHO, and of his brother HENRY the Proud, was so broken and weakened, as ALBERT, to whom the Emperour had giuen the title of Duke of *Saxony*, had time and oportunitie to make himselfe Lord thereof: And LEOPOLD, to whom he had giuen the Duchie of *Bauerie*, made daily Conquest of more and more of that Countrey. Duke HENRY seeing this, came disguised to such places as held for him in *Saxony*, where he vied such effectfull speeches, and wrote so pittifull Letters to his friends and subiects, that they being moued therewith, repaired vnto him in such order, that ALBERT was driuen to flie to the Emperour for helpe; and HENRY the Proud hauing this good successe, and being in hope to haue preuailed, died; after whose decease, the Saxons in despite of the Emperour, tooke a sonne of his called also HENRY, for their Lord; and they recovered great part of that estate: But LEOPOLD was seised of the greatest part of the Duchie of *Bauerie*, who (as I said) was the Emperours mothers brother: GVBELPHO as soone as his brother HENRY the Proud was dead, was called Duke of *Bauerie*, pretending that it did belong vnto him by inheritance: and many friends repairing vnto him, cruell warres beganne between him and LEOPOLD, and GVBELPHO ouerthrew LEOPOLD in a battaile: The Emperour seeking redresse (to the end he would not at one time haue so many Irons in the fire together) compounded and made peace with the Saxons, marrying the widow Duchesse of *Saxony*, daughter to the Emperour LOTHARY, with whom HENRY the Proud had that Dukedome, of the greatest part whereof his sonne HENRY was then in possession: and this being effected, he resolved to aide LEOPOLD against GVBELPHO: but in the meane time LEOPOLD died, and with the same trouble his sonne called HENRY had the Duchie of *Bauerie*, against whom (with no lesse courage and diligence) GVBELPHO prosecuted the warre: But CONRADE assisting his cousin-Germane the new Duke, neither GVBELPHO nor his Ne-

phew

phew HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, could preuaile against him; notwithstanding that GVBELPHO was a warlike and valiant Captaine.

CONRADE hauing spent fix or seuen yeeres of his raigne in these ciuill wars, a voyage was pretended to *Ierusalem*, which although it had no great good successe, yet it was good and commendable. And to the end that you may the better vnderstand the same, it shal be requisite briefly to set downe the most important causes thereof, and the estate wherein the affaires of *Gracie*, then stood, and of *Italie* also; which was in this manner: The Christians hauing possessed *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities in *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, now about fixe and forty yeeres, and hauing performed wonderfull matters in their continuall warres against the Infidels, which they waged at what time as CONRADE was busie about this quarrell; FULCO sonne-in-law to BALDVIN, being then the fourth King of *Ierusalem*, and hauing done great exploits against the Sarazins; there arose some controuersies betweene some Princes, Dukes of certaine places in the East; and so betweene them, and CALOIANNE, Emperour of *Constantinople*; which gaue occasion to the King of *Persia* his Captaines, to doe much harme in the countries which the Christians possessed: against whom, FULCO King of *Ierusalem* made the greatest resistance he was able, and did many worthie exploits.

Then ensued the death of the Greeke Emperour, who had raigned fix and twentie yeeres: And although that hee had troubled the state of the East, yet neuertheless by reason of his great power he was much feared of the Infidels; and died of a small wound giuen him in the left hand with a poysoned arrow: by his last will and testament, he ordained his youngest sonne for his successor, for that his eldest sonne was incapable of the gouernment. The state of *Syria* being thus troubled, FULCO King of *Ierusalem* went to encounter a great Armie of Turks and Persians, which came against the citie of *Antioch*, and ioyning in battaile, ouerthrew and slew threethousand of them: whereupon the Soldane King of *Persia*, whose name was ALAPH, drew together all his whole power, and came before *Edissa*, a very mightie citie in *Mesopotamia*, which the Christians had held fixe and fortie yeeres; which citie by the Iewes is called *Aracina*, and is very famous, through the fertilitie and greatnes thereof, and for that it was the place, whither TOBIAS sent his sonne TOBIAS to GAERLVS for his mony, and the same was conuerted to the Christian faith by THADVS; and adorned with the bones of S. THOMAS the Apostle, and at this time was inhabited and frequented by excellent Christians: But ALAPH comming in person against it, King FULCO not being able to relieue the citie, it was taken and sackt; wherein the Infidels vied such cruelties and villanies, as haue not been heard of: some writers reckon the losse of this citie to haue happened after the decease of King FULCO: but PLATINA and BLONDVS relate it as I haue done.

After the losse of this citie, another great misfortune ensued, which was the unhappie death of FULCO King of *Ierusalem* in this manner: As he was busie, applying himself to recouer this losse, and to leue new troups of souldiers, being one day in the fields hunting the Hare, his horse fell with him, and his head fell vnder the backe part of the saddle, wherewith hee was bruised, and so sore hurt, that losing both his speech and senses, hee died within three daies, leauing behinde him two young sonnes, the eldest of which called BALDVIN, had the title and kingdom of *Ierusalem*; but through the want of FULCO, and other occasions, the Infidels daily took townes, and did much hurt to the Christians.

The death of Fulco King of Ierusalem.

Pope INNOCENT and the Christian Princes vnderstanding how matters went in the East, and being sorie to heare thereof (as in deede they had reason, especially for the losse of the great citie of *Edissa*) they began to consult of some redresse and reliefe for the same; and as S. BERNARD was then in great credit and very famous, he took vpon him to perswade the Christians Princes, to goe in person to this warre, Pope INNOCENT giuing him in charge to performe that action; which Pope hauing held that seate the space of fourteene yeeres, died (as saith PLATINA) in the yeere of our Lord 1144. and to him succeeded CLEMENT the Second, who was Pope but fixe moneths; and he being dead, LVCIVS the Second was made Pope, in whose time (as saith PLATINA and BLONDVS) S. BERNARD undertook this enterprise; and as others say, in the time of INNOCENTVS. This difference doth not discredit the authors: for the losse of the citie of *Edissa*, and the death of King FULCO, and other matters which happened in the East, passed at severall times, and might happen in the time of all these Popes, for the small time they liued: for LVCIVS the Second was not Pope fully one yeere, and this was in the time of his successor EUGENIVS. I say then that by meanes of the Popes Letters, together with the perswasion of S. BERNARD, LEUVES who then was King

of France, taking for his deuice the signe of the Crosse determined with many great Lords and Knights of his countries, to goe to this warre in the East, in the behalfe of the King of Ierusalem; and leuying an Army, BERNARD went into Germany to the Emperor CONRADE (whose life we write) and obtained of him to doe the like, as the French King pretended to doe: where- to he willingly and speedily prepared himselfe; and it pleased God that this iourney was so well liked of by all men, that notwithstanding that there were very sharpe and hot warres betwene the Emperor, and GUYLPHO with his adherents, yet GUYLPHO notwithstanding offered to goe this iourney with him, and to do him seruice therein. And so the Emperor and the French King (by their Letters) agreed to goe to that enterprise personally. But forasmuch as they both could not conveniently march together in companie, by reason of the great multitudes of their people; it was concluded that the Emperor should first set forwards (and so he did) in the yeere of our Lord 1147, according to most authors, yet some write one yeere lesse; and he departed, accompanied by these Princes, FREDERICK Duke of Suenia, sonne to his brother FREDERICK deceased, the Duke of Lorraine, the Earle of Blanders and Friseland, the Marquess of Austria, and GUYLPHO his former cruell enemy, but then his seruant and companion, whome the Emperor in all that iourney called fellow fouldier, and made great account of his person, with many other Princes and Lords of great account. In this all authors agree, that of the Emperours owne forces, with the forces of these Princes, together with the adventurers, which came from all parts, vpon the report of so zealous an enterprise, his Army amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand horse, and (in a manner) as many foote: with which, marching through Austria and Hungary, he directed his iourney towards Constantinople; where he was very ioyfully and honourably receiued by the Emperor EMANUEL, son to CAEOLOANNE; and his troups were lodged in townes and places neere at hand, and staying there some few dayes, he crossed ouer the straight of Constantinople with his whole Armie, with lesse store of victuals then was needfull in such an action, through the Emperour of Constantinople his counsell and default, who promised to furnish him with all things necessarie, and so hee marched through the Emperours Countries, in Asia the lesse, and had Greeces for his guides, such as well knew the Country.

Passing through the Prouince of Liconia, which bordereth vpon Galacia, in the middelt of Asia the lesse, being in his enemies Country in great want of victuals, all his guides in one night forsooke him: which, as some write, was thought to haue been done by the direction of the Emperour of Constantinople, who of malice or enuie repined at this war. Others imagine that they stood in feare, and fled, for that they saw the Army so vnprouided of victuals, or for that they had mislaid of their way: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperour stayed neere to the Citie of Iconium, which is in Sicilia, and (as some say) besieged the same, for that it was rich, well furnished, and of great importance, thinking in short time to haue taken it. But forasmuch as victuals came not according to the trust he reposed in the Greeces, his people within few daies space endured extreame hunger and sickness; and falling sick of the chaule which (as some write) the Grecks did put into their meale, they dyed.

The Emperour seeing himself thus distressed in his enemies countrie, and his friends being doubtfull and variable in their opinions, whether they should goe forwards, or retire (either of which was perillous) in the meane time, so great a multitude of Turks, Persians, and other heathen nations (knowing the distresse wherein the Christians were) assaulted his Campe, in such manner, that his person and Armie were in danger to haue been wholly lost (God in his secret iudgement, permitting it): and the Emperour knowing no better course to be taken, came to a battaile with them; some say two, and that the fight continued two daies together, one after another; and as the greatest part of his Army was sickly, and almost hunger-starued; so after that they had done what they possibly were able, they were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine and taken prisoners, that there remained little more then the tenth man of his Army; with which he elaped by sight, and therein endured extreame hunger and many daungers, and stayed not any where untill he came to the citie of Nicea, in the prouince of Bythinia, in Asia the lesse, which was subiect to the Greeke Empire; where gathering together the remainder of his Army (which from many parts, held by Christians, came thither to him) he determined to attend the coming of LEUVAS the French King, who was alreadye vpon the way. This ouerthrow happened in the month of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand, one hundred fourtie and seuen.

At what time as the Emperour CONRADE was thus ouerthrowne by the Infidels, the French

The Emperour
Conrade and
Leues King of
France went to
Ierusalem.

Treatise of
the Emperours
guides.

The Emperour
Conrade ouer-
throwne by the
Saracens.

French King was come from Constantinople into Bythinia; where he had been well receiued and lodged by the Emperour EMANUEL: and within few daies after that the Emperour CONRADE was departed from Germany, POPE EUGENIUS the Third, which succeeded LEUVAS, flying from Rome, came to him in France, by reason of certaine mutinies raised against him in Rome, for the people would haue placed certaine citizens in the government of the citie; and the Pope finding the King ready to depart, encouraged him to proceede in his iourney, and gave him his holy benediction; and the King in requital gaue him men and money, wherewith he returned to Rome, and was with much obedience there receiued.

King LEUVAS of France being arrived in Asia, and vnderstanding nothing of the Emperours misfortune, FREDERICK Duke of Suenia, Nephew to the Emperour, came to him, and certified him of their ouerthrow: wherefore the King hastened his iourney, and finding the Emperour in Nicea, he comforted and perswaded him to proceede in his companie; which he then willingly did, and so they marched together to the famous citie of Ephesus, which is the cheefe of all Asia the lesse, in the prouince of Ionia: where the Emperour considering that hee went not according to his estate and honour, going with so small forces, but rather as a subiect to the King of France, and for some other respects, giuing good words he tooke his leaue of the King, and departed; and drawing neere to the Sea, sent his people by land, and he by Shippe went to stay for them at Constantinople: where dissembling the iniurie he had receiued (or peradventure not suspecting any such matter) he remained the rest of the winter; to the end that reinforcing his Army, he might from thence the next Spring returne to his enterprise.

In the meane time the French King prosecuted his iourney, not without great trouble and losse of many of his men, in a battaile which he wonne; and in another, wherein part of his Armie was ouerthrowne: how it passed I doe not set downe, for that it appertaineth not to my Historie. After this, enduring great toile and dangers, by long iourneys he came to the citie of Antioch, in company of RAIMOND or REMON, Lord thereof, who came to meete him vpon the way, and to doe him honor, from whence he afterwards (as I will shew you) came to Ierusalem.

The Spring being come, and the Emperour CONRADE hauing leuiued new forces, which he ioynd with the remainder of his last Armie; in a great flecte which hee had prepared, with the helpe of the Emperour of Constantinople, he embarked, and came therein into Syria; and there disembarking in a certaine harbour, came with his Army by land to Ierusalem, where, by BALDVIN the King thereof, he was very ioyfully receiued; and within few daies they had intelligence, that the French King was coming thither also: whom the Emperour, and King BALDVIN receiued with great ioy; and then to auoyde losse of much time, they presently took counsell about prosecuting the warre against the Infidels; concluding to besiege the citie of Damasco, from whence (for that it was very puissant and populous) they daily receiued losse, preiudice, and ill neighbourhood: and so taking that obstacle, they resolved to haue proceeded further, which plot was presently put in execution; and the Emperour, and the two Kings departed, with a great and very well ordered Armie, with a resolution, and in hope to haue effected some great matters: but it pleased God otherwise to dispose of their purpose: for being come to Damasco, and hauing encamped themselves on that side of the citie, towards Mount Zibanius, they had many dangerous skirmishes: wherefore (through the aduice and counsell of certaine men of that countrie, which, being corrupted with money by the besieged, desired to deceiue these Princes) they removed their Campe to the other side, and abandoned the most fit place for their siege: whereof it ensued, that the Infidels taking the aduantage of an Hill (which they fortified) did greatly annoy them; and this Hill was so situate, that it stopp the coming of victuals to the Campe: and the besieged defended themselves so valiantly, and famine so much increased in these Princes armies, that it was impossible for them to liue, if they remained there any longer, so as they were perforce constrained to raise their siege, and returned to Ierusalem, sorrowfull and in ill plight, there to consult of what course was best to be taken. In this siege (as faith the Abbat WESPERGENSIUS) GUYLPHO, the Emperours antient enemy (yet then his good friend) fell sicke: and feareing to die if he had staid there any longer, he with his followers tooke shipping and sailed into Sicilia, where recovering his health, through the counsell and instigation of ROGER King thereof, he went into Germany, and there againe rebelling, made warres vpon the Emperours countries.

The Emperour and French King then resolved to returne into their dominions, seeing it pleased not God to prosper their proceedings; and the rather to the end to auoyde innovations

Damasco be-
sieged by the
Christians.

The returne of
the Emperour
and the French
King from the

and

waves of the
Holy land.

and troubles that might grow in the countries, by reason of their absence; and they did so, leaving the affaires of the East in as ill estate as they found the same. The Emperor rigging vp his naue, embarked himself with his people, and again took land in *Gracia* (as saith *THO FRISINGENSIS*, who accompanied him in all this journey) and in the province of *Achaia*, met the Emperor of *Constantinople*: where refreshing himself awhile after his coming from Sea, he departed from the said Emperour, and took his way into *Germany*, and so ended this religious enterprise, in the fourth yeere after the same began. The French King, within few dayes after the Emperors departure from the Holy land, tooke shipping also; and after some adventures which befell him in the way, arrived in his countrie, in health and peace; and the Emperour againe warred against *GVELPHO*, to punish him for his rebellion in his absence: but at the entreatie of his Nephew *FREDERICK*, Duke of *Suenia*, who was likewise Nephew to *GVELPHO* by his mothers side, he pardoned him, and graunted him peace, and allowed him certaine lands and reuenues for his maintenance.

At this time came Ambassadors to the Emperour from the Christian Kings, and from the Pope, to congratulate his returne; and hee commanded a Diet or Councell to be assembled in the cite of *Confluence*, where, after many matters appertaining to the government of the Common-wealth, he concluded to come into *Italy*, to be crowned (being thereto invited by Pope *VABANA* before named) and making preparation for his journey, hee was intercepted by death; not without suspition of poyson, given him by an Italian Phisician, through the procurement of *ROBERT* King of *Sicilia*; he died in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred fiftie two, in the fiftieth yeere of his raigne (some reckon one thousand, one hundred fiftie and four) and left one onely sonne called *FREDERICK*, who afterwards being Duke of *Suenia*, died in *Italy*: which sonne he had by his wife the Emperesse, whose name was *GISTRUDA*, an Earles daughter which was a great Lord in *Germany*, by whom he also had had another son, called *HENRY*; of whom mention hath been already made, who died before his father the Emperour.

In *Constantinople* reigned *EMANUEL*, and held the Empire after this almost thirtie yeeres, this Emperour is reckoned amongst the wicked and vicious Emperors, and is greatly condemned, to haue bene the occasion of the losse of the two Armies, *viz.* the Emperors, and the French Kings, as we haue already related. For which cause, it is written that *ROBERT* King of *Sicily* warred against him: and having taken certaine Ilands from him, he came fo neere to the cite of *Constantinople*, that the arrowes which he shot, fell within his palace; and they affirme, that he gathered apples from the trees, growing in the Orchards and Gardens belonging thereto. This *ROBERT* died within a yeere or two after the Emperour *CONRADE*; and his sonne *WILLIAM* the First succeeded him.

In the time of this Emperour, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred thirtie nine, died in *France*, a man called *JOHN du Temps*, who (as many authors affirme) had liued three hundred sixtie and one yeeres, and had bene an Halberder of the Emperour *CHARLES* the Great his guard; it is a matter hardly to be beleueed, yet possible; and many authors write the same.



THE

THE LIFE OF FREDERICK, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, SVRNAMED

BARBAROSSA; Fourrescore and seuenteenth Romane Emperor. And
of EMANUEL, Emperor of Constantinople.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



After the decease of *Conrade*, his Nephew *Frederick*, Duke of *Suenia*, was chosen Emperour; a man endued with all excellencies, as well of body as minde, sating that he was bid to be more desirous of glory then was conuenient. In the beginning of his raigne he shewed himselfe verie desirous of peace: but afterwards, in proceesse of time, he undertook great warres; and hauing caused many combustion in *Germany*, he purposed to make a iourney into *Italy*, there to be crowned. Having leised a great army, and being past the Alpes, he much annoyed the *Milanois*, who made an insurrection against him; but spending no long time about those factions, hee went to Rome, where he was crowned by the Pope. In the time of his coronation many troubles arose in Rome; where with he was much displeased; which leaving imperfect, he returned into *Germany*, where he afterwards fell at variance with the Pope, by means of the King of *Sicilia*, who was his enemy: this controuersie was pacified by Christian Princes, which persuaded him rather to seek to be reuenged on the *Milanois* then to war against the Pope. Whereupon he resolved against to come into *Italy*, by reason of *Milan*, and came thither and ruined it, and made it to be razed by the *Milanois* themselves, who were the Citizens and Inhabitants thereof; and besides this, he did much more harme. He maintained schisme in the Church of Rome, and gave great ayde to the Anti-Pope, whose name was *Victor*: but all *Italy* was discontent, by reason of the cruell punishment inflicted upon *Milan*; so when as he was gone out of *Italy*, all the Cities of *Lombardie* uniting themselves together made a league against him; wherein was included the City of *Venice*, which took the protection of Pope *Alexander*. Which the Emperour hearing, he sent the Anti-pope into *Italy*, who dyed in *Lucas* where, by the Emperors consent, a successor was chosen, to maintain the schisme, and he in person came against the leagues wherein all *Italy* in a manner, being combined, bent against him; and coming to Rome, he contrayned the Pope to fly to *Gaeta*, hauing first done much harme in *Tuscanie* in the *Marca*, and particularly in the Citty of *Ancona*: and after many adventures, he went out of *Italy*, without effecting ought against the Pope as he desired. After some space, he againe returned into *Italy*: but, being abandoned by the greater part of his followers (instigated thereto by *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*) the Emperour was in such distresse, as he was contrayned to go sometime disguised, as another mans seruant; but he very severely punished *Henry*, for his mutining. He againe took his passage into *Italy*, and in a battaile, with his enemies, was vanquished, and belaid dead; but recanting his former proceeding, he sed to be recontrayned to peace. Afterwards he went to warre in the Holy land, and hauing done some matters worthy memorie, in the most flourishing time of his victories, going to refresh himselfe in a river, he was caried downe by the current, his people being unable to help him, and there was drowned, when he had reigned 28 yeeres.



Orwithstanding that the Emperour *CONRADE*, when he died, left a sonne whose name was *FREDERICK*, who was called Duke of *Suenia*; neuertheless, so great was the reputation of his Nephew *FREDERICK*, who was his brother *FREDERICKS* sonne, and Duke of *Suenia*, that the Princes Electors being assembled in *Frankford*, made him Emperour; and he presently went to be crowned, with the first crowne, in the cite of *Aken*, whither repaired all the Princes of *Germany* to see the new Emperour. For without doubt, *FREDERICK* (as all authors write of him) was a Prince of great valour, and worthie of the Imperiall dignitie, as well for the gifts of the body as of the minde. He was of more then a meane stature of great strength and agilitie, very well proportioned in body, and of a faire and pleasing countenance, accompa-

Frederick
Barbarossa,
chosen Empe-
rour.

The death of
the Emperour
Conrade.

John de temps
is reported to
haue liued
three hundred
sixtie and one
yeeres.

accompanied with grauitie and maieftie. His haire and beard were red, wherefore he was called BARBAROSSA OF ENOBARVS. With these corporall gifts, he was endued with a sharpe and excellent wit, and spake wisely and effectually; and was of so excellent a memorie, especially concerning the gesture and countenance of a man, that whosoever had once negociated with him, although in long time after he had not seene him, yet he would know him at the first sight. He was also of a milde and pleasant conuersation, very liberal and bountifull, and an enemy to couetousnes; vertuous, without any noted vice; most valiant in Armes, and a contemner of dangers, very active both on foote and horsebacke; and very expert, and well aduised in the warres and militarie discipline. These vertues were accompanied with a great desire of glorie and renowne; for he was very ambitious, coueting rule and commaund, which in my opinion was the cause of many mischiefs, of great warres, and of the effusion of much blood in his time: the wars he followed in his owne person, with great courage and valour, for the space of thirtie yeeres, that he held the Empire: and imitating HENRY the Fourth, he supported and maintained a schisme in the Church of Rome, for the space of twentie yeeres; and requied the emulation, and competence betweene the Emperours and Popes, which LOTHARY and CONRAD had pacified: as we will briefly recite. The first thing he did after he came to the Empire, was, to call a Parliament in the cite of *Mesburgh*, whither (amongst other Princes) came the King of *Denmark*, newly come to his inheritance, who there was crowned by the Emperor FREDERICK, and did him homage, as a King subiect to the Empire. And there also received the Ambassadors of other Christian Princes, which sent to congratulate his election, and he concluded peace with them all. So in his beginning, he made shew of a very peaceable Prince, but he afterwards proued to be one of the greatest warriors in the world: and it appeared, that in the beginning hee sought peace, thereby to be afterwards the better able to make warre.

At that time was great contention betweene the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Bauiere* (both which were called HENRY) which extended itself ouer all *Germany*; some fauouring the one partie, and some the other. HENRY Duke of *Saxony* made claime to the Duchie of *Bauiere*, which had bene his fathers: whereof he was deprived by the Emperour CONRAD, and now HENRY Marquess of *Austria* held the same, and was called Duke of *Bauiere*, for that his brother LEOPOLD had left it him; for to him had the Emperour CONRAD giuen it. The Emperour FREDERICK, for that he was neere of kinne to both these competitors (for the one of them was his Vncle, and the other his cosin german) reconciled them after this manner; that to HENRY of *Saxony* should be restored the Duchie of *Bauiere* (but yet he afterwards lost the same) and he made HENRY Marquess of *Austria* (who was called the Duke of *Bauiere*) Duke of *Austria*, and gaue him some other places; and to GUYLPHO, Vncle to the Duke of *Saxony*, he gaue certaine lands, and an estate in *Italy*, which he enherited from MAYD, often before mentioned.

This peace and agreement being concluded, and all other actions and debates in *Germany* ended, hee spent many daies in establishing peace, and in doing iustice. After which, HENRY Count Palatine of the *Rhine* (a prince of great possessions) died without issue or any of his howfe, that might succede him; but the Emperour found a meane to make his brother CONRAD his heire; who had that countie, and he afterwards dying, left it to his only daughter, which was married to HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, by which marriage he gat that estate. These and such like accidents and alterations which I finde in the Histories of *Germany*, written by the Germanes themselves, make me to doubt of these genealogies, and antiquities of families, which they so much celebrate, to be of a thousand, and of two thousand yeeres continuance; descended in line masculine from the father to the son without bastardie; and other matters whereof the Germanes vaunt; which are, in a manner impossible, or at the least improbable; for we know that all those great houses and estates began since the time of CHARLES the Great; and I see that in those principall houses there haue bin notable alterations, and chaunges, from one howfe to another; as heretofore hath bin seene in some of them; and now in this Count Palatine, which in this place cleerely passeth from the auncient lineage, to the house of *Suenia*, and to this Emperours brother which happened in the second yeere of his raigue.

This being past, the Emperour married the daughter of DIOPOLD Marquess of *Bospergh*, called *Alada*; but forasmuch as it was found that they were within prohibited degrees of consanguinitie, a Synod was assembled in the cite of *Constance*, in which he was divorced and separated from her; and then he married with the onely daughter of RAYNOLD Earle of *Burgundie*, by

by whom he afterwards had five sonnes; HENRY, FREDERICK, CONRAD, PHILIP, and OTTO.

These matters being ended, the Emperour resolved to goe to *Rome*, to be crowned by Pope ADRIAN the Third, who was an English-man; leuying a great Armie; and setting order for the affaires of *Germany*, he departed towards *Italy*: it behoued him to do so, for the cities of *Lombardy* and others subiect to the Empire, through the long absence of the Emperour (for CONRAD had neuer visited them) were accustomed to such libertie, that any kind of subiection seemed to them intolerable, especially *Milan*, which of them all was the richest, and most potent. And so FREDERICK being arriued in *Italy*, Ambassadors came to him from *Milan*, which after their due reuerence, entreated him to be pleased, to make *Como* and *Lodi* subiect to their cite, promising to giue him a great summe of mony: which request he held vniust, and therefore would not graunt it: which was the originall occasion of the rebellion of *Milan*, and of the euils which afterwards ensued: and the Milanois presently began to shew their discontent, for the Emperours Campe being lodged within a mile of the cite, they not onely refused to lodge or to entertaine him therein, but denied to giue him victuals for his people for mony: whereupon, taking this their contempt in very ill part (as he afterwards manifested) he presently battered certaine Castles within their iurisdiction: but holding it no fit time presently to besiege the cite, his souldiers ouerranue their fields, euen to their citie gates; and he passing forwards, went to *Bercelli*, and to *Turin*, and passed ouer the riuier *Po*; and by the way burned *Aless*, for that it stood at defence; and afterwards besieged the cite of *Tortona*, for as much as it refused to receiue him, which was a very strong hold. The siege continuing certaine daies with great loss of both parts; in the end he tooke it, and made so great a spoile in it, that he left it (in a manner) desolate and wholly ruined: whereupon those of *Paula* (for feare) receiued him, making shew of great ioy; and there he receiued the second Crown, and thence marched towards *Rome*, whither he went to be crowned.

Pope ADRIAN at that time was not well pleased with the Romane people, about certaine Consuls which they had chosen, a kind of government (which for a long time they had sought to introduce) greatly abridging the Popes power and authoritie: about which, great matters had passed between the citizens and some of his predecessors, as before hath been mentioned. Wherefore to auoide this trouble, and to preuent certaine practices, which WILLIAM the new king of *Sicilia* attempted against the patrimonie of the Church of *Rome*, the Pope absented himselfe, and with his Cardinals attended the Emperours coming in *Sauria*, from whence, with a shew of great loue, they came together to *Rome*; and the Emperour lodging his Army in the fields neere vnto it, he, together with the Pope (having a competent guard) entered the Vaticane, and the next day was crowned in S. PETERS Church with great solemnitie. But the coronation was scarcely ended, when vpon the same day all the Romane people rising in a vproare, without knowing any occasion thereof, together with their Consuls, put themselves in Armes, as men discontented with the friendship between the Emperour and the Pope, and coming into the Vaticane, they set vpon the Germanes which came with the Emperour; who hearing what passed, hee caused certaine companies of souldiers, of those which were encamped neere to the cite, speedily to enter, which fought with the Romanists, and many were slaine of either side: but in the end the Romanes were constrained to retire by their bridges into the cite (seuen hundred of them being first slaine and taken prisoners).

The Emperour remaining commaunder of the Vaticane, was so incensed, that but for the Popes entreatie, he would haue caused the cite to haue been assaulted, and would haue giuen the inhabitants a terrible remembrance for their mutinying: but the Pope mitigated his displeasure, and the Romanes stood all that night and the next day in Armes; wherewith the Pope being grieved, was little obeyed. The Emperour departed thence, and within few daies after his abode in that quarter, went into *Germany* (whereof the Pope complained, for that he left him at variance with the citizens) and by the way took some townes by assault; amongst which, *Spolio* was sacked and burnt for resisting him: and so he afterwards passed through *Lombardy*, without any stay, with a determination to returne with greater power; where befall him some notable adventures, which (the better to expresse such as are of greater importance) I omit. Being now returned into *Germany*, with great power and greater authoritie, for that he was crowned by the Pope; the Duke of *Bohemia* whose name was VLADISLAV, or LAVSLAVS, who came with him all this iourney, was (by reason of his great estate and the

Pope Adrian
the third an
Englishman.

The Emperour
Frederick in
Italy.

The people of
Rome rose
against the Pope.

The Emperour
Fredericks
qualities.

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the
page

worthiness of his person) made King: yet I finde it written, that the Emperour HENRY the Fourth, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, eighty and six, gaue the title of King to BRATISLAV: Duke of Bohemia: but that title was then given to his person, and not to the countie; and so his successors enjoyed not the same, untill the time of this VLADISLAVS, which continueth untill this day. And the Emperour passing forwards, without discharging his Army, marched against the Duke of Poland; who for certain yeeres space had refused to pay the tribute, which he ought to the Empire: but he compelled him to pay the same.

The Emperour being gone out of Italy, great controuersie arose between the Pope and WILLIAM king of Sicilia; wherein the Pope recovered certaine places which WILLIAM had taken from him; EMANUEL Emperour of Constantinople (and WILLIAM's enemy) furthering those discords, who sent to the Pope, and made great offers and promises to aide and succour him: whereupon, after some conflicts which past betwene them, WILLIAM by all meanes possible sought the Popes grace and fauor, submitting himselfe to his obedience; and the Pope confirmed to him the title of King of both the Sicilies: wherewith the Emperour FREDERICK was much displeased, and greatly complained, for he hated WILLIAM; and at his coming into Italy, went of purpose to warre against him, although afterwards he could not effect the same as he thought to haue done.

For this cause and other which are not mentioned, in those daies great strife and contentions grew between the Emperour and the Pope; which neither PLATINA nor BLONDVS specifies, nor any other Italian Authors: but RYDERICVS FRISINGENSIS, who prosecuted the Historie which OTHO FRISINGENSIS left a little before, and other Historiographers, describe the same at large: the summe whereof is, that the Emperour began to doas some of his predecessors had done, in giuing Ecclesiasticall dignities, and inuesting Prelates without the Popes authority, or confirmation; and would not endure the Popes Legates in his countries, but when, how, and in what manner it pleased him, taking occasion hereof, that the Pope without his consent had made peace with his enemy WILLIAM: whereto the Pope answered, that he could doe no otherwise, for that the Emperour abandoned him in his distresse, when Rome rebelled against him. And the matter came to this issue, that the Emperour would not permit any appeals to be made to the Court of Rome; and about that matter he apprehended certain Bishops, which NAYCLERVS, and HENRICVS MCVIS, proue by certain Letters passing between the Emperour and the Pope: which Letters they affirme to haue seene in a Monastery of Germany. They also speake of certaine very sharpe Ambassages from the one to the other; and that in the end the Pope standing in feare of the Emperours power (being aduised by certaine Prelates) and also for that there was great discord between the Cities of Lombardy, whither the Emperour meant shortly to come; they came to an agreement of peace, which was concluded by Ambassadors in a Parliament, which the Emperour caused to be held in Ausburgh: where after this was ended, he made relation to all the Princes, of the iniurie which the Milanois, and certain other Cities in Lombardy had done him: And there it was concluded, that he should the second time come into Italy, with farre greater power then at the first.

And whilst he was busied about these matters, the Milanois (who at that time were of great power and very rich) being offended with what he had done in their fields and territoris, thought not only to free themselves from subiection, and to haue denied him their obedience, but also resolu'd to attend his coming in the open field with an Army, and to make themselves Lords of all that countie with the marches thereof, and to shake off the Imperiall yoke, presuming vpon their great power, and the aide of their friends and confederats: and so they began to leute men, and to make leagues and confederacies with other Cities, as with Crema, Brescia, Placencia, and other Townes: and they repaired and fortified Tortona, which the Emperour had ruined. Presently after this, they made cruell warre against Pavia, Cremona, and other places which held for the Emperour; and ruined the Cities of Lodi and Como, which of long time they had hated, and were vnder the Emperours protection. The chiefe Author hereof, was a man of great authority in Milan, whose name was GUALPHAGO, who (as a Lord or tyrant) was of such power in the citie, that all was done at his pleasure and by his direction; which made the Emperour the more to hasten his coming into Italy; two yeeres being not fully expired since his first coming thither: and with him came the king of Bohemia, LEOPOLD Marquess of Austria, his Nephew FREDERICK Duke of Suenia, and other princes, besides some which were sent before to guard the Citie of Cremona: The Emperour being in Italy, there came to doe him seruice, HENRY the Duke of Saxony with a thousand

thousand and three hundred men at Armes, and GUALPHO with three hundred. The Emperours coming into Italy did put the countie in such feare, that Brescia (whither he sent the King of Bohemia, and his nephew the Duke of Suenia) yielded without assault, promising to be at his deuotion. From thence he marched with his Army towards Milan, and by the way had some skirmishes, which I passe ouer: being come into the marches thereof, he staid and took certaine Castles, which he did of set purpose, supposing that the Milanois would haue sued for peace, or haue vsed some submission: but they were now growne so proud, that they applied themselves to nothing else, but to fortifie their citie: whereof when the Emperour was aduertised, he commanded the cities which were vnder his obedience, to send him fouldiers; and so from Cremona (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIS) came to him thirrie thousand fighting men; so great was the enuie they bare against Milan: and from Pavia and Novarra, there came also great numbers; with which, and with his own Army he went to Milan: whither when he came, they sallied out of the citie into the field, in a very great number both of foote and horse; and a bataille began betwene them, one wounding and killing another in most cruell manner: but the Milanois being vnable to endure the furie of the Imperialists, they retired, flying to the walles of the citie; and those of Cremona were so greedy in pursuing them, that they slawe ouerwent the battallions of the Germanes: which when the Milanois perceiued, turning head, they charged them in such manner that they made them retire, and in their retreat slew many of their men: And FREDERICK who saw all this, charged with his squadron with so great force and furie, that he made them of Milan to turne their backs; and wounding and killing many of them, compelled the rest to fly to the gates of their citie, and he firing the Suburbs, presently besieged the same; and so he held it besieged for certaine daies, in which were many great and notable skirmishes. But the Milanois seeing the Emperours resolution, and great power, and the engines which he raised to batter their walles, were in so great feare, that they resolu'd to yeeld, vpon the best conditions they could get, and to send their Ambassadors to the Campe; which confessing their offences, and craving pardon, with a long let speech entreated the Emperour to admit them into his seruice; and afterwards in particular they treated thereof with the Princes in the Army, and (as some authors say) gaue great gifts and presents: finally, they obtained mercy, yielded the citie, and were pardoned. Milan being now brought to subiection (as it was the head of all the rebels) the rest of the townes in Lombardy presently yielded obedience, and gaue securitie, promising to serue the Emperour; and to doe what they should be commanded; and the Emperour in person visited many of them, and appointed Ronealis to bee the place whither they should send their Proctors or Agents with their authority; where hee determined to hold a Parliament, to treat of the common estate of these prouinces. Having in so short space had this good successe in Lombardy hee disannulled some of their lawes and customes, and prescribed other new, with greater rigour then (in truth) he ought to haue done: whereof many inconueniences ensued.

The time appointed for their meeting being come, and they making their appearance accordingly; after many matters which there were debated, by the aduice of some of his Council, he caused an Instrument to be made, concerning an vniuersall peace; which he enioyned all the cities, and principall men, Marquesses and Barres in all Lombardy, to obserue. This was done after the Germane manner, with penalties therein accustomed; which being published and made knowne vnto them, they all murmured, and held themselves wronged, principally the Milanois; and this discontentment encreased in such manner, that it was the cause of greater miseries then the former, by reason of the tolls and taxes which the Emperour imposed vpon all the countie, reseruing to himselfe the election and prouision of all officers: and although he did it by the aduice and counsell of learned men and Princes, which maintained that the Emperour might doe it in all those countries; yet the people being vnaccustomed thereto, took it very grieuouly: which was the occasion of the evils which ensued; although in the beginning they durst not rebell.

After this, the Emperour (for a trophy of his victories) made the citie of Lodi to be new builded, and with all speede and diligence to be walled and fortified; and the Castles, which had bin aduersaries to Milan, to be repaired and walled, wherein he placed gottensours and garisons, and did other things which my breuitie permitteth me not to recite. And setting all things in the best order hee could, notwithstanding that hee knew that Milan had not obeyed his lawes and ordinances, concerning the impositions which hee had set (as saith the

Vladislaus
Duke of Bohemia
made king.

William con-
firmed by the
Pope king of
both Sicilies.

The Milanois
reioice the field
and triumph
with the Emper-
our.

Milan yielded
to the Emperour.

Abbat WESPERGENSIS, and JOHN CUSPINIAN and others) he tooke his way to wards the countrie of *Burgundy*; which was an estate he held by his wife: other authors speake not of this departure, but recite what ensued, as though he had not gone out of *Italy*: but in my judgement, *Milan*, *Crema*, and *Brescia*, and the other cities, would not have dared to perpetually to haue rebelled, if the Emperour with his Army had continued in *Lombardy*: wherefore (holding with WESPERGENSIS, and such others as are of his opinion) I say that as soone as the Emperour was gone out of *Lombardy*, these things ensued, which we will presently relate.

The Milanois (which neuer yielded to obey the Emperours lawes) seeing themselves of great power, tooke the field with their forces, and went to a castle which the Emperour had built neere to *Como*, and assaulting it, took it by force; and so they began the warre, and did as much harme as at the first, but with greater resolution: presently the cities of *Crema*, *Brescia*, and *Placencia* did the like, and all the rest of their faction. IOHANNES CREMONENSIS in his fourth booke saith, that the Pope made a league with WILLIAM King of *Sicilia* against the Emperour, which was the cause of great hatred betweene them. The Emperour being aduertised of the bold attempts of the Milanois, and their adherents; with great celeritie (before that his whole Army was in a readines) returned into *Lombardy*, and went directly to *Milan*, and finding no resistance in the field, harried and spoiled the countrie, leauing nothing standing vnder destroyed; so great was the wrath and displeasure which he had conceived against it: and departing from thence he went to repose himself in *Lodi* (to be cured of a lame legge which he had) whither came Ambassadors from *Cremona*, to complaine of those of *Crema*, for the great wrongs they did them, and to craue succour: the harms don were the greater, by reason of the strength of the place, together with the aide and reliefe which they had from *Brescia*, and from *Milan*. As the Emperour was a man of a very haughtie spirit, so he seeking a redresse for all disorders, sent his brother CONRAD, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and some other principal men, with part of his Army, to besiege *Crema*; and the men of warre which were in *Crema* took the field, and gaue them battaile, which continued long, wherein many of both sides were slaine: but in the end the Imperialists had the victorie, and compelled their enemies to returne running to their towne; so as they durst saile forth no more: and so the siege continued.

At the same time new supplies came to the Emperour out of *Germany*; wherewith came his wife the Emperesse, with many men at Armes out of *Burgundie*, and with her came HENRY Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Baviera*, of whom we haue spoken much: with which, and with the rest which he had before, he laid a plot for those of *Milan*; whereby he took prisoners about three hundred of them, and slue about six hundred. But, houlding it his best course first to make an end with *Crema* (which by his commandement was already besieged) hee removed his Camp thither: and the better to iustifie his quarrell, hee sent to command them to receiue him into their City, as their Emperour and liege Lord; which they not onely refused, but gaue him many peremptorie proud speeches: whereupon he caused sundrie great engines & instruments to be made, therewith to batter the towne; and the besieged resolutely defended themselves, and all their prisoners daily taken of either side, were either hanged or slaine: but at length they were constrained of necessity to yeeld, and held themselves for happy, and charitably deale, withall, that the Emperour would vouchsafe to giue them their liues; and that leauing the citie, they might depart with their wiues and children, and such luggage as they could carrie on their backs.

Whilest the Emperour was at the siege of *Crema*, POPE ADRIAN, choakt with a Fly, died, after whose decease, the Cardinals, being in number five and twentie, assembling together in *Rome*, chose ALEXANDER the Third (before called ROVEAND) in a manner by a general consent of them all, excepting onely three which gaue said it, which stood for the Cardinal of *S. Clement*, whose name was OCTAVIANUS, whom the Emperour much fauoured; and this OCTAVIANUS (notwithstanding his few voices in the election) was so bold, as to proclaime himselfe Pope, and was called VICTOR; and there wanted not some to take his part, and to support him. The other Pope, ALEXANDER, seeing himself thus opposed, sent his Ambassadors to the Emperour, lying then at the Camp before *Crema*, whereby he requested him, that (vsing the authority of an Emperour) he would fauour the Church, by taking away the schisme. The Emperour for a while willed the Pope to come to the citie of *Paui*, whither he also appointed VICTOR to come, to the end he might there hear both parties, and so determine

The Pope made a league with William king of Sicilia against the Emperour.

Crema besieged and taken by the Emperour.

A schisme in the papacie.

of their controuersie: herewith ALEXANDER was much discontent, and resolved to seeke other redresse. The Emperour hauing raised his siege from before *Crema*, leauing to make war against *Milan* vntill the next Spring (which was after the Abbats computation, in the yeere of our Lord 1161) came to the citie of *Paui*, from whence he sent two Bishops in Ambassage to Pope ALEXANDER, aduising him to come thither, where he said, many Bishops would meete in the name of a Councell, to the end that the schisme might bee decided; which Ambassadors behaued themselves towards him, as to a Cardinall, but not as to a Pope: for the Emperour (as he disliked his election) desired to support Pope VICTOR. ALEXANDER taking this in ill part, dispatching the Ambassadors, commaunded them to returne, and they went to VICTOR with the same message, to whom they spake, and did reuerence as to a Pope; and hee presently departed, and went to *Paui*, and was by the Emperour very well entertained, and there was proclaimed for right Pope: and the Emperour kissing his foote, vsed other accustomed ceremonies, whereof when ALEXANDER was aduertised, holding himselfe intolerable injured, hee proceeded against the Emperour, and his Pope, whom hee excommunicated, and anathematized: and the Emperour sending his Pope into *Germany*, returned to the warres of *Milan*, wherein what passed, you shall vnderstand.

Pope ALEXANDER after his going to *Rome*, holding himselfe not in safetie, through the assistance of WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*, went by galleys into *France*, where he was very well entertained by PHILIP the French King (I say PHILIP, for that BLONDVS, and all those Italian authors call him so, but hereafter you shall vnderstand that it could not be PHILIP, but his father LEUES, comparing the times) and there he called a Councell in *Chiermont*, where he againe proclaimed the Emperour and his Pope excommunicate; what after ensued you shall heare.

The Spring of the yeere being come, the Emperour very resolutely returned against *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Placencia*, and such other rebellious cities as were in league with them: but first he overran and destroyed all the countrey round about *Milan*: before and after this time were many skirmishes and encounters, which for breuitie I ouerpasse, wherein for the most part the Emperour had the better, vntill that hauing withdraue his Army to take in a castle and fortresse at the passage ouer a riuer neere to *Placencia*, and the Milanois hauing a good Army, led by the tyrant GUALPHAGO, with the aid of those of *Placencia* and *Brescia*, went to assault a strong castle, called *Carcano*, or *Coracio*: whereof the Emperour being aduertised, hee speedily sent for men to *Paui*, *Noiarr*, and *Lodi*, with which, and with his ordinarie troupes, he put himselfe betwene *Milan*, and the said castle (before which the Milanois then were) in such a place, and in such manner, that of force they must fight, or not returne. The Milanois seeing themselves in this extremitie, sent some of the chiefe men amongst them to the Emperours Camp, to intreate him to suffer them to passe, for they would not fight with him for the honor and dutie which they bare to his person. And the Emperour presuming that hee already held the victory in his hands, or that they durst not fight, would not graunt their request: by reason whereof, his aduersaries drawing courage out of despair, seeing themselves lost if their passage were stoppt, and that they were vnable to relieue their houses and friends, or to be relieved by them, resolved either to make way, or to dye in the action, and so marched in good order against the Emperour, who likewise in very good order attended their coming, where there began a most cruell battaile, as betwene very expert and valiant soldiers, and men in despair. In the beginning, the Emperour apparantly had the better, and many of his enemies were slaine, and their standard taken: but the fight continuing vntill noone, there came certaine companies from the vnited cities to the aid of the Milanois, which charged with such resolution and fury, that the Imperialists retired, and their enemies (as masters of the field) slew and took prisoners very many of them: and the Emperour shewing the greatnes of his mind, drew together great part of his Army in the best order he could, and ranging his troupes into a round Battallion, most valiantly defended himself against his enemies; but truly he had bin either slaine or taken if the fight had continued any longer: but it pleased God that he being in this danger, there fell so much raine, and therewith the aire was so darke, that they neither saw, nor knew the one the other; and so the Emperour held it for his best course to retire towards *Paui*, and his enemies as conquerors, with spoils and prisoners went ioyfully to their houses, which afterward cost them very deare. This notable exploit, PLATINA, BLONDVS, and other Italian authors passe ouer in silence: but as they do not gainsay it, and the Abbat WESPERGENSIS and other

A battaile betwene the Emperour and the Milanois.

Germane authors report the same, I have thought good to make mention thereof.

*Milan besieged
and destroyed.*

This adventure being past and knowne in Germany, some Princes and great Prelates, with many very good men of warre, came to the Emperours aid: with which, and with all the rest he left *Pavia*, and with a mightie Army besieged *Milan*, purposing not to rise from before it untill he had taken it; and the besieged being well fortified and victualled, were no lesse resolute to dye in their defence: by reason whereof, this was one of the most cruell and terrible sieges that hath bin seene before any citie, as well for the long continuance thereof, as for the skirmishes, sallies, assaults, losse of men, and effusion of blood, with the famine and other calamities which the besieged endured; and for the lamentable and pitifull end which it had. The siege continued two whole yeeres and one day: some authors reckon fivie, and some more, accounting (as I thinke) from the time the Emperour first made warre in the marches thereof. What skirmishes were betwixt the besieged and the besiegers, the Reader may conjecture, considering the power and splene of the Emperour, and the obstinacie and despaire ioyned with the great force and multitude of the Milanais. During the siege, there was so great want of victuals in the citie, that after they had eaten all the bealls, and other food that might be eaten, they dyed of hunger: but howsoever it was, the city came into the Emperours power, who conceiving, that enow of them were flaine, he gaue the rest their liues, but in that citie, and in all the rest, he did the greatest spoile he could possibly: for first he commanded all the men & women to depart the citie, & hisouldiers to sacke it; and then the buildings and wallies thereof to be throwne downe and laid waste; and this to be done by the inhabitants themselves, and by such as were borne therein: and whereas they sufficed not, he caused a great number of people to come thither from *Pavia*, and *Cremona*, which should wholly ruinate it, and leaue it waste and desolate, like to miserable *Ierusalem*: which truly should seeme to be one of the most lamentable spectacles that euer was seene in this world. Some writers affirme, that he made the ground to be ploughed, and sown with salt. The inhabitants thereof (as *Gualphago* the tyrant, the Bishop, and many of the most principall) he commanded to be sent prisoners into Germany: the rest of the People he permitted to dwell in certaine fields, which he appointed for them, farre from *Milan*, amongst bushes, in cabbins and cottages. The reliques and bodies of Saints which were in the citie, and held in great account, he diuided amongst the Bishops and prelates which were there with him: of which, the three Kings, which came out of the East to adore *CHRIST* in *Bethlehem*, were giuen to the Archbishop and Cathedral Church of *Colen*, where (it is said) they are at this day. In this manner was the citie of *Milan* laid waste, and left desolate: which a little before was so mightie, that it was of power able to fight with the Emperour in the plaine field, and to overthrow him: it having three hundred, three score and fivie yeeres (as reckoneeth *Raphael Volaterranus*, for so long was it after that the Lombards were expelled that Seigniorie) enjoyed libertie, with good successe, vnder the soueraigntie and name of the Empire: which happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, sixtie and two. Some say, somewhat more.

After this victory and terrible reuenge, the Emperour came to *Pavia*, where his wife the Emperesse then lay; from whence he sent to demolish and throw downe the wallies of *Brescia*, and *Placentia*; which (*Milan* being taken) yielded themselves. *Blondys*, *Platina*, *Philippus Barboza*, and other Italian authors say, that he also destroyed the citie of *Cremona*, which in my opinion seemeth not likely; for *Cremona* had euer serued him, and been obedient. I beleue it is taken for *Crema*, the error being the writers, or printers; and not theirs. And the Emperour having tamed and subdued all the other cities which rebelled against him, and made them to vield obedience to Pope *Victor*, he resolved to take his way towards Germany: for he vnderstood that the same yeere many alterations and troubles began, and that there was great want of Iustice, which grew principally through discord and enmities betweene a certaine Earle called *Guido*, Count Palatine of *Turingin*, and *Guelpho* the famous Knight of the Dukes of *Baniere* before named, by reason of some iniury done by the said Count Palatine, to the said *Guelpho*: whereupon young *Guelpho* coming out of *Italy* (as a valiant young man, desirous to reuenge the iniurie done to his father) raised a power against him, and the other in his defence, and many great Princes taking part with either side, a cruell battaile was fought betweene them, wherein *Guelpho* was ouerthrowne; whereof ensued great hurt, and the slaughter

slaughter of many men, too long to be related: so as if the Emperour had any longer deferred his coming, the matter was come to that issue, that Germany was likely to have bene lost and ruinated: but as soone as he came, he endeavored by all meanes, to set peace betweene them: wherein he found great difficultie, by reason that so many men were slaine and taken prisoners of either partie. And notwithstanding that he had once concluded a peace betweene them, yet within one yeere it was broken, and warres were againe renewed: but the great valour and respect of the Emperour, was a sufficient meane to make an entire and perfect peace, and to pacifie all: wherein he was the more earnest, for that he knew what was daily practised in *Italy* against himselfe, whither he had a great desire to returne. For as soone as he was gone out of *Italy*, leaving *Milan* desolate; the people conceived a great feare and hatred against him: (as is viall against Princes which too severely, and with crueltie punish the offences of their subiects) and their feare and hatred increased in such manner, as they made new leagues and confederacies against him, casting out the gouernours which he had placed, and taking his rents and customes into their hands. In which league, besides those which before were friends, which were *Brescia*, *Placentia*, *Crema*, and the Milanais, there now ioyned with them *Verona*, and the Venecians, which greatly strengthened the league, theirs being a mightie common-wealth; together with *Pavia* and other cities: all which took part with Pope *Alexander*, against Pope *Victor*: and all these cities fortified and furnished themselves with men and munition.

*Ever since this
warre, out of
the cause of great
offences.
A league made
against the Em-
perour.*

The Emperour seeing how resolutely those cities were bent against him, and knowing the doubtfull issue of the warre, and that the name and authoritie of Pope *Alexander* was great, he resolved with himselfe to take another course, and by letters and ambassades dealt with *Philip* King of *France*, who supported *Alexander* (yet in my opinion it should bee *Levy*, for this was in the yeere of our Lord 1175, at which time, as it appeareth by all the French histories, *Levy* reigned) for a meeting betweene them two, whither he would bring with him *Victor*, whom he held to be Pope: for which purpose, a place was appointed on the frontiers of *France* and *Germany*, and there a Councell to be held, wherein it should be determined whether of these two should be Pope: which (as some say) the Emperour procured, by that meane thinking to haue depriued Pope *Alexander*. The King of *France*, at the Emperours request, consented that this Councell should be assembled: but Pope *Alexander* would not come, alleging that he held that for no Councell, which was not held by his authoritie. Finally, the French King and the Emperour grew iealous and suspicious the one of the other, which authors report diuersly: but the truth is that the Emperour came, and brought with him his Pope *Victor*; and with him came the Kings of *Scots*, and of *Bohemia*, and many other great Princes and prelates, with a very great Army: and the French King brought no lesse, with whom came *Henry* King of *England* with very choise men of war (from whom in my opinion he ought rather to haue feared warre, then expected or hoped peace) and these Princes encamped the one nere to the other, a riuer being betweene them.

1175

The Emperour vnderstanding that Pope *Alexander* came not, but had summoned a Councell to be held at *Turren* in *France*, was greatly displeased therewith, and resolved to depart: and the French King (to hold his word) without aduertising the Emperour thereof, came to the place appointed: and some say that he washed his hands in the riuer, and so returned to his Campe. To be short, howsoever it was, they both returned into their countries, without treating of any thing; and not well pleased the one with the other.

The Emperour, with the greatest preparation he could make, resolved to returne into *Italy*, whither he sent Pope *Victor* before him; who being come to the citie of *Luca* (which held for the Emperour and him) there died. And by letters and commandement from the Emperour (persisting in his determination) the prelates which accompanied *Victor* (he being dead) chose him a successor, whose name was *Gvido*, borne in *Crema*, and was called *Pascal*. Pope *Alexander* in *France* assembled the Councell which he had summoned; whither came many prelates and Bishops, out of *England*, *Spain*, *France*, *Sicilia*, *Gracia*, and many other parts: where they ordained what they thought good. The Emperours preparation for his coming into *Italy* being published, the aforesaid cities, which were in a league and confederacie against him, sought new succours, and provided an Army to make head against him.

It happened at this time, that in *Rome* died a Bishop called *Iulius*, who was Vicar or gouernour thereof in the Popes absence; who being dead, the Pope sent a Cardinal called

T 4

JOHN:

*Factions in
Germany.*

JOHN: Who (notwithstanding a kinde of gouernement by Consuls; whereby the Popes power and authoritie was much diminished) vied such meanes, that *Rome* and many Cities of *Italy* sent to entreat the Pope to returne, and he knowing with what affection he was called, resolved to depart thitherwards: and for that he would not goe through *Lombardy* (which held for the Emperour) he tooke his passage by Sea into *Sicilia*, and from thence went to *Rome*; with great companie and prouision, which *WILLIAM* King of *Sicilie* gaue him. Some write that hee himselfe accompanied him; and that he was receiued into *Rome* with marueilous great joy of all the people. With his coming, the Cities which in *Italy* held for him, tooke such heart and were so much encouraged, that they (not contented to haue rebelled against the Emperour) beganne to make warre against the Imperialists, and tooke some townes; wherein one were so forward as the City of *Verona*: which gaue the Emperour occasion to hasten his coming; which he had prolonged, to come with the greater power, seeing that his enemies forces daily increased: and so he came into *Italy* with a greater Army then at any time before spoken of. What he did, and the effects which thereof ensued, I will recount as briefly as I may: for a raigne so long, and wherein happened so many and so great accidents, cannot be expressed in fewe words; neither reduced to a more breuitic. All this while reigned *EMANUEL* in *Constantinople*.

The Emperour *FREDERICK*'s coming into *Italy* with so great power, did greatly terrify all the Countrey, considering what harme he had done there in former times: but the hatred of those which were his aduersaries was so great, as they would rather hazard any danger, then yeeld to his obedience. And he knowing by experience, that his rigour and severity had little auailed him, but had done him more harme then good, resolved now to make warre after another manner; at the least in *Lombardy*, wherein he pardoned those which submitted themselves vnto him, and would not permit the Countrey to be spoiled or wasted, vsing all men honourably; dissembling and making shew, that he vnderstood nothing of any conspiracy, or league made against him; and so drew neere to *Brescia* with his forces, where he gaue good entertainment to all such as from *Crema*, *Verona*, and *Brescia*, came to visite him (notwithstanding that those Cities were his greatest enemies, and had most praigised against him) and so passed on, without coming into any of them, or doing them any violence; and went to *Ferrara*, where he was receiued, and from thence passed peaceably through the territory of *Bologna*: so as (at this time) he passed through *Lombardy* without doing any harme; and there he diuided his Army, part whereof he sent to make warres in *Tuscane*, and the marches thereof, for that he fauoured Pope *ALEXANDER*, and rejected Pope *PASCAL*, which lay in *Luca*: and with the rest of his Army he marched towards the City of *Ancona*; for that it held for his enemy *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople*: Which he besieged and beganne to batter with great furie: But it was so well defended, that the siege continued longer then hee expected.

The Captaines and men of war, which he sent into the marches of *Florence*, *Luca*, and *Pisa*, after they had taken certaine Townes, marched through the territory of *Rome*, and made terrible war against all such places as held for Pope *ALEXANDER*; and in *Rome* wanted not some which fauoured the Emperours proceedings: yet the Pope left no meanes vsought, as well by gifts, as promises, to assure himselfe, and to haue all at his deuotion: wherein (it is written) he issued much treasure.

Whilest the warre was prosecuted in this manner, the Emperour lying before *Ancona*; the *Milano*, which after the destruction of *Adrian*, had for the space of five or six yeeres liued as banished men, in cottages, cabbins, and villages; gathering themselves together, being wonderfully ayded and relieved with all manner of materials, instruments, workemen, and labourers, from the Cities of *Verona*, *Placencia*, *Crema*, and other their neighbours and friends, began to reedifie their old ruined Citie; repairing what might be repaired, and the rest they new builded, and wrought with so good a will, that within two or three yeeres the Emperour could not hinder them: and they reedified it in such manner, as there feared nothing to be wanting. To all which (as writeth *HENRICVS MCVIVS*) the presence of *GALPHAGO* (called Earle of *Angleria*) was a great helpe; who escaping out of prison in *Germany* came thither. Whilest that the Emperour lay before *Ancona*, and cruell warre was made against *Rome*, *WILLIAM* King of *Sicilia* died; and his sonne of the same name succeeded him, who was an excellent man of warre, and a great friend to the Church of *Rome*. At that time *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople* sent a soleimne Ambassageto Pope *ALEXANDER*; whereby hee promised in person

Ancona besieged by the Emperour.

Milano reedified.

person with great power to come to his aide, and to driue *FREDERICK BARBAROSSA* out of *Italy*, and to conforme the Greeke Church, and to make the same subject to the Latine; conditionally, that he would reduce the whole Empire into one head, by taking it from the *Germanes*, and depriue *FREDERICK*, seeing that he had already excommunicated him, and that he was a schismatic and a rebell. But Pope *ALEXANDER* (notwithstanding that hee was much oppressed by the Emperour, reposing full confidence in the promises or power of *EMANUEL*) gaue a pleasing Equiuocall answer, and sent Ambassadors to temporize with him, but not to conclude any thing at all.

It happened at this time, that the flower of all the men of warre in *Rome*, went to besiege the towne and Castle of *Tusculano*, which is neere to *Rome*, from whence they were much annoyed, that Towne holding for the Emperour, whereof a *Germane* Prince was gouernour; and the besieged seeing themselves distressed, sent to the Emperour (lying before *Ancona*) for reliefe: to be briefe, from the Emperours Armie came for Generall, *CHRISTERN* Archbishop of *Antis*; who with such troups as he brought from the Campe, and such others as hee could get by the way, came to fight with the Romanists which besieged that towne, being in number about thirtie thousand men; who fought with the *Germanes* (but not with order and valour like *Romans*) and as as they were fighting, the besieged gouernour with his Garrison sallied out of the Towne, and assailed his enemies at their backs, in such manner as the *Romans* were broken and ouerthrowne; and so many of them were slaine in the battaile and in the pursuit, as some Historiographers haue compared this ouerthrow to the battaile of *Cannas*, where they were ouerthrowne by *HANNIBAL*. Although the comparison be great, yet it is certaine that in a long time after *Rome* could hardly recover it selfe: and Pope *ALEXANDER* tooke in very grieuously, and fought by all meanes possible to encourage and animate the remainder of the Citizens.

The Imperialists, as Masters of the field, daily tooke townes belonging to the Church of *Rome*; and the Emperour (who still lay before *Ancona*) when as he vnderstood of this victory, knowing the time to be fit for his purpose, departed presently thence towards *Rome*, and made no stay vntill he came before the same; where the Pope and his friends had already set all things in the best order they could for their defence. The Emperour presently caused the Vatican to be assaulted; and notwithstanding that the assault was terrible, yet the place was so well defended, as it sufficed to keepe him from entering; wherewith he was so much enraged, that the next day he commanded a more terrible assault to be giuen, causing fireworkes to be throwne vpon *Saint PETERS* Church; in such manner, that the Pope being out of hope to defend the place, abandoned the Vatican, and fled into the Citie, to lodge himselfe amongst the *Frangipanes*, who were his trusty friends, and set great guards to defend the Citie, and made many bridges over the riuer of *Tiber*: the which the Emperour (being master of the field, and hauing the Vatican) greatly annoied and oppressed, with a resolution not to haue risen from before it, vntill it had yeelded, or that he had entered the same by force: and during the siege, he spoiled all the Countrey round about *Rome*.

WILLIAM King of *Sicilie* vnderstanding how greatly Pope *ALEXANDER* was distressed, and being willing to imitate his father *WILLIAM*, he sent to the Pope vp the Riuer of *Tiber* to *Rome* two Gallies with a great summe of money, men, and such other necessities as they could beare, to the end that the Pope might stie away, if he pleased. The Pope made great account of this reliefe, and presently diuided this money amongst his friends and seruants, wherewith they were greatly encouraged to defend the Citie: and he sent back the Gallies to the King of *Sicilia*, and in them two Cardinals, to conferre with him, and to aske his counsell what was best to be done concerning his person.

In the meane time the Emperour seeing that the Citie defended it selfe, and could not suddenly be taken by force, he laboured to perswade the *Romans* both by secret and publike messages, to giue vp the Citie, and then he would restore whatsoeuer he held belonging to the *Romans*; and that by them it should be determined, whether of the two ought to be held for *Popes*; to the end that he, generally by himselfe and by all others, might be respected and obeyed. With these practices which bare so great an appearance of a certaine peace, a great part of the *Romane* people were much moued, and were of opinion that these conditions ought to be accepted, whether the Pope would or not. The Pope vnderstanding hereof, held it for a great disgrace to his Holinesse, that he being Christs Vicar, should be judged by his enemies: and holding himselfe to be in no safety in *Rome*, he left the City by night and went downe the Riuer

Rome assailed by the Emperour.

William King of Sicilie assisted Pope Alexander against the Emperour.

Riuer of *Tiber* to the Citie of *Gaieta*, and from thence to *Beneuent*: from whence he wrote his Letters to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, and to the Cities of *Lombardy*, which held for him, imploring their aide and succour. Some write that Pope *ALEXANDER*, flying from *Rome*, *OTTO* the Emperours sonne pursued him with seuenie fuelling ships or frigats, who coming to the coast of *Elisria*, he was encountered by the Venetian fleet commanded by *CIANVS*, who fought with him, defeated his Army, tooke *OTTO* prisoner, and carried him to *Venice*: at which time the Pope entering there in triumph, he cast a Ring into the Sea, and wedded it vnto him, ordaining that euery yeere on the Ascension day they should obserue the like Ceremony.

A great pestilence in Rome, and in the Emperours Campe.

Having in this manner abandoned *Rome*, within few daies after the Emperour was forced to doe the like; for it pleased God to send fo great a plague, both in his Campe and in the City, as there died daily thousands of the one and the other party: principally there died many Germane prelates, and some Princes, which came with the Emperour: Wherefore he hastily departed, leaving Pope *PASCAL* with a good guard of Souldiers in Saint *PETERS* in *Rome*: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1168, and he with his Army came into *Tuscan*, and the marches of *Flouence*, where he tooke some strong holds which held for the Pope; in which, and in many other he placed Garrisons of his owne souldiers: and in the marches of *Ancona* and in *Tuscan*, he gaue some places to certaine principall men of *Germany*, with titles of Dukes and Earles, to annoy and oppress *Rome*.

Whilest the Emperour was busied about these matters, Pope *ALEXANDER* procured aide and succour from all parts, and fought to support such as were his friends: And *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople* sent him an Ambassage, offering him a very great summe of money, desiring the same which we haue before specified, which was, that transporting the title of the Empire from *Germany*, by depriving *FREDERICK*, hee should giue the same to him, and to his house: But the Pope for many considerations would not yelde thereto, notwithstanding that he very pleasingly answered him: Within few daies after, Pope *PASCAL* died in *Rome*, where the Emperour left him: and the Emperour (persisting in his resolution) chose one *JOHN* borne in *Hungary*, who was called *CALIXTUS*, whom Pope *ALEXANDER* presently excommunicated.

The Emperour hauing remained some space in *Italy*, desiring to returne into *Germany* (for there was need of his presence) he sent a Bishop to Pope *ALEXANDER* with certain Articles of peace; what they were, Authors write not: but they all say that the Pope would not accept of them; and so they tooke no effect. The Pope laboured with the Romanists for his returne to *Rome*; but as then the Citie being gouerned by Consuls, which were odious vnto him, he could not effect the same according to his desire: And so went to other places in *Romagna*, and in the marches of *Papia*, where he was fauoured and supported by *WILLIAM* King of *Sicilia*. The Emperour came to *Papia* which held for him, where he fortified some Towns: and so much as a great part of his Army was sick and many dead, he could not make war to any purpose against *Milan* and the other rebellious Cities; but, after, he took his way towards *Germany*, hauing done in *Italy* such harm as is expressed; without effecting what he principally desired.

Being returned into *Germany*, his greatest care was to make peace betweene all men, and to purchase the good will of the people, and to make himselfe rich; to returne into *Italy*, which he resolved wholly to subdue. At this time he inherited all the Castles, lands and goods, which belonged to his Cousin-german *FREDERICK*, son to the Emperour *CONRAD*, who died of the plague at the siege of *Rome*: and he inherited also the lands and goods of some other Princes, which died without Heires, and he also rewarded some, giuing them Titles, and Castles, and to some others he gaue new Arms and dignities. To the King of *Bohemia* he gaue for his deuce, a red Lion in a silver shield; and to others he gaue many such like honors. But in the meane time, *GYALPHAGO* tyrant of *Milan*, and the *Milanois*, were not carelesse, but continually fortified the City which they had new built: besides which with the other Cities in *Lombardy* of their confederacy, in honour of Pope *ALEXANDER* (vnder whose title and name they opposed themselves against the Emperour) by a common consent and contribution they began to build another Citie, calling it *Alexandria*, after the Popes name, vpon the side of the Riuer of *Tanaro*, in a place which should serue for a frontier Garrison against *Papia*, *Torina*, and the Marquise of *Monferrato*, where they were loyall to the Emperour. And in this his absence they made such hate (but chiefly those of *Milan*, *Placencia* and *Cremona*) as they walled and peopled the same, in such manner as it became a very strong fortreffe; and many of those which

Alexandria in Lombardy built in honour of Pope Alexander, and so called after his name.

lined in the borders thereof in villages, and vnfortified places, came thither to dwell, in such numbers, that the very first yeere it beganne to be inhabited, there were fifteene thousand men fit to beare Armes; so as at this day it is a good and a famous Citie, and is called *Alexandria* of *Stuwa*, which name the enemies thereof gaue it in the beginning in contempt. This alteration (added vnto the rest) made the Emperour to hasten his coming into *Italy*, when as he now had remained some time in *Germany*: And hauing disposed all things in good order, he set forwards and came with a mightie Army by sundrie waies, addressing his journey directly towards the estate of *Monferrato*, and those places which held for him: but he first took a Town at the foote of the Alpes, called *Scusa*, which he made to be throwne downe and ruined, for that it rebelled: and from thence he marched (not without trouble) towards *Aste*, which yielded vnto him, more for feare of the like fortune as happened to *Scusa*, then for ought it wanted wherewith it might haue defended it selfe. And hauing such successe in the beginning, he went to besiege the new Citie of *Alexandria*, against which he came greatly incensed, purposing to haue vterly destroyed and raised it to nought.

In *Lombardy* and in *Piemont*, the Marquise of *Monferrato* held for the Emperour, together with the cities of *Papia*, *Niuaarra*, *Turin* and their territories, subjects and friends, and some other Townes. He besieged *Alexandria*, and lay before it foure moneths, in which time were done many notable feates of Armes; at the end whereof, the Emperour was constrained to rise from before it, for that it was relieved by the Riuer with great store of prouision; and all the Cities which were friends to it, sent thither souldiers to defend it. But the principall cause was, that the great Duke of *Saxony*, of *Baniere*, and of many other estates, called (as was his father) *HENRY* the Proud, being at this siege before *Alexandria*, went from the Emperour with all his forces, alleging that he would not be excommunicate, and a rebell to the Pope. It was suspected that he was corrupted and did this for money: or (which I rather beleue) that he had some practice or conceite to haue made himselfe Emperour, vnder pretext that *FREDERICK* was disobedient to the Church of *Rome*: for which cause the Emperour raised his siege, and went to ouertake him, and fought by all meanes to haue stayed him; in so much that (as some write he would haue cast himselfe at his feet, if the other had not hindered him, and a priuate seruant of the Dukes called *LODAN* standing by, said to the Duke, My Lord, suffer the Imperial crowne to come to your feet, seeing that shortly you shall weare it vpon your head: Finally, Duke *HENRY* would not stay; and the Emperour had so few souldiers left, and was so void of all reliefe, that within few daies he was constrained to leaue the warres, for that time; and so left *Italy*, without effecting ought more then I haue said. And although that *BLODY* and *PLATINA* conceal this his departure, let the Reader neuertheless vnderstand that I draw the webbe of my History from all the best Authors; and therefore I say, that he departed in great danger of his person.

WESPERGENSIS, *NAVCLERVS*, and *HENRICVS* *MYCIVS* write, that he was aided and succoured by those of *Niuaarra*, and of *Turin*, in the passages ouer the Mountains, through which he took his way towards *Burgundy*, which was his wiues patrimony; and that vpon the way he was in some places in such danger, that he was driuen to goe disguised as another mans seruant.

After all these extremities, arriuing in *Burgundy*, he gathered together his souldiers, and raised some new companies, and so went into *Germany*; where the said *HENRY* had already practiced some Innuations against him, some Earles conspiring with him; for he was the greatest Prince in all *Germany*: But the Emperour brought him to be one of the least; for as he was much feared and very valiant, the Duke could do little against him. But the Emperour as soon as he came into *Germany*, assembled a Diet or Councell of all the Princes, whither he summoned *HENRY* to come: but he not daring to make his appearance, the Emperour proceeded against him (although not without contradiction and many difficulties) and in the end confisked his estate, and all his lands: which he might easily doe, by bestowing the same vpon men of great power, all which making warre against him at once, took the same from him: Yet some write, that this Sentence and confiscation was afterwards, in the yeer of our Lord 1180, when the peace was made between the Emperour and the Pope: It may peraduenture be, that at this time the process began, and iudgement was then giuen, but afterwards put in executions; which was in this manner.

The Dukedome of *Saxony* he bestowed vpon a valiant Knight, called *BERNARD*, Earle of *Anhalt*, whom the Arch-bishops of *Mentz* and *Colem*, and the Lantzgraue of *Turingia* holpe

Alexandria besieged by the Emperour.

Henry the Proud Duke of Saxony and Baniere for Pope the Pope.

The Emperour deprived Duke Henry of Saxony of his estate.

The Duke of Anhalt.

Count Saladin of
Hilfepach

to take the same. The best and greatest part of the Duchie of *Banerie* he gave to one *Otho* Count Palatine, not of the Counties Palatines of *Rhine*, but of *Wittelsbach*, which he took by the helpe of two of his brothers, who were men of great power: another part of this State, which lay on the other side of *Danubius*, he added to the house of *Austria*: other his lands and Earldomes he diuided betwene *HENRY* Lantzgrau of *Alsacia*, *LEVE*s Marquis of *Turingia*, *BARTOLD* of *Carinthia*, and some others; all which together made waies against him; so as to him, his offspring and descendents, remained only the Countie of *Brünswick*, which afterwards in the time of *FREDERICK* the Second was erected to a Duchie; and that estate encreasing, great enmity continued between the Dukes thereof, and the successors of *BERNARD*, to whom was giuen the Duchie of *Saxony*.

The Emperor did not only apply himselfe to suppress this *HENRY* in *Germany*, but from the very first day of his coming thither, was carefull for the getting of money, and the raising of forces for his returne into *Italy*: and so, being assisted by all those Princes, to which he had giuen and promised to giue those estates, and by his owne house and kindred of *Suenia*, and his seruants and subjects; he in short space raised so good an Army, that he went very mighty into *Italy*, and carried his wife the Emperesse with him. Being come to the Citie of *Como*, in the month of Iune, notwithstanding that he wanted neither courage, discretion, power, or forces; yet matters prospered not with him as he expected, but rather cleane contrary: for the *Milanois* and their confederats had now taken such heart, and were in such readinesse, that they resolved to giue him battaile, after they had spoiled the fields about *Pania*, and such other Towns as held for him: and so they took the plaine field iust in the way which leadeth from *Como* to *Milan*, by which the Emperor was to passe; who had no lesse desire to fight: and was very glad, when he understood their resolution.

The two Armies being vpon a cleare day come within sight the one of the other, and the Squadrons and battalions of either side marshalled in very good order; the Emperor drew neere to the place which his enemies held; and (in a manner) with equall spleene, hatred and power both parties began to fight: first the horsemen brake; and then all the rest; and so there was fought a very fierce and bloody battaile, the one wounding and killing the other most cruelly. It hapned, that in this so great fury, he which bare the standard and Imperiall Eagle (through his rash hardinesse, and desire of victorie) advanced himselfe so farre forwards amongst his enemies, that he was slaine, and the Standard taken: which when the Emperor saw, who (as is felse-meth) was not farre from thence, he was therewith so much enraged, that encouraging his soldiers, with a new fury and resolution, he so oppressed his enemies, that he slew and wounded many of them with his own hands: but as this could not be done without great danger to his person; so in the thickest of the prease, and greatest throng, his horse fell with him; being as is thought, first wounded: and the charge on every side was so hot, that the Emperor was held for dead; which gaue the *Italians* cause to gather courage, and the *Germanes* to faint; for both parties certified the death of the Emperor, which so much discouraged the Imperialists, that victory apparently shewed it selfe for their enemies: and the Imperialists fled and abandoned the field, where a very great and cruell slaughter was made of them, besides those which thinking to escape by swimming, were drowned in the riuer *Tesino*, neere to the place where this battell was fought.

This battaile being lost, and all the Imperiall Army broken and put to rout; all men holding the Emperour for dead; and his wife the Emperesse, remaining in the Citie of *Como*, clad in mourning attire, suing to haue her husbands body, to burie the same, which she requested the *Milanois* to graunt by her Ambassadors: the fift day after the battaile, the Emperour appeared aliue, and in health, in his Imperiall robes, in the Citie of *Pania*: whither vpon the bruit of his being there, came all those which were dispersed and escaped from the battaile; and those which most desired to aide him, and to doe him seruice. In what manner the Emperour escaped aliue, it is not written; but it may be conjectured, that being faine, he remained in the field, although without hurt, and the night being come, escaped by secret and vnkowne waies. His enemies by reason of this victory gotte such credit and reputation, that many Townes and great men in *Italy* forsooke the Emperour, and went vnto Pope *ALEXANDER*.

The Emperesse with some Princes and prelates of the Empire, being come to *Pania*, boldly and plainly told the Emperor to his face, that for the schisme which he had made, and maintained in the Church of *Rome*, this calamitie was befallen him; for God would neuer giue him

A battaile betweene the Emperour and the Milanois wherein he was thought to haue bene slain.

him any entire victory, and except he would submit himselfe to the obedience of the Church, they could not well doe him seruice: whereupon being moued with these admonitions, and knowing the time; (notwithstanding that his seruants and subjects daily repaied vnto him with many warlike troupes) yet he sent his Ambassadors to the Pope; vnfaignedly suing to him for peace: and so they began to treat thereof by Ambassadors. In this negotiation, and by what means this peace was made, there is great difference among Authors: some relating it after one manner, and some after another, which I recite not, auoiding the losse of time and labour: but they all agree, that after many daies spent in this treatie, the Pope went to *Venice*, whither the Emperour came, and that there with great solemnity the peace was concluded, and that the Emperour kist the Popes foot, and yielded him obedience. Some Authors write, that (among many Dukes and others which were present, when as the Emperour did in all humility prostrate himselfe at the Popes feet) *THEODORA*, Marquesse of *Misina*, seeing the tyrannous infolency of the Pope, setting his foot vpon the Emperours necke, moued with a generous disdain, with a threatening countenance, and eyes inflamed with furie, ranne to take him vp: whereat the Pope was so terrified, as he fled into the Emperours armes and kist him; neither could hee be drawne away, before he was secured.

Then a truce was granted by the Emperour to the King of *Sicily*, for fifteene yeeres; and to the Cities of the league, for fixe: which (according to most writers) passed in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred seuentie and seuen; and afterwards in the yeere, one thousand, one hundred eightie and three, the peace with *Lombardy* was concluded in the citie of *Constance*; but all in such manner as it pleased the Pope; and such townes as were withheld from him, were commanded to be rendred: and so the Emperour continuing there some few daies, returned into *Germany*, and the Pope to *Rome*, but he first granted to the citie of *Venice*, and the Dukes thereof, great priuileges, immunities, and exemptions. The Pope being come neere to *Rome*, before he entred the citie, some speeches were vied concerning the depoling of the Confuls, and that no more should be chosen: but as it was a custome of fiftie yeeres continuance, so it could not then be abolished; but order was taken, that none should be chosen, but such as pleased the Pope, and that before they executed their offices, they should sweare to be in all things seruiceable, and obedient to his Holinesse.

This being concluded, the Pope came to *Rome*, where he was received with great solemnitie: and the other Pope *CALIXTUS*, acknowledging himselfe to haue erred, cast himselfe at the Popes feete, crauing mercy (hauing first laid aside his pontifical habit) and renounced all the right and interest that he had to the papacy: and so *ALEXANDER* remained sole pope in peace all the rest of his life; and so this schisme (which had continued twentie yeeres) ceased.

The Emperour *FREDERICK* being come into *Germany* (now old and tired with fife and twentie yeeres warres, and combustions) spent his time in preserving the peace which he had graunted, and in establishing his fife sonnes in estates: which he did in such manner as you shall heare.

This peace being concluded in such manner as I haue told you, Pope *ALEXANDER* died, after that he had been Pope the space of one and twentie yeeres, the most of them, in troubles and contention, and *LEO* the Third succeeded him: the yeere before his death, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred and eighty, died *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople*, who reigned seuen and thirtie yeeres, and left a son who was a child called *ALEXIS* for his successor, appointing a kinsman of his, whose name was *ANDRONICUS* (a man of great parentage) to be his Governour and Protectour; who was so very a Villaine and so arrogant a Traytor, that after that hee had gouerned certaine yeeres, and committed many infolencies; hee killed the young Emperour, and made himselfe tyrant of the Empire, putting many great men (such as he feared) to death: against whom for his detestable treason, *WILHELM* King of *Sicily* made sharpe warre, and tooke many Townes from him; which brought him to such an end as hee deserved: for the *Constantinopolitans* seeing themselves thus oppressed, rose against *ANDRONICUS*, and made one *ISACIUS* or *ISACIUS*, defended of Imperial blood, Emperour: and *ISACIUS* prevailing, *ANDRONICUS* was apprehended, and hauing one of his hands cut off & one of his eyes put out, was carried through the streetes vpon a Camel, and by the general consent of all men had such a death as hee deserved, and as such deserue, as through ambition and desire to rule, are traytors and disloyall to their Lords. And so *ISACIUS* remained Emperour, and was an excellent prince: his end you shal know hereafter.

The Emperour *FREDERICK* enjoying peaceful times in his Empire, summoned a

Note the pride of Pope Alexander the Third.

A peace concluded betweene the Emperour and the Pope in the citie of Venice, whither the Emperour prostrated himselfe at the Popes feete and the Pope in returne manner, setting his foot on the Emperours necke, as these words are:

Super aspidem & basiliscum ambulabo, & conculcabo leonem & draconem.

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The young Emperour of Constantinople murdered by his protector.

Councell to be held in the citie of *Mentz*, where he settled his sonnes in such estates, as you shall heare. His eldest sonne he caused to be chosen King of the Romanes, and his successor: his second sonne **FREDERICK** he made Duke of *Sueuia*, which was his owne inheritance: to **OTTO** his third sonne, he gaue the title of Duke of *Burgundie*, appointing him to succcede his wife, the Emperesse, to whom that estate appertained: to his fourth sonne **CONRAD**, and to his fifth sonne **PHILIP**, he gaue other rents, and some townes wherein they might liue; but it afterwards ensued otherwise: for **CONRAD** succceeded **FREDERICK** in the Duchie of *Sueuia*, for that he died without issue; and **PHILIP** after the death of his elder brother **HENRY**, came to be Emperor.

Pope **LVCIUS** knowing there was great contention and discord betwene the Princes of the Holy land, and the states of *Soria*, and fearing the daunger that might ensue, endeouored by his Letters and Ambassadours to reconcile them, and to make them friends: and procured **WILLIAM** King of *Sicilia*, which then warred vpon **ANDRONICVS**, Emperour of *Constantinople* (who as I said made away the young Emperour **ALEXIVS**) to giue ouer his warres, and to relieve that countrie, which was oppressed by the Infidels; and so the King of *Sicilia* sent thither forie armed gallies; wherein went some principall men and fouldiers vnto that seruice.

The Emperour **FREDERICK** before that the time of the truce by him graunted in *Venice* to the cities which had rebelled in *Lombardy*, was expired; (desiring by faire and gentle means without rigour or Armes, to reduce them to his seruice) summoned a Councell, or Parliament, to be held in the citie of *Constance*; whither he willed them to send their Ambassadours, with sufficient power and authoritie to conclude a peace, shewing them signes of great loue and good will. The cities being wearie of the warres, imagining that there would be farre better conditions propounded, held it for their good: so as besides *Pauiæ*, *Cremona*, *Aste*, *Alua*, *Torino*, and some others which had still persevered loyall and in the Emperors seruice; the cities of *Milan*, *Berecelli*, *Lodi*, *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Verona*, *Nouarra*, *Vicencia*, *Padoa*, *Treviso*, *Bolonia*, *Paruentia*, *Modena*, *Rezzo*, *Parma*, *Placencia*, and others sent their Ambassadours: with which the Emperour came to an agreement; granting them perpetuall peace and pardon for all offences past; leaving to them, their lawes, customes, iurisdiccions, ciuill and criminall, with authoritie to chuse Consuls and Gouernours, and commanded to be restored all whatsoever had been taken from them in time of war; and they acknowledging him and his successors for their foueraigne Lords, sware to him fealtie, and homage: and it was set downe, how, and in what manner they were to doe him seruice, greatly to their aduantage. And besides this, that whereas certaine appeales for certaine summes should come to the Emperour; he ordained therefore to haue his Agents in *Lombardy*, to the end that the people should nor be constrained to come to him into *Germany*: and that the Consuls and Officers to be chosen, before they did execute their offices, should do their homage and be sworne to the Emperour: setting downe likewise what seruices they should doe, at such time as the Emperour in person should be in *Lombardy*. Finally, there were new couenants and agreements made, which were sworn, and confirmed by the Emperour, and the Ambassadours. The Instrument of all which, as it passed, appeareth at large, and in particular, in the Ciuill Law, in the end of the Volume intituled (*De pace Constantiæ*.)

This peace being concluded in this manner, the Ambassadours with great ioy returned; and all the Townes approved and sware to obserue and keepe the same. Within few yeeres after this, in *Verona* dyed Pope **LVCIUS** the Third, whither he came to haue assembled a generall Councell, for the relieving of the King of *Ierusalem*, and the Christian Princes of those Provinces in the East, between whom was great combustion. And the potent King **SALADINE** did much oppress them, who by stratagems, and great batailles, had made himselfe Soldan, and Calipha of *Egypt*, King of *Damisco* and *Aleppo*, and held great part of *Armenia*, *Licia*, and the most part of *Mesopotamia*; so as on euery side he had means to make warre vpon **BALDVIN** the Fourth, then King of *Ierusalem*, who carried himselfe valiantly; and against the Princes of *Antioch*, *Tripoly*, and others which held, and defended those parts. And he so much oppressed **BALDVIN** (who in former time had been of such power, that *Egypt* was tributarie vnto him, and he held certaine cities therein, which his father and predecessor **ALBERICVS** had gotten, and had in person conquered *Palestina*, and other lands) that he now employed all his forces in no other thing, but to defend himself: and in the end what befell him, we will declare; for that it appertaineth to our historie, to shew the reason, moouing the Emperour **FREDERICK** to goe to the warres of the East, wherein he died.

Pope

Pope **LVCIUS** (as I said) dying in *Verona*, was buried there; and in his place was choosen **VRBANVS** the Third, borne in *Milan*. At this time, which was in the beginning of the yeere, one thousand, one hundred, fourescore and six, the Emperour **FREDERICK** came peaceably into *Italy*, and with the good will of the Milanois, and of all *Lombardy*, and at their especiall request and entreatie went to *Atlan*, and was there receiued, with the greatest ioy and solemnitie, that could be deuised; and there a marriage was solemnized, betwene his sonne **HENRY**, King of the Romanes, and the sister of **WILLIAM** King of *Sicilia* (yet some say that she was his Aunt, sister to his father King **WILLIAM** of *Sicilia*, and daughter of his grandfather **ROGER**) she was a woman of the age of thirtie yeeres, but very faire, and he of one and twentie, as **GODFREY VITERBINGENSIS**; and **OTTO** in the addition to **OTTO FRISINGENSIS** his Chronicle, and the Abbat **WESPERGENSIS** also write; which in my opinion is true; notwithstanding that **PLATINA** and **BLONDVS** say, that this marriage was made after that the Emperour **FREDERICK** was dead, by the procurement of Pope **CALISTINE** the Third, and that he was threescore yeeres old, and that **WILLIAM** King of *Sicily* dying without heyres, the Pope by this marriage made him King of *Sicily*. But in my opinion, the first Authors are to be belieued, for that they might be eye witnesses, and the others deceived, for as he was afterwards (through this marriage) king of both the *Sicilies*, they imagined it to haue been done then.

This wedding feast being ended, the Emperour, leaving his sonne **HENRY** for his Lieutenant and Gouernor of *Lombardy*, returned into *Germany*. Pope **VRBANVS** knowing what passed in the East with the King of *Ierusalem*, and the other Princes; when as hee was confirmed Pope, endeouored to perswade and encourage Christian kings and princes, to succour and relieue those places: but they making long delays (notwithstanding that they sent some supplies) it came to passe, that *Ierusalem*, and many other Cities held by the Christians were lost: the cause whereof (as well for that it was so great a matter, as also for that it appertaineth to our History) I will set downe, although it will be somewhat long; for I presume that the Reader will not be discontented therewith, which as briefly as I can expresse the same, passed in this manner.

BALDVIN the Fourth (as I said) reigning King in *Ierusalem*; and **BOHEMYND** who was a mighty Prince being Duke of *Antioch*; and **RAYMOND**, or **REMON**, Earle of *Tripoly*, who was also Lord of other Cities, and of the prouinces of *Galilee*, and *Tiberiades*, which hee had by the marriage of his wife, who was a great princes daughter, and Lord thereof, and foother Princes and Captains: which although they banded, and had quarrels with the Knights Templars, and of Saint **JOHN**, yet they joyntly together defended what the Christians held in the East (which was no small matter) against the foienamed **SALADINE**.

Matters standing in this estate, **BALDVIN** who was a man of great spirit and valour, being in the citie of *Nazareth* (wherein he then lay) was taken with such a leprosie, that he was not able to goe, nor to stand on his legges; whereupon he was carried to *Ierusalem*, and his disease held him in such manner, that he daily expected his end. Which being published, so much encouraged the Infidels, that they made continuall rodes and incursions into the countiees of the Christians. Hee seeing himselfe in this estate (hauing no sonne to succcede him, or to gouerne the countie for him) made a man of great fort, called **GVIDO** of **LYSIGNAN**, gouernour thereof; who was the second husband of his sister **SIBILLA**, who by her first husband, called **WILLIAM LONGSVORD**, Marquess of *Monferrato*, had a son called **BALDVIN**; and a daughter called **SIBILLA**. With this gouernment some of the Princes were much discontented, and **SALADINE** with a mighty Army invading their countiees, the Christians disagreeing amongst themselves, **GVIDO** the kings brother in law, and Captain generall of all his forces, desiring not to fight with him, the Christians daily lost Towns and Castles: whereupon the sick King **BALDVIN** resolved to take another course; which was before his death, to make his Nephew **BALDVIN**, who was his sisters sonne, King, notwithstanding that he was but a child, and **RAYMOND** of *Tripoly*, his gouernour and protector; and to put his brother in law **GVIDO** from the gouernment: by reason whereof, ensued new factions, after which followed the losse of those countiees, through conflicts, besiegings, assaults, and taking of towns, by **SALADINE** in six or six yeeres, that this was lasted, vntill the greatest losse of all; which was the death of King **BALDVIN**; which happed in the yeer of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eighty five.

RAYMOND Earle of *Tripoly*, comming to gouern the kingdom, in the behalfe of the

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yong

Exemptions
granted by the
Emperour to
seuerall
citiees in
Lombardy.

Saladine
Soldan of
Egypt.

The death of
Baldwin King
of Jerusalem.

Guido Liguier
brother in Law
to King Bal-
dwin deceas'd, &
was chosen
King of Jeru-
salem.

young King, GVIDO of LvsIGNAN and SIBILLA mother to the said King, were so in-
uested therein, that he could not execute his office : whereof ensued new troubles, the one for
private and particular passions and quarrels (forgetting the publike good) seeking the ruine of
the other. In this confusion died the young King BALDVIN, eight moneths after the death
of his Vncle, His father in law GVIDO, and his mother SIBILLA, concealing his death for feare
that RAYMOND Earle of Tripoly, by means of his great power, would by the generall con-
sent of the people, haue made himself King: the matter was caried so cunningly, that by means
of gifts and faire words, the Patriarch, and other chiefe men of *Jerusalem*, chose him for their
King; which was the occasion of the evils which afterwards ensued : for RAYMOND Earle
of Tripoly, was so highly offended herewith, that (to the ruine of himself, and of all the rest)
he made a league with SALADIN; promising and assuring him, that he would neither aide, nor
relieve the King of *Jerusalem*.

This friendship being made, such courses were held, that after certaine truces and treaties
of peace and breaches of the same, SALADIN began to make war against the King and
kingdome of *Jerusalem* with greater furie then at any time before : and as GVIDO wanted the
aide of the Earle of Tripoly, and BERNARD Duke of Antioch could hardly help him, by rea-
son of the faire distance ; and for that he also had enough to doe, to defend himself against the
Captaines of the said SALADIN, he was much distressed, and daily lost townes & Castles, ne-
uer ceasing by Ambassadors & Letters, to sollicite the Emperor, the Pope, and other Westerne
Princes for aide ; and they resolving to yeeld the same, and making preparation for the voyage,
it happened, that RAYMOND Earle of Tripoly (either made a double league, as some write,
or knowing that if the kingdome of *Jerusalem* were lost, he should be assured to haue an euill
neighbour of SALADIN) agreed, and made a peace with the King of *Jerusalem*, and came
with his power to aide him; whereupon SALADIN raised his siege from before *Ptolemaide*,
and encamped himself before *Tiberiades*, which belonged to the Earle of Tripoly, strictly be-
sieging the same.

The King of *Jerusalem* hauing drawne together all the power he was able to make, came
with a great Army, the Duke of Antioch being with him, whither came with all their power, the
said Earle of Tripoly, the masters of the orders of the Knights Templars, and of Saint JOHN,
with other great men, Knights and Captaines, the Patriarches of *Jerusalem*, and of *Alexandria*,
and certaine Bishops; so that (as it is affirmed) there were 30000. horsemen, and 40000. footes
which was the vttermost of the Christians power in the East.

After many Councils and opinions, the King at the instance of the Earle of Tripoly resolving
to free *Tiberiades*, and to fight with SALADIN, which lay before it, presently began to march,
and the troups and men of warre which he had with him, which were such, as no man seeing
them doubted of victory; but it pleased God to giue it an other successe: for SALADIN,
who knew their resolution (as a man which wanted not courage, and had an Armie containing
double the number of the Christians, of very well trained souldiers) resolved to fight with
them; (but not neere to the besieged City) and to that purpose went to meet them upon the
way : and it happened that the two Armies drawing neere together, and the King of *Jerusalem*
one day purposing to march with his people with great speede, and to lodge them in a place
wherein was very great plenty of water (whereof in those countries is great scarcity) SALA-
DIN by espiall or some other misfortune being aduertised thereof, marched thither with so
great celerity, that before the comming of the Christians, his men had taken the same place;
and the Christians comming extreemly wearie, and thirstie, by reason of their long march, and
the heat of the Sunne, found enemies in the place where they thought to haue found water and
ease; wherewith they were much troubled : Neuertheless, the King seeing there was no
other remedie, commanded the place forthwith to bee assaulted, presuming thereby to haue
repelled the enemy: but missing of his purpose, hee with his Armie was driuen to lodge all
that night in the drie fields; where they endured intolerable thirst; and by the breake of day,
SALADIN (who the most part of the night had been busie in ordering his troups) took
the field with his squadrons, where the Christians (with tired and weak bodies through ex-
treame thirst, and their horses being in the same extremitie) staid for them: and notwithstanding
that they began the fight with great courage and resolution, yet their strength failing they
were ouerthrowne by the Infidels; and there was the greatest and most cruell slaughter made
of them, that in those daies had been scene, either in *Asia* or in *Europe*.

The King was taken prisoner fighting; and the Earle of Tripoly escaped by flight,
and

A battaile
fought be-
tweene Saladi-
ne the Sol-
dane of Egypt,
and the Chris-
tians.

and some say that he made all the rest to flee, and that he afterwards died miserably. The Duke
of Antioch was slain after that he was taken, with all the Knights Templars, and of Saint JOHN,
that could be found. SALADIN hauing obtained for notable a victory, following his coultie,
went to *Ptolemaide*, which he easily took; and did the like by *Berite*, and other Cities too long
to relate. Finally, in his owne person (after the taking of many Towns, which, out of hope of
any succours, or to be relieved, rendred; and the sooner, for that hee was a very iust Prince in
performing his promise, and courteous, intreating those very friendly which yeelded) he march-
ed forwards, and late him down with his Army before *Jerusalem*: and hauing fiercely be-
sieged and assaulted the same for the space of thirty daies continually, they yeelded, vpon the se-
cond day of the moneth of October, in the year of our Lord, 1187. And so was this City lost;
and at this day is in the hands of the Infidels, almost eighty nine years after that it was taken by
GODFREY of *Buillon*, and the other Princes before mentioned: in which time had reigned
nine Kings with him who then was, to wett, GODFREY of *Buillon* the first and only King
of that name; and then after him, the two BALDVINS, and EVELCO, and BALDVIN
the Third, then ALMERICS, and BALDVIN the Fourth, and BALDVIN the child, and
GVIDO which then reigned: and notwithstanding that the name and title of King of *Je-
rusalem* continued a long time, and that the Christians held many Towns and Cities in *Soria* for
the space of one hundred and odde yeers afterwards, and many Princes went thither to haue
made a conquest thereof: yet in the City of *Jerusalem* they reigned no more, neither possessed
the same, but a small time that the Emperor FREDERICK the Second was there. The East
parts being brought to this estate, and *Jerusalem* lost; Antioch, and the Prouinces thereto belon-
ging, together with *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Tripoli*, were in the like danger.

The Emperor FREDERICK vnderstanding these vnhappy newes (although now old and
tired) resolved to aduenture his whole power with his person, for the recouery of what was
lost, and to defend the remainder: and God did put the like resolution into the hearts of the
Kings of *England* and of *France*, and of many other Princes. The fame of SALADIN'S acts
daily increasing; it is written, that besides the estate of Antioch, he took one hundred and fue
and twenty walled Cities, and that he made cruell warre ouer all the Country. Through sor-
row and grief for so great losse, the greatest prouision and preparation was made to goe to the
relief thereof, that hath been seen in Christendome at any time before or since. For, first the
Emperor (leaving his sonne HENRY, who already was King of the Romans, for his Lieute-
nant, and with him his two brothers, CONRAD and PHILIP) prepared a great and excel-
lent army both of foot and horse, and began to march through *Hungary*, *Bulgaria*, and *Thracia*, to-
wards *Constantinople*, thence to passe ouer into *Asia*: and with him went his son FRED-
ERICK Duke of *Sucunia*, and BERTOLD Duke of *Moravia*, and his brother the Marquess of
Baden, and many other Dukes, Earls, Archbishops and Bishops.

A little before this, died HENRY King of *England*, who purposed to haue gone the same
journey: for it was enioyned him for his penance concerning THOMAS BECKET, called S.
THOMAS of *Canterbury*, which I had no time vntill now to speake of. But his sonne RICH-
ARD King of *England*, and PHILIP King of *France*, concluding a peace (for they were
at warres about the Duchie of *Normandy*) cyther of them with the best Army that hee could
make, went to this warre in the East. The like did OTTO Duke of *Burgundy* the Emperours
son, and the Venecians sent thither a great fleete, and so did the Pisans, who then were mighty
at Sea. To this seruice also went CONRAD Marquess of *Monferrato*, and HENRY Earle
of *Champania*, and many other great Lords and Captains of *Italy*, *France* and *England*, whose
names for breuity I leaue. That which now most maketh me wonder in this zealous voyage of
the Christians, is, that from *Denmarke* and *Frisland* came fifty Gallies, it being so long a voyage
from thence into *Soria*: and the Earle of *Flanders* sent twelue: and WILLIAM King of *Sicilia*
did very well set-to his helping hand: for besides the forie Gallies which he sent before) hee
furnished and relieved all such as went, and came by him, and wanted, with shipping, victuals,
armes, and other necessaries, and maintained (for a long time) a great Navy, to assure all passen-
gers that would go this voyage, from rouers and pyrats by Sea.

The successe which all these men had, and what befell them, aswell by the way, as in that
war, is too long to be written (for they did great matters) and I should too much digresse from
the history of the Emperours (which is my task) therefore it shall suffice that the Reader vnder-
stand by me the issue of these proceedings, the rest let him read in the Authors which wrote
therof, which I will name: I will conclude in the history of the Emperour, who comming

*Jerusalem yeeld-
ed to Saladin*

A voyage to Jerusalem.

with his forces to *Constantinople*, made a league with the Emperor *ISACIUS*; and being there, was given to understand, that *GVIDO* King of *Lusignan*, King of *Jerusalem*, was gotten out of prison, together with the Master of Saint *JOHN*; and that with such men of warre as repaired vnto him, he had renewed the warre, and determined to take the Field, in hope to haue recovered certain places: whereupon the Emperor in great haste passed his Army ouer the Streight at *Constantinople*, in the year of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, eightie nine, and began to march through *Asia* the Lesse, where passing in peace through the Countreies of the Christians, he entred the Countrey of the Soldan of *Iconium*, who was a mighty Prince in those parts, with whom he made peace; vpon condition, that hee should giue him victuals and free passage: which if he performed, then he would not warre vpon his Countrey. But, the heathen King not onely brake his promise, but gathering together a great number of Turks, stoppt his passage, and did him the greatest hurt he was able: wherewith the Emperor being very much incensed, made cruell warre in his Countreies; and coming to the mountains at the entry into *Cilicia*, he made his passage with great difficulty and danger: for, the Soldan had drawn a head of a great multitude of Turks and other heathen Nations, thinking to haue ouerthrowne the Emperor in those Streights. But it pleased God that hee passed, although with great danger and some losse: and, coming down into the Plains, he fought with the Infidels, and ouerthrew them, and slue a very great number of them. And so, taking and sackng Cities and Towns, hee marched forwards, and entred *Armenia* the Lesse, and by force took the greatest part of all that Prouince.

The Emperor Frederick his victory against the Soldan of Iconium.

The newes of his coming and victories strake so great fear into his enemies, and so much encouraged the Christians, that *GVIDO* King of *Jerusalem*, and his brother *EMERICK*, and other great men before named, which were there assembled, leauing the Cities of *Tyre* and *Tripoli*, whither they had retired themselves; with a well-ordered Army took the Field, and assailed *Ptolomaida* or *Acan*, purposing to haue the same, for that it was a Hauens of the sea, and of great importance; whither came the fleets from *Denmark* and *Flanders*, and from other parts. The siege was reinforced, and the Christians Army daily increased; and all men knowing the Emperor to be neer at hand, *SALADIN* thought himself vnable to defend what he had gotten: and King *GVIDO*, and those which were with him, recovered force and courage. But it pleased God in his secret judgement, that in the time of this hope and of good successe, there hapned so great a disaster, that all was changed and turned vpside down; which was, the death of the Emperor, which hapned by great misfortune in this manner:

The Emperor being very neer to *Soria*, vpon a very hot day in the summer time, desiring to wash and refresh himself in a riuer (as they write that at other times hee had done) the swiftness and depth thereof was greater than hee thought or mistrusted: and so in the presence of his people going into the water, without that any of them was any way able to saue or help him, he was carried down the stream, and therein drowned. And so in a little water died he, for fear of whom all *Asia* trembled; which hapned vpon the tenth day of Iune, in the year of our Lord, 1190, and in the eight and thirtieth year of his Raig: through whose death the enterprise was extremely hindered.

The Emperor Frederick drowned.

At the same time befell another misfortune, which was a controuersie and discord between the Princes of those parts; which hapned by reason of the death of *SIBILLA*, wife of *GVIDO* King of *Jerusalem*, and sister to King *BALDVIN* deceased. Whereupon, *HERFRAND*, who was married to *ISABEL*, sister to this Ladie, with the aid of some of his friends, would haue been King, by the right of his wife; which the widower *GVIDO* withstood, alleging that he was the sworn and obeyed King, and therefore ought not to be deposed. And it followed, that *CONRADE*, Marquess of *Monferrato*, took his Lady from him perforce, alleging that she was not lawfully married to *HERFRAND*: and so he married her, and in like manner challenged to be King of *Jerusalem*; which (besides that it was a vile deed) caused great trouble: for, this Prince held the City of *Tyre*. By which means, the widower King *GVIDO* lost much of his authority, for that he would not fall at variance with them: yet he still held the name and title of King.

The matter remaining in this great confusion, after the sudden and infortunate death of the Emperor, a man may easily conceiue the great grief and sorrow of the whole Army: neuertheless, his sonne *FREDERICK*, Duke of *Sueuia*, as a valiant and courageous Knight (being presently vpon the death of his father, as reason was, made Generall and their Head) incouraged his people, and taking the dead body of his father, marcht directly towards *Soria*; and sent certain

certain

certain messengers to *GVIDO* King of *Jerusalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*, to aduertise him of the death of his father; and desiring him to send him such men as might guide and direct him what was to be done. Which although it was not to be effected without great danger (for, the most part of their way lay through their enemies Countreies) yet King *GVIDO* sent him two Knights well experienced in the warres, which guided him and his people to the City of *Antioch*, which lay neerest to his way: where, after that hee had (for some daies space) refreshed his Army, he thought to haue made great warres, and to haue recovered the Cities lost in that estate; and so to haue proceeded forwards. But his Armie of Germanes, which came wearied and tired of their long journey, finding there great abundance of victuals, by means of their forepassed hunger, so disordered themselves by sursetting (or, it was Gods will that it should be so) as there fell so great a plague among them, that within fewe daies most of them died; in such sort, that *FREDERICK* (with such as escaped the plague) departed from *Antioch*; and drawing neer to the sea, imbarked himself, and sailed to the City of *Tyre*, which (as I said before) was held by the Christians: and leauing there the dead body of his father, he went from thence with his people (but not without great danger of the enemy) to ioyne with *GVIDO* of *Lusignan*, King of *Jerusalem*, who lay before *Ptolomaida*; which, *SALADIN* had so fortified and garrisoned, that the Christians were much troubled in the siege thereof; and precluded them: vntill the coming of the Kings of *England* and of *France*, after many accidents befell them in the way, which was in the same year: but they continued the siege, accompanied with other Princes, notwithstanding that there was euer little conformity among them; where we will now leaue them, to make relation of the succession in the Empire, for this their historie appertaineth not to my charge: and how *HENRY* the Sixth, the Emperour *FREDERICK*'s eldest sonne was chosen Emperour, who held his fathers place in *Germany*, being already made king of the Romanes, and what he did in *Germany* and in *Italy*. Yet forasmuch as this enterprise of *Jerusalem* was so notable a matter, and so great Kings came to the seruice, we will briefly tell you what end it had, though not the successe.

The siege of Antioch by Saladin.

In *Constantinople* all this while reigned *ISACIUS*: in *Italy* a little before this, died without issue, *WILLIAM* King of both the *Sicilies*: wherefore Pope *CLEMENT* the Third challenged those kingdomes for the Church of *Rome*; and *HENRY* King of the Romanes, and future Emperour, pretended to be his, by reason of his marriage with *Constance* sister to King *WILLIAM*. But the Sicilians and Neapolitans, against the Popes will, chose one *TANCREDE*, who was Vncle to King *WILLIAM*, a base son to *ROGER* King of *Sicilie*: who seized on the kingdom. In writing this Emperours life, I haue spent longer time then I ordinarily doe, for that many great accidents hapned in his time, and for that so much is written of him, I haue bin in a manner constrained thereto; and also as at other times I haue said, in matters which draw neere to our times, it shall not be amisse to make longer and more ample relation.

My authors in whose books the same may be seen more at large, are these which follow: *OTHO FRISINGENSIS* in the historie which he particularly wrote in two books, of the beginning of the Emperour *FREDERICK*'s raigne, and *RAYDAVICVS* in what he added thereto, and *GODFRY VITERBIENSIS*, all eye witnesses, and the Abbat *WESPERG*, in his Chronicle, an author of the same time, wherein he writes his life; Abbat *ROBERT* in the addition which hee made to *SIGBERT*'s Chronicle, *OTHO* of *S. Blasie*, *BLONDVS* of the declining of the Roman Empire, *PLATINA* in the liues of the Popes, *JOHN COLYMAN* in his Sea of histories, *JOHN BAPTISTA IGNACIUS*, *JOHN EYITCHIUS*, *BENEVENT DE Rombaldiis*, *IOH. CARION*, *IOH. CUSP.*, *RAPHAEL VOLATERRANVS*, in their writings of the Emperours, *HEN. MYCIVS*, *GASPAR CHVRRVS* in his Affaires of *Germany*, in that part wherein he treateth of *FREDERICK* the first, *FRANCISC. IRENICVS*, *PAVLVS CONSTANTINVS PHRIGIO*, *CHRISTIANVS MASEVS*, *MATHEW PALMERIVS*, and the other generall Historiographers, treating of these times, as *S. ANTH.*, *ANTHONIVS SABELLICVS*, *IOH. NAVCLERVS*, which best of all handleth the matters of *Germany*, *PHILIP BERGOMAS*; and besides these, *PAVLVS EMILIVS*, *ROB. GAVIN*, and other French writers, *POLIDORE VIRGIL* in his English History, Pope *PIVS* in his history of *Bohemia*, *LA COE MIER* in his abridgement of the history of *Flanders*, *ANTONIVS SABELLICVS* in the history which he particularly wrote of the Venecians, *ALBERT CRANTZ* in his history of *Saxony*, *GEORGE MERVLA* in the history of the Dukes of *Milan*, *AVGUSTIN IUSTINIAN* in his Annales of *Genoa*, *MICHAEL RICIVS* in his booke of the Kings, and some others which I now remember not.



THE LIFE OF HENRY, THE SIXTH OF THAT NAME, AND FOVRESORE AND EIGHTEENTH ROMANE EMPEROR.

(**)

THE ARGVMENT.



After Frederick succeeded his eldest sonne Henry: who as soone as he had the gouernment of the Empire, went into Italy to be crowned, and to get the kingdome of Sicilia, which came vnto him, by the right of his wife; and was crowned by Pope Celestine. He would haue made a conquest of the kingdome of Naples, but the plague made him returne into Germany. He came into Italy, vpon the same occasion of Sicilia: wherein finding Tancredi dead, he easily obtained the kingdome, notwithstanding that hee committed some cruelties therein worthy of blame: Being returned into Germany, he sent many men to the warres of Iersusalem. And liuing in peace, he came in progresse to visit his new kingdome of Sicilia: where, for his pleasure riding on hunting (as his custome was) he fell sicke and died, when he had reigned eight yeeres.



Henry the eldest sonne of Frederick Barbarossa chosen Emperor.

His life time had been made King of the Romanes, and future Emperour: when as he understood of the death of his father, wrote to the electors, and to the other Princes of the Empire: and they yeelding him the obedience which they had promised in his fathers time, he took vpon him the state and maiestie of Emperour: which was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, nintie, and one, and was called HENRY the Sixt; yet the Italians call him the Fift, for that they reckon not the first HENRY. This man was awise Prince, of a sharpe and quicke wit, well spoken, of a pleasing countenance, but somewhat pale faced, of a meane stature, and tender and delicate of body; but of a fierce and cruell minde, and very valiant, wherefore he was greatly feared of his enemies, and was more addicted to hunting, then was fit for the good gouernment of his estate. In the beginning of his raigne, those of Colen rebel-

led,

led, and with them certaine Earls & other great men, but it was a matter of no great importance and so it was soone pacified. Being freed from this care, seeking the aid and fauour of his friends, he made preparation to go into Italy (which was the next yeere) with a desire to be crowned in Rome, and to get the kingdome of Sicilia, which fell to him by the right of his wife the Emperess, CONSTANCE, whereto he was invited and called by Pope CELESTINE the Third, who was newly chosen Pope (yet some authors say, that at this time, this CONSTANCE was giuen to him in marriage by this Pope CELESTINE, who gaue her a dispensation for that she was a professed Nunne, to the end, that they should haue the kingdome) for the bastard TANCERDE King of Sicilia and of Naples, who possessed the same, was odious and an enemy to the Pope.

The Emperour HENRY being comen into Italy, passing peaceably through the States of Lombardy (according to the agreement made between his father and them) went towards Rome to be crowned; but before the Pope gaue him the Crowne, he went against the City of Tusculano, which was situate in the Mountaines neer to Rome, which rebelled, and did and had done the Romanes much harm; and taking the same (for it yielded without any resistance) he gaue it to the Romanes (for so was he enioyned to do, before the Crown should be giuen him) and they presently raised the City, and vsed the Citizens with great cruelty, for which the Emperour was much taxed, and blamed to haue suffered so cruell a fact. This cruelty being executed, and the Emperour being with great solemnity crowned in Rome by Pope CELESTINE; and other couenants and agreements being made between them concerning the kingdoms of Sicilia, and of Naples, as feodatory kingdoms to the Church of Rome, and the fee and tribute set down to be paid for the same: The Emperour marching forwards, found all those Countiees in Arms against him, holding for TANCERDE, whom they had chosen, and held for King and their soueraign Lord; yet he took some Towns by force, and went as far as Naples, and besieged the same, as the head of that kingdom; and the Neapolitans valiantly defending their Citie, the siege continued the space of three monthes; in which time there fell in the Camp, so great a mortalitie, and so many of the Emperours souldiers died, that without effecting what he had purposed, he raised his siege: and returned into Germany: And as he arose from before the City, his wife the Emperess (some say going into Germany, which seemeth most certain, and others say, that she coming to her husband, to go with him to the wars) was taken by certain Captaines vpon the way; but so great diligence was vsed, and such a course was taken; that within few daies she was set at liberty; and they which tooke her, were severely punished: and so at this time, he returned crowned, but not victorious, into his Countrey. Two yeers of his raign were expired, and he frustrate of his purpose and desire to recover the kingdomes of Naples and Sicilia, but yet he still had a resolution to return thither again (as he afterwards did) where let vs leaue him: and I will tell you what hapned vnto his brother FREDERICK, and the other Princes which had continued in the East euer sithence the death of his father, the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA: wherein if all the skirmishes, encounters, battailes, and feates of Armes done by these three kings, of Iersusalem, France and England, in those two yeers warres, should be written, I should haue much to say; but the successe thereof was this, that the siege of Iolomaida continued two yeers, reckoning from the time that GYIDO King of Iersusalem first besieged it, vntill it was taken; during which time, many great matters passed between them and the besieged, and SALADINE's other forces.

At this time died the said FREDERICK Duke of Suecia, sonneto to the Emperour FREDERICK BARBAROSSA, and brother to the Emperour HENRY, and other great personages.

At the end of this time, the Citie was yeelded to the Christians, and the Kings were grown so mighty and so much feared, and the potent SALADINE had lost so many men, that thinking himselfe vnable to defend his countiees, he caused the wallies of Cesaria in Palestina, with Ascalon, Gaza, Porfiria, and of other Cities vpon the Sea-coast, to be thrown down: and the power of the Christians so much encreased, that SALADINE began to parle of the giuing vpon Iersusalem, vpon condition that he might liue in peace. But God otherwise disposed, for the Kings of France and England, were so ill met, that they could neuer agree vpon any thing: Wherefore the King of France resolved to leaue the warres, and to returne into his countiee, and did so, and left the greatest part of his people with the Duke of Burgundy; and so the opportunity of the taking of Iersusalem was lost; for by reason of his departure, SALADINE's minde altered: Neuertheless, RICHARD King of England was a Prince of so great a courage,

The Emperour Henry the first crowned in Rome by Pope Celestine the third.

The Emperour besieged Naples but could not take it.

Iolomaida yeelded to the Christians.

The French king left the wars in the Holy-Land.

Richard
Coeur de Lion
was King of Eng-
land in warres
in Palestine.

rage, and carried himself so valiantly in those warres, as besides, that he new builded and fortified *Japha* (whilom called *Ioppa*) and some other Townes, he reduced the warres to as good order and estate, as they were in before the French Kings departure. It followed in this time, that *CONRAD* Marquesse of *Manfratta*, who was possessor of the great City of *Tyre*, and the marches thereof, and was called King of *Ierusalem*, for that (as I told you) he married with *ISABEL* sister to *SIBIL*, which was King *GVIDO*'s wife, was in the same Citie slaine by certain fugitives, Turkes; and the widow *ISABEL* having one daughter by her husband, was married to *HENRY*, called Earle of *Champania*, Nephew to the French King; and he marrying her, had with her that Citie, and the title to the Kingdom of *Ierusalem*, against *GVIDO*, which held that name and title. Whereupon King *RICHARD* dealt with *GVIDO* to renounce the right which he pretended to the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, and he would give him the dominion of the Isle of *Cyprus*, with the name of King thereof; which Iland the King of *England* took in his way as he came to this warre.

GVIDO accepted this bargain, and providing men and shipping necessary, sailed into *Cyprus*, as King of that Iland, and reigned therein all his life time; and that kingdom remained in him, and in his heyres and successors, vntill the yeer of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred and fixty, that the *Venecians* (I know not by what title) made themselves Lords thereof: and the house of *England* hath euer since pretended right to the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, as saith *PLATINA*, and other Authors.

This being past, and many other matters in this warre, amongst which was a great battaile which continued from noone vntill night, wherein the valiant *SALADINE* was overthrowen, and the King of *England*, and the Princes with him, had the victory; they resolved to goe and besiege the City of *Ierusalem*, knowing for certain that *SALADINE* durst not abide them, for he sued to them for peace, or truce, promising to render *Ierusalem*, and other places in those marches, to the end that he might obtain the same for some long time: but the Christians were of such power, that they were not therewith satisfied. But vpon a sodain the King of *England* (very vnadvisedly) gaue out in speeches, that he would return into his country, for that he was certified the French king had entred and taken his Duchy of *Normandy*: which if hee had conceived, he might haue had what composition he would haue required: but *SALADINE* knowing his determination, and that the fleets of *Pisa* and of *Venice* were already departed, by reason of discord and dissension between them, would not resign *Ierusalem*. In the end the king of *England* concluded a peace with him for five years; and leaving *Garrisons* and *Gouernours* in the Cities which the Christians had recovered (*OTHO* Duke of *Burgundy*, and *HENRY* the husband of *ISABEL*, which chalenged the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, remaining commanders thereof, with the Knights of *Saint Iohn* and the *Templars*) he departed homewards, in the yeer one thousand, one hundred ninety three, and by the way was taken prisoner by the Duke of *Austria*, and was ransomed, and other accidents afterwards befell him: and so hee left the affaires of the East, and more Townes, and better fortified then he found there: yet not so many as a man would haue thought that so great Kings, and such mighty Armies, might haue taken: what ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter.

The Emperor *HENRY* (as some men write) was well relieved and furnished with the money which the king of *England* paid for his rancome, towards his iourney into *Italie*, for which he then made preparation but he first made his brother *CONRAD*, Duke of *Suenia*, for that his other brother *FREDERICK* died in the East without issue. He then marching towards *Italie*, to conquer the kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, which fell to him by his wife, and the Popes grant; and having sent certain Captains before with an Army, by which the warres were already begun, King *TANCRED* which possessed those kingdoms died; and a little before him, his eldest sonne called *ROGER*, who was married to *YRENE* the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*, and he left another sonne called *WILLIAM* (whom they presently made their King) and two or three daughters: by reason whereof the Emperor halted his journey, leading with him his brother *PHILIP*, and other great Princes: but for all this, the great men, and Cities of those kingdoms left not to rebell, and to withstand the Emperor *HENRY*, who with his men of warre entred the Countrie, besieging and battering Cities with such rage and fury, that whatsoever City resisted him, hee caused to be ruined and burnt; vsing greater cruelty then befitted a vertuous or Christian Prince: and so perforce, and for feare, all the cities in the kingdome of *Naples*, and the most of those in *Campania*, and *Pulia*, yielded; and thence marching into *Calabria* did there the like: and seeing himselfe Lord of the

estates

estates in the maine land, he passed ouer into *Sicilia*: wherein, as there was not any King, or head, to rule and command (for *TANCRED*'s sonne was a childe, and his father had been wicked, and a Tyrant) in short space he became Lord of a great part of that Iland. Neuertheless, after this the prelates and great Lords of those kingdoms, with the greatest power they possibly could leuie, gathered head neere to the City of *Catania*, with a full resolution to try their fortune: where they fought with the Emperor (yet some say the Emperor was not in the battaile) and the Sicilians were ouerthrowen, the Citie taken, and of them was made great slaughter, in which was executed extreme cruelty, putting to the sword both men and women, not sparing those which had retired themselves to the Churches for sanctuary: and some Noble men and Bishops were taken prisoners.

After this, many of the principall men conspired by any meanes howsoeuer to kil the Emperor; which being reuealed vnto him, he caused death to be inflicted vpon all those he could get, which had been accused to haue been of that conspiracy, with such cruelty and rigour, as he could not auoide blame for it: for some he made to be flayed aliue, others to be burnt; and of some he caused sharpe nayles to be driven into their heads: finally, he executed such horrible cruelty vpon them, that he made himselfe to be the most redoubted man in the World. By meanes whereof within short space he became Lord of the whole Iland, and comming with his forces to the City of *Palermo* (which was the richest and most populous Citie of the Iland) he was receiued without battaile or resistance, and made his entry most solemnly, with all the representations, triumph and shewes of victory that could be deuised: in that Citie (it is reported) he found many precious iewels, and great riches, which had bene the Kings of *Sicilia*, and there were kept.

He got also into his power *YRENE* the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*, who was betrothed to the deceased King *TANCRED*'s sonne, *ROGER*; which *YRENE* he married to his brother *PHILIP*, although against her will. And the childe whom the Sicilians had made their King, he made his eyes to be put out, thereby to make him incapable of the kingdom; and caused him to be carried prisoner into *Germany*, where he afterwards died miserably: and his mother the widow with her two daughters, he commanded to be put into a Monastery in *Germany*, so that hee left nothing forgotten that might assure him of those kingdomes.

This being done he went into *Calabria*, carrying with him for hostages, such men as hee held to be of great account in both the kingdomes: and for his better assurance, both in the maine land, and in the Iland, he placed Germane gouernours and captains: to some of which he gaue certain estates and titles. Before this, his wife the Emperesse, who was there with him, bare him a son called *FREDERICK*; at whose birth, by reason that some doubted whether that a woman of her yeeres might be with childe or no, he permitted all that would be present at the birth, commanding it first to bee published, at such time as it was thought she should bee deliuered. In this manner did the Emperour *HENRY* leaue the two *Sicilies* in peace and subjection: And with the hostages before mentioned, which were great Lords and Prelates, departed towards *Germany* (*Milan* and all *Lombardy* peaceably obeying him, both at his comming and going) which was in the fift yeer of his reign, and in the yeer of our Lord 1195.

It is true, that although the Emperor obtained his desire in the conquest of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, yet all writers affirm that he therewith purchased the name of a very cruel, and vindicative Prince, for the great cruelties which he committed. And *PHILIP BERGOMAS* affirmeth that through these cruelties, he fell at such oddes with Pope *CELESTINE*, that he excommunicated him, by certain Bishops and other men of orders, which the Emperor apprehended, and put to death: and that he afterwards suing to the Pope for pardon, was absolved. He was also noted and taxed of excessive couetousness, for the great loanes and imposts, which hee exacted from the people in those kingdoms: which gaue occasion that it was not long before that in *Pulia*, some towns and great men, began to mutin and to rebell against him: whereupon he put out the eyes of all the hostages, which he had sent into *Germany*; and sent Captains and soldiers to suppress the Insurrections; and they by his commandement, inflicted cruell punishment vpon the offenders. Being in this prosperity, so as no man rebelled, or held vp his hand against him, his brother *CONRAD* Duke of *Suenia* died, at such time as he began to warre against *BERYOLD* Duke of *Zeringe*, which then, and before that time was, and had been, a great house in *Germany*: and his brother *CONRAD* being dead without issue, the Emperor gaue the Duchy of *Suenia* to his brother *PHILIP*, who (as I said) married the Emperours daughter of *Constantinople*.

After

The cause why
Richard was
driven by the
Saracians.

King Richard
Coeur de Lion,
was prisoner
coming from
his wars in
the Holy Land
by the Duke of
Austria.

Frederick the
Emperours son
being a child
was chosen king
of the Romanes.

After all these things, he sought by all means possible, that the Princes Electors should chuse his sonne **FREDERICK** (a child of little more then two yeeres old) for King of the Romanes: and forasmuch as he was of great power, and much feared, they did so; notwithstanding that it seemed to them, to be a matter very vnusult and vnreasonable.

At this time Pope **CLESTINE** very earnestly solicited the Princes of Christendome, and especially the Emperour (seeing that the time of the truce, made in the East by the King of England was expired, and that the great **SALADINE** was dead, but a little before, on whom depended the chiefest force of the Infidels) that they should not now forget the conquest of *Jerusalem*; seeing they had so fit an opportunitie. The Emperour (with the zeale of a Christian Prince, though a cruell one) seeing that he could not goe himselfe in person, by reason of his small assurance in his Kingdomes of *Sicilia*, and the tranquillitie of *Germany*: many Princes offering themselves to go that iourney voluntarily, and many souldiers and men of war, which he sent in his pay (at his own charges) provided a very great and good Army: wherewith went the Archbishop of *Nemz*, the Bishop of *Ratisbone*, **BERNARD** Duke of *Saxony*, **CONRAD** Chancelor of the Empire, **LEOPOLD** Duke of *Austria*, **HARMAN** Lantzgrau of *Twinge*, the Duke of *Brabant* and some other Marquesses, Earls, and men of estate; all which leaving their houses and countries, of meere deuotion, with valiant mindes, after long trauaile by land and sea (wherein they were much aided and reliued by **ISACIUS** Emperour of *Constantinople*) came to the coast of *Palestina*, to the citie of *Tyre* and *Ptolomaida*, which they called *Acon*; where they presently applied themselves to the warres; the truce graunted by the King of England being expired. In which time, **GYDO** King of *Cyprus*, who before had been King of *Jerusalem*, deceased; and forasmuch as he had no sonne, his brother **ALMERICVS** had that kingdom: and it also happened, that at that same season, **HENRY**, who was called king of *Jerusalem*, by the marriage (as I said) of **ISABEL** sister to **SIBIL**, in his citie of *Ptolomaida* fell out of a very high terrasse or gallerie in his palace, and so died vnfortunatly: and **ALMERICVS** king of *Cyprus*, sought to marrie with his wife, wherewith she was content; and so for a time he was called king of *Cyprus* and *Jerusalem*. But for as much as he was negligent, and of small experience in the warres, and in matters of government, he afterwards lost the title of *Jerusalem*, which was given to **IOHND** **BARENA**, a Frenchman, being a man of great worth and valour, who married the daughter of this **ISABEL**, which he had by her second husband **CONRAD**. The Germanes sent by the Emperour, ioyning with **ALMERICVS** his forces, became masters of the field; and marching forwards, besieged and assaulted some citices, took *Berito*, and reedified *Joppa*, now called *Japha*.

While the Armie did these things in the East, the Emperour **HENRY** setting all things in order in *Germany*, came with his wife and his young sonne into *Italy*, to visite his estate of *Milaw*; and from thence went into *Sicilia*, the better to confirme himselfe in his new Dominion; and the better also to provide for the warres and conquest of the Holy land, which was generally desired. He came into *Sicilia*, to the Citie of *Mesuna*, with his wife and his son, (who was already called king of the Romanes) and gouerned the Empire and those Kingdomes in peace, enlarging the same more then the Pope would he should haue done, for he held from him the *Mare de Ancona*, and some places in *Tuscane*. But it pleased God to frustrate all his designs by death: for being much delighted in hunting; it hapned, that hunting vpon an extreame hot day, in the month of August, he layd him downe one night to sleep in a greene field, neere to certain fresh springs of water: and awaking with the cold and the deaw of the night, he felt himselfe very ill, and was carried to *Mesuna*, where his infirmity increasing, he dyed; when he had reigned eight yeeres, in the yeere of our Lord 1198. hauing first recommended the protection and government of his young sonne **FREDERICK**, who was called king of the Romanes, and of the two *Sicilies*, to his brother **PHILIP** Duke of *Suenia*, vntill that he should come to age fit to rule; and wrot his Letters concerning the same to Pope **INNOCENT** the third, who succeeded **CLESTINE** the third, who died a little before him in the same year. This Emperour was a wise, a valiant, and a mighty Prince, but his ouer-much fiercenesse and cruelty blemished those vertues. All this while reigned **ISACIUS** in *Constantinople*, which he gouerned very well for the space of eleuen or twelue yeeres in peace; after the death of the tyrant **ANDRONICVS**, as we haue set downe in the life of the Emperour **FREDERICK**.

THE



THE
LIFE OF PHILIP, THE
SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND
FOVRSORE AND NINETEENTH RO-
MANE EMPEROR, AND OF ISACIUS AND
ALEXVS Emperors of Constantinople.
(***)

THE ARGVMENT.



HE Emperour Henry being dead, the Empire was divided betwixt two competitors, which were Philip and Otho: and either of them marshalling the forces of his friends and assistants, many sad battailes were fought between them. They both were crowned: but Otho's coronation was ratified by the Pope, and Philip's reprobred, and himselfe excommunicate: but he making slight account of the excommunication persisted in his attempt, and having in a bickering overthrown the Lantzgrau, became very mighty, and Otho's power daily grew weake, and he himselfe, in the end, was drineto flee, and to goe into England. Philip afterwards sought to pacifie the Pope, and to be at peace with him: another reconciliation being made, a Peace was procured with Otho, which was concluded by making him his sonne in law, and his successor in the Empire: but this joy lasted not long. For Otho being come to the Court, the Count Palatine of Wistilsbach, who was Philip's secret enemy, upon a day (with a resolution to kill him) came to his chamber, desiring to speake with him, and being let in, he took his sword from his Page, and therewith slew the Emperour, when he had reigned ten yeeres.



IT is a common and vsuall thing through all the World, that after the death of great Kings and Princes, ensue great changes and alterations; which is verified by the death of **HENRY** the sixt, whose History we haue now ended: for by reason thereof, followed great innovations, and vnexpected accidents. First in the Army which he sent into the East, to the conquest of *Jerusalem*, and which had begun the warre with good successe, his death being published, the Princes and Prelates which went thither agreed together in all haste to returne home to their houses, and did so; nothing preuailling with them the counsell and entreaty of **SIMON** of *Monferato*, a most excellent souldier, who came thither with certain troups of Frenchmen to their aide: and so they left the countrey abandoned, and in such necessity, as the Infidels taking the City of *Japha*, destroyed the same, and laid it euen with the ground; and king **ALMERICVS** and the Christians were brought to such extremity, as they were drinuen to sue to the Infidels for peace: so as it appeareth, that it was not Gods will that the warres and conquest of the Holy-land should euer haue any good successe.

In *Germany* followed the greatest tumults, wars and battailes, touching the choise of an Emperour, that euer had been scene for the like cause. Pope **INNOCENT** began to recouer some places which the Emperour **HENRY** held from the Church. The Empreffe presently sued to the Pope, for the confirmation of *Sicilia* to her and her sonne, which she hardly obtained, but with the losse of lands and dignities. So great effect worketh oftentimes the absence, or
X x
presence

The death of
great Princes
cause great al-
terations.

The death of
the Emperour
Henry the
sixt.

presence, of one man only: for PHILIP Duke of *Sueuia*, whose History I now beginne to write, was inuaded by his brothers death in *Italy*, he going to visit him; from whence, as soon as he vnderstood thereof (for as some authors say he was not present when he died) he returned into *Germany*, and by the way past many dangers; with an intent (notwithstanding that he had the title of his Nephewes Protector) to get (if he might) the Empire for himselfe; whereto, being commi into *Germany*, as well by means of his estate and authority, as also for that he was the brother and sonne of an Emperor, he found great fauour, and great contradiction and resistance also, by many Princes which were enemies to his house and family; and for some other respects. Principally, the Electors voyces being diuided into two, the one part named the same PHILIP for Emperor; for of his nephew, by reason of his infancy, and also for that he was King of *Sicilia* (notwithstanding their promise made to his father) they made small account: and the other party chose OTHO, Earle or Duke of *Brunswick*, the sonne of HENRY the Proud, who had been Duke of *Saxony*, and was dispossessed (as we said) by the Emperor *EDWARD*, wherfore some authors call him Duke of *Saxony*: This OTHO's mother was sister to the king of *England*, by whose meanes (as some say) he was called to the Empire.

Philip chosen
Emperor.

Otho chosen
Emperor.

Bertold called
Emperor.

Between these two was cruell and sharpe warre and competency, hauing recourse to their Arms: yet the Abbat *WASPERS* faith, that BERTOLD Duke of *Zeringe*, before, or at the same time, was a third competitor, and was called Emperor: but Duke BERTOLD's challenge continued not long, for he soone agreed with PHILIP; and for that most authors write it not, I will passe it ouer, with the only remembrance thereof. PHILIP and OTHO being in Armes, each of them with his partakers and friends, began to warre, killing, robbing and imprisoning one another.

OTHO was holpen and supported by the King of *England* as his Vncle and friend, and by the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, the Duke of *Liconia*, the Earle of *Limburch*, the Archbishop of *Colen*, and his Prelates and Suffraganes, the Earle of *Flanders* and his friends, and some other princes and prelates: Pope INNOCENT also fauoured his cause, calling to minde that the ancestors of this OTHO, Dukes of *Saxony*, had greatly assisted and defended the Church of *Rome*; and to the contrary, PHILIP's predecessors Dukes of *Sueuia*, had persecuted the same, causing schismes and diuisions; as HENRY the fourth, *FREDERICK* the first, and his brother *FREDERICK* had also held many places in *Tuscany*, and *Athona*, belonging to the Church of *Rome*.

Those which tooke part with PHILIP, wereth the King of *France*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, the Dukes of *Saxony*, and of *Austria* (who then came from the warres in the East) the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bauiere*, the Dukes of *Lorraine*, and of *Brabant*; and all the rest of the Princes which took not part with OTHO (but yet the successe changed these fauours) and PHILIP for his person was better beloued and more esteemed then OTHO, for he was mild, of a noble disposition, discrete, and liberrall (wherby good will is principally got) very valiant, though but of a weak body, and of a meane stature; of a good countenance, and faire, white and red.

OTHO had not so good parts of a man in him; for he was held not very wise, rash, and without measure audacious. PHILIP hauing assembled his friends in the City of *Mentz*, he was there annoyed and crowned Emperor by the Bishop of *Tarantasia*; the Bishop of *Sutrina*, who was the Popes Ambassador and Legate, being there present, who came thither for another purpose; wherewith the Pope was extremely moued. OTHO and his friends, perceiving that PHILIP was crowned, went to *Aken*, which PHILIP had already taken; and besseging and scaling it, took the same vpon composition: and there ADOLPH Archbishop of *Colen* preposterously crowned him, and he therefore was held for right Emperor: which coronation was afterwards confirmed by Pope INNOCENT, who sent GUIDO Cardinall of *Preneeste* for his Legate to the Citie of *Colen*, for the same purpose, and to excommunicate PHILIP, and all his followers and abettors. PHILIP (as a man of great spirit) sought to fight with OTHO, and to that end entred his enemies countries, destroying the same with fire and sword, and took some strong Castles neer to *Argentine*, where between his and OTHO's troups, were many skirmishes and encounters, and many men were slaine of either side: and the next year following he came against the same Citie of *Argentine*, which held for OTHO; which yielded vpon composition, and he was therein receiued and obeyed.

OTHO in like manner with all his whole power came against PHILIP: and between the

souldiers

souldiers of the one and other, were some battels and skirmishes; wherein PHILIP for the most part had the victory, which made some to come ouer to his side: but yet the coming of the Popes Legate at this time, and the publishing of the excommunication, did greatly hinder PHILIP's proceedings, and was a great help to OTHO, with the Prelats and ecclesiasticall Personages. PHILIP hauing the greatest quarell against the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, for that by his means principally OTHO was chosen; he therefore resolved to enter his Country, and to spoil it; and putting the same in execution, took one or two very strong Towns of his. The Lantzgraue railing his power, and sending for help to the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and to OTHO CHARVS, King of *Bohemia* (who now joined with OTHO, by reason of the Popes excommunication) and to other his friends and kinsmen, leuied so great a number of good men of war, that PHILIP, not daring to fight with him, retired to a strong Town, wherein they besieged him: but he vsed such means, that in the night he got out of the Town, and put himself in safety. And within few daies after came OTHO to the aid of the Lantzgraue with his whole power, in hope to haue taken PHILIP; for, they had written to him, that he could not escape from the place wherein they held him besieged. So as OTHO, being then Master of the field, summoned a Diet or Councell to be held in the City of *Mersburg*, in the month of August, in the year of our Lord 1203: where, in the presence of the before named Princes, and of his friends, he was the second time crowned by the Popes Legat; and his first election was approved and confirmed, and many reuolted from PHILIP to him, by reason (as they pretended) of the Popes censures.

At this time the Empreffe CONSTANCE, Tutresse of the yong *FREDERICK* King of *Sicilia*, dying, she recommended the protection of the childe to Pope INNOCENT, who sent certain Legats to gouern those Countries in the behalf of the yong King, who afterwards was Emperor, as you shall hear. OTHO his fauourites & partakers being gone from this Diet or Councell with victory, the next year following their fortune altered: for, PHILIP with the aid of *France*, *Saxony*, *Austria*, *Mentz*, *Wittenbergh*, *Sueuia*, *Bauiere*, and the rest of those which held with him, came vpon the Lantzgraue and his confederates; and entering his Countries (as he had done the year before) took certain Castles. The King of *Bohemia* & the Count Palatine came to ioin with the Lantzgraue, and so to fight with PHILIP: but PHILIP met and sought with them before they could ioin with the Lantzgraue, and obtained the victory, although bloody; the Bohemians running away, and disordering themselves in the beginning, so as great slaughter was made of them in the chase. PHILIP through this victory won so great reputation, that many of those which vntil then had been silent and newters, came to serue him; and from his enemy came not a few. And the Lantzgraue, seeing his succours ouertowne and scattered, and his Country spoiled, sought means to come to some composition with PHILIP, and to serue him: and PHILIP (as he was a milde and courteous Prince) admitted him into his fauour and friendship; and the Lantzgraue with great humility came and yielded himself into his power.

The Bohemians
entered browns.

After him came ADOLPH, Archbishop of *Colen*, who nothing fearing the Popes excommunications, against such as took part with PHILIP, or defended his quarell, compounded with him also, promising to bring the Dukes of *Lorraine* and of *Brabant* to his deuotion; a thing which PHILIP much desired, and gaue him to effect the same a great summe of money: which was the cause that many others did the like. So as this party growing now to be strongest, a meeting was appointed to be had in *Aken*: and for as much as PHILIP had not been crowned there by a general assent, he was again with great solemnity crowned Emperor and King of the Romans by the hands of the said Archbishop ADOLPH, who depised and contemned his Popes censures: whereupon Pope INNOCENT deprived and deposed him from his Archbishoprick, and sent commandment to his Legat, who then lay in *Colen*, to cause another to be chosen: and the Chanons assembling, made choice of one *BAYNVS*, a man of great account; and OTHO took such order, that he was presently consecrated by two Bishops that came from *England*: wherewith PHILIP was so much enraged; that he presently went and serpon the City of *Colen*; and not being able to take it by force, he spoiled the fields; and put the deposed Archbishop in the possession of some Towns in the Marches and Territories of that City; in so much that neither the one nor the other party could rule or gouern that Church.

The like happened afterwards in many other Churches; some houlding of the one faction, and others of the other: and miserable *Germany* at this time endured grieuous calamities.

X x z

for,

for, besides the great wars and battails, the Churches and Monasteries were robbed.

After all this, the next year following, which was the year 1205, PHILIP, with a great power of Princes and marshall men, came to make warre vpon OTHO, who with his friends and allies was in *Colen*, with whom, amongst such others as came thither, was GUIDO the Pope's Legate, and BRYNN the Archbishop thereof. And with PHILIP came the deposed Bishop: but OTHO, having no sufficient forces to fight with him in field, held himself within the City, not daring to keep the field against him; which, PHILIP perceiving, he sent for all the forces he could leue, and besieged OTHO, and those which were with him in *Colen*: so as OTHO was in greater distresse than hee thought of in the beginning; and the siege was so sharp, that it was impossible for any man to get in or out without the leaue of the besiegers.

OTHO knowing that if he staid any longer there, besides the reputation which he lost, his person and life would be in great danger, resolved to make way through his enemies, or to dy in the action: and making choice of his best men, both of horse and foot, besides men of account, he one day suddenly sallied and charged into his enemies Camp, and in the beginning made great slaughter of them; but being oppressed with the multitude, he vsed the means hee had propounded, and so escaped by flight: yet in the chace, many of those which sallied with him were taken prisoners and slain. Among which, BRYNN the new Archbishop was taken prisoner, whom PHILIP held in irons about one whole year after: and in this flight, OTHO neuer staid till he came into *Saxony*, where hee was harboured and protected by Duke BRUNARD. PHILIP, thus preuailing, offered to honourable composition to those of *Colen*, that they yielded, and came all to his seruice; and restoring ADOLPH to his seat and Bishoprick, he wholly disannulled and made void the new election of BRYNN, without any regard of the Pope's commandments.

OTHO perceiving that PHILIP's power did daily more and more increase, and that hee had not any forces wherewith he might defend himself, took ship and sailed into *England*: and so for that time remained PHILIP peacefull Emperor, finding no man that in field made any resistance, but what the Pope did with his fulminations, whereof (as it seemeth) he made small account. And the better to assure to himself the loue of men (he naturally desiring to end matters by clemency) he gaue his eldest daughter in marriage to the King of *Bohemia*, and another daughter to the Duke of *Brabant*'s eldest sonne: and so vpon other Princes he bestowed fauours and benefits; wherein (as saith the Abbat WESPERGENSIUS) he spent his whole patrimony, giuing Towns and Castles, yea, Churches and their reuenues: for, so much do men desire to raige, that, to bring the same to effect, there is no law but they will break and violate; yea, and they think they may lawfully do it: which may well and sufficiently be prooued by such matters as passed in these times in the Empire of *Constantinople*, which for that they make to our purpose and history, I will heere briefly recite, although so great accidents require a longer relation: and so for a while we will leaue OTHO fled and banished into *England*, and PHILIP to enjoy his victory.

In *Constantinople* then reigned ISACOR ISACIUS (of whom we haue made mention) as a iust Prince and good Governor; who with a great summe of monie redeemed a brother of his, a valiant and excellent Captain, called ALEXVS, who in the wars was taken prisoner by the Turks; to whom after his coming to his Court (besides the Lands & estate allowed him for his maintenance) he gaue so great authority and command in the government, that all matters of greatest importance were ordered by his direction; and he being in this fauour, the diuell ambition, and desire to raige, possessed him; so as, to bring his purpose to effect, hee resolved to break all lawes both diuine and humane, together with the bands wherein he stood bound to his Soueraign Lord and brother: for, in requital of the benefits received, with the help and assistance of such as himself, he apprehended his brother, and put out his eyes, and seised vpon the Empire to his owne behoof: and a son of ISACIUS, called after his treacherous Vncles name, ALEXVS, fled, and came into *Germany* to the Emperor PHILIP, whose wife YRNE was this young mans sister: but as PHILIP was not so firmly seated in his Empire, as to be able to succour and relieue another, by reason of his wars with OTHO, so he could not then doe as he would haue done.

At that time by chance (or else it was Gods will it should be so) were in *Venice*, BALDVIN Earl of *Flanders*, and his brother HENRY; and BONIFACE Marquesse of *Monferrat*; LEUVVS Earl of *Savoy*; and other Noble Personages, with many souldiers and men of war;

Noble men
of Venice.

induced to meet there, by Pope INNOCENT, for the conquest of *Ierusalem* and the holy Land: where they staid for shipping to go on their voyage; whither came, recommended to them by the Emperor PHILIP, this young ALEXVS. Whereupon these Princes (by the consent of the Duke and Senate of *Venice*, and of the Pope) concluded to go against the Tyrant ALEXVS: whereto the Venecians gaue great aid, sending an Admirall with a great fleet. The league and accord being made with the Nephew ALEXVS: hee promised, that being restored, he would reduce the Greek Church to the obedience of the Latin; and many other matters in recompense: and so they departed with a good and prosperous winde. And omitting such accidents as befell them in their voyage (wherein they took the Ile of *Creta*, now called *Candia*, and other places) it was so, that they arrived neer to the City of *Constantinople*; where the Tyrant ALEXVS in a readinesse awaited their coming, with a very great number of souldiers; and they, setting their men on land, had a battell with THEODORE LASCARVS the Tyrant's sonne-in-law, who sallied forth with an Armie to fight with them; and hee being ouertrowne, they pursued him to the gates of the City; which they besieged both by sea and land.

At the end of eight daies which they had been there (wherein were many braue skirmishes and fierce encounters) the Tyrant ALEXVS, seeing that he could not prevail, fled out of the City by night; and after him followed the most part of his complices: and the next day, the Citizens opening the Ports, took the blinde Emperor ISACIUS out of prison, and with him went forth to the Camp; where very willingly they took the sonne to bee Emperor, together with the father: and hee was with great solemnity received into the City, and crowned in the Church of Saint SOPHIA, in the presence of all the Latine Captains; wherewith the blinde father was greatly comforted; and it seemed that all went well, and to the contentment of all men: and the Knights and Commanders of the Latines, to avoid the scandalls which might arise between their people and the citizens, went to their Tents in the Camp.

In the mean while that the new Emperor and his father made payment to the Venecians of what they had promised, and had accomplished the same, the Greeks greatly murmuring for the naturall hatred which they bare against the Latines, the blinde Emperor ISACIUS died; and then presently began new scandalls and tumults in the City, they all exclaiming against the promises made by the young ALEXVS to the Latines; and alleging that they ought not to be performed, put themselves in Arms against them: but yet the new Emperor desired to haue throughly accomplished the same. Yet some Authors lay this breach to his charge, saying, that he would not hould his word. Finally, the matter fell so out, that the tumult infinitely increasing, one MARTILLVS, who had been a Favourite of the Emperor ISACIUS (beeing the chief occasion of this mutiny, and whom the Greeks chose for their Generall, calling him Emperor) went to the Palace where the new Emperor ALEXVS was, and with his owne hand slue him, within one month after his coronation: and the new vpstart Traitor MARTILLVS was set in his place, who presently studied how he might get the fleet of the Venecians, and of the Princes of the Latines, on fire, and to cut off all victuals from them, and by assaulting them in their lodgings, to haue ouertrowne and defeated them; but the effect ensued after another manner: for, after many skirmishes, slaughters, and effusion of much blood (which for breuitie I omit) the Latines had the victory, the Tyrant fled, and they were Lords of the City, together with all the country round about it. And so much as the Empire was without any lawfull successor, and that they had made a conquest thereof, by a generall consent they resolved to chuse an Emperor; and, making among themselves fifteen Electors, BALDVIN Earle of *Flanders* was chosen and created Emperor; and for such was sworn, received and obeyed: and the Patriarch, THOMAS MOROSINI, a Venecian Gentleman, presently went vnto *Rome*; where his Prelacy, and the Emperor's election, and all the rest, was approved and confirmed by the Pope; and he with his owne hands inuested him, and gaue to him for the Emperor the Imperiall Ensignes.

This great attempt being attatched by these Captains, according to their first agreement they diuided what they had gotten; and the Ilands of *Creta*, now *Candia*, and *Euboea* now *Negropont*, were giuen to the Venecians, which they haue held vnto this day: and for as much as the Ile of *Candia* was first giuen to BONIFACE, Marquesse of *Monferrat*; the Countrey of *Thessalia*, which is a Prouince of *Macedonia*, was giuen him, with the title of King; with other rewards and shares giuen to other Princes, aswell in the Ilands, as in the Main; of which remained estates, and houses, which I omit: and so the Empire continued BALDVIN's and his

successors, for the space of more then 60. yeers; with such adventures, as you shall heare hereafter: but *Adrianople* rebelling, inflicting it self all this while; *THEOPHILAS* the Emperor *ALBXV*'s son in law, who (as we said) sailed out to fight with the Latins, being gotten into the same, The new Emperor, *BALDVIN*, besieged that Citie, and died before it, and his brother *HENRY* succeeded him in the Empire: the rest you shall vnderstand when the time commeth.

Now let vs returne to our storie of *PHILIP* Emperor of *Germany*, whom we left victorious; and to *OTHO* fled into *England*: yet let the Reader remember and abhorre the treasons of *ALBXV* and *MIRTELVS*; whereof the one put out the eyes of his owne brother; and the other murdered his soueraigne Lord: and let him consider what ends they had; and therewith, how little stabilitie and assurance there is in the Empires and principalities of this world; and with how vniust titles they are oftentimes gotten and possessed; of all which, there hath been a sufficient and apparant example, in that which hath now been spoken of the Grecke Empire. The Emperor *PHILIP* having expelled *OTHO* out of *Germany*, he and his followers imagined that their aduersaries should not be able any more to molest him: neuertheless in regard of peace, he being in disgrace with the Church of *Rome*, by the aduice of the Princes which were assembled for that purpose, sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, excusing his doings, alleging the equity of his cause, entreating him to establish some peace in the Empire, to absolve him, and to confirm his election; and therewith yielded himselfe to his obedience. The Pope hearing the Ambassage, gaue also care to the treatie, and sent, for his Ambassadors, Cardinals, Legates of great account, to the Emperour, to treat of a peace: which being come, and with much honour receiued; among other motions, one was, that the Emperour should marry a daughter which he had, to *RICHARD* the Popes Nephew, and should giue him therewith the estates of *Spoleto* in *Tuscane*, and the *Marca de Ancona*, which belonged to the Church of *Rome*, and were in the Emperours possession.

This motion (as saith *ABBA* *SPIROGENSI*) was made by the Emperour, by that meane to win the Popes grace and fauour: yet some attribute it to the Pope. These and many other matters were motioned, and there were many meetings of Princes; whither his competitor *OTHO* also sent his Ambassadors; and afterwards came out of *England* into *Saxony*. And of the one side and of the other, many demands and offers were made (the Cardinals Legates being vmpiers and mediators between them) in the end, in a general meeting which was held in a Towne on the borders of *Saxony*, *OTHO* being in a Castle nere vnto it, security being giuen by cyther party, a general peace was concluded, vpon condition that *OTHO* should marrie with the daughter of the Emperour *PHILIP*, and be held for king of the Roimans; and future Emperour after the decaie of *PHILIP*: Which agreement was confirmed & sworn, and a general pardon was giuen by one to the other, and the Pope dispensed with their neer enemie of blood; and all such as were excommunicate, were absolved by the Popes Legates: and so all was in peace and quiet, and *OTHO* remained the Emperours son in law, and heire apparant; and for such was presently sworne, and the Legates returned to *Rome*: All which passed in the yeere of our Lord 1207, wherewith all men were very glad and well contented, hoping that it would haue long continued; for *PHILIP* was an exceeding liberrall and courteous Prince, and deerey beloued generally of all men. But if otherwise happened: for the yeere following, the Emperour being in the Towne of *Bamberg*, for the recovery of his health; *OTHO* Count Palatine *Wilsbach*, who had been his deadly enemy (and was so still in secret) came to the Emperours court, shewing himselfe publicly to be his loyall seruant. His comming (as it afterwards appeared) was but to practice the Emperours death, and as a traitor to kill him, which *PHILIP* nothing suspected.

The Emperour being one day after dinner in his chamber reposing himselfe vpon his bed, for that he finding himself somewhat ill, had been let blood that day; the Count Palatine called at his chamber doore, accompanied with some which were acquainted with his presence: and the Emperour vnderstanding who he was, made the doore to be opened, notwithstanding that none were with him but his Chancellor the Bishop of *Spire*, and a page which waited on his Cup, called *HENRY* of *Wilsbach*, without any weapons: the Count Palatine at his entrance, imagining the time now fit for him to execute his diuillish intent and treason, at the doore took his sword from a page which carried the same; and suddenly drawing it, before that the Bishop or page could rescue him, wounded the Emperour in the throat: which wound, although it were not great, yet it was mortall, and he presently died thereof, the organ pipes being cut.

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The Page, making a lowd outcrie, would haue shutte the doore, to the intent that the Count Palatine should not haue gotten for it: but he gaue him afore wound ouer the face, and opening the doore departed; and ioyning with the Bishop of *Bamberg*, and the Marquess of *Burgundy*, which were his confederats in this treason, they all together fled from the Court, vpon post horses which they had layd for that purpose.

This murder was committed vpon the 22. day of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1208 in the tenth yeere of this Emperours raigme: Great was the tumult which grew hereby: and the course of the people which ranne to the Emperours chamber: who finding him dead, made great moane and lamentation for him (for he was a Prince well beloued, for the nobleness and libralitie of his mind) all men abhorring the Count Palatines treason: for which he escaped not vnpunished; for he was slaine by the Emperours Steward *HENRY*, in reuenge of his Lords death. The Emperour *PHILIP* had neuer any forine, but foure daughters then married; one with *OTHO* the King of the Romanes, when the peace was made betwene them, which *OTHO* succeeded him; and another with the King of *Bohemie*, another with the Duke of *Brabant* eldest sonne, and the fourth with *RICHARD* Earle of *Tuscane*; nephew to Pope *INNOCENT*. In *Constantinople* reigned *HENRY* the brother of *BALDVIN*, of whom we of late made mention.



THE LIFE OF OTHO, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND HVN- DRETH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



After the death of the Emperour Philip, Otho without any contradiction was taken for Emperour; and notwithstanding that he was chosen for his successor in Philips time, it pleased the Electors to chuse him anew: and he being confirmed, was crowned by the Bishop of *Colen*. After the ceremonies were ended, he applied himself to persecute the murderers of Philip; and notwithstanding that hee was well pleased with his death, neuertheless he made this shew of reuenge. He came afterwards to be crowned in *Rome*: but a great tumult arising between his people and the citizens, he departed in choler with the Pope, and made warre vpon him: so as the Pope excommunicated him, and deprived him of the Empire. Whereupon, many Princes of *Germany*, denying him their obedience, chose another Emperour, which was Frederick, King of *Sicilie*: and although that Otho sought by many means to recover the Empire; yet he could neuer attain thereto; and so died a private Lord in *Saxony*, when he had reigned five yeeres.



Y how much *PHILIP* was a better Emperour then his competitor *OTHO*, it was not long before the same *OTHO* made it apparant; notwithstanding that in the beginning he gaue some signes to the contrarie: so as we may hold the old prouerbe to be true, which saith, that Authoritie will manifest a man. As soone as the violent death of *PHILIP* was published, the agreement being yet fresh in memorie, that *OTHO* should succcede him; by common consent he was held for Emperour; yet he held not the dignitie long, being cast downe by the Popes sentence which had rayled him: and notwithstanding that in the life time of *PHILIP* he had been twice crowned, neuertheless the princes, electors (according to the ancient custome) met at *Franckford*; and he being there cho-

According to the Germane Emperours the Otho should be the fourth: but holding the ordinary course he was the Fifth of that name.

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ſen againe went to *Aken*, and there was crownd by the Archbishop of *Colem*, although with ſome delay; for the Archbishop of *Spira*, who was Chancelor to the late Emperor *PHILIP*, and was preſent (as we ſaid) when he was ſlaine, had lodged himſelfe in a very ſtrong Caſtle, and would not deliuer the Scepter, the Croſſe, the Crowne, and the Imperiall enſignes, which remained in his cuſtodie; except he were firſt confirmed in his office of Chancelor: whereupon the new Emperor confirmed him; and ſo was crowned peaceably with great ſolemnitie: which being ended, Pope *INNOCENT*'s Legates came to him (who had euer been his friend) to congratulate his gloſſion, and to approue and confirme the ſame: the coming of which Legates, the Emperor attended in the citie of *Siporbo*; and they deliuered their ambafſade, and treated of other matters concerning the general peace and publike good: and offered the Emperor in the behalfe of the Pope, that if he would come to *Rome*, the Pope would crowne him with his own hands, as his predecessors had done.

O T H O having diſpatched theſe Legates, he took his way towards *Suenia*, to take poſſeſſion thereof, in the right of his wife the Emperor *PHILIP*'s daughter, with whom, at the concluſion of the peace he was married; and to whom (he ſaid) that ſtate did appertain: yet *FREDERICK*, King of *Sicilia*, *PHILIP*'s nephew, who afterwards was Emperor, was called Duke of *Suenia*; and was ſo afterwards. O T H O coming into *Suenia* (profeſſing his coming thither to be, to quiet the troubles, by ſuppreſſing robberies and violences committed in that countrey; much whereof he redreſſed) gaue ſo ill entertainment and countenance to the Earles, Barons, and Gentlemen of that great Duchie, that many of them abandoned the countrey; and he made himſelfe to be generally ill beloued: yet there wanted no ſome, which to flatter him, commended his doings (a thing which maketh Kings and Princes moſt to erre, and to continue in their errors). And within few daies after he went to *Augsburgh*, which is in the ſame province; whither he ſummoned the Princes to come; and with their conſent he proceeded againſt O T H O, Count Palatine of *Wittſpach*, (who murdered the Emperor *PHILIP*) and againſt ſuch as were his complices in the murder: all which were condemned, being abſent, as guilty of high treaſon, and were deprived of all the dignities, goods and lands which they poſſeſſed; of which, ſome he beſtowed upon others, and part hee conſiſked to the chamber of the Empire. And notwithstanding that all men preſumed that hee was well pleaſed with the death of *PHILIP*, yet he inflicted this puniſhment; and outwardly made ſhew of much ſorrow for the ſame: and ſome were of opinion that the Count Palatine murdered the Emperor *PHILIP*, in hope that his ſucceſſor O T H O would haue rewarded him for the fact. But whatſoeuer any man thought, he did as I ſay, and well might he be pleaſed with his death; and diſpleaſed with the treaſon. By meanes of this puniſhment, and for righting ſome other wrongs he began in many mens opinion to be reputed a good Emperor, and a great Iuſticer: yet amongſt men of the better ſort he was blamed, for the oppreſſion which he vſed, both in *Suenia* and in other places: but in the beginning hee was without contradiction obeyed of all men.

Few daies after this, in the moneth of March, in the yeere 1209, hee ſummoned a generall Parliament or Diet, to be held in the citie of *Maguenz*; where the principall point that was handled, was how to get aide and reliefe from the Princes and eſtates of the Empire, towards his journey into *Italy*, to be crowned in *Rome*; and it was concluded, that he ſhould doe ſo; and many offered him their ſeruite, and to accompanie him in that journey: and ſo he, and they which were to go with him, leuied their forces, and put themſelves in a readineſſe, with ſuch expedition that in the beginning of Iuly following, they all met in the citie of *Augsburgh*; from whence he took his way towards *Italy*: firſt leauiſg his wife the Empreſſe in *Saxony*, in the citie of *Brannſchael*, which was his inheritance; which, with other townes, he held and defended, being part of the eſtate of *HENRY* the proud, when he was depoſed; and deſcending downe through the valleys of *Trent*, he went directly to *Verona*; where he was receiued and obeyed as their Lord: and from thence went to *Milan*, and by other cities of *Lombardy*, to *Bologna*; whither he ſummoned the cities of *Lombardy*, and all the townes and cities ſubiect to the Empire in *Italy*, to come to a Councell: wherein he was ſo fortunate, that all obeyed, and came at his ſummons peaceably, and furniſhed him with men and money for his journey; and many Earles and Barons accompanied him in perſon, in ſuch ſort, that he departed thence very ſtrong towards *Rome*, where Pope *INNOCENT* attended his coming, and he and all his Nobles which came with him, were there receiued with great ioy, and he himſelfe was crowned in *S. PETER*'s Church by the Pope; who had much deſired to ſee that day, perſwading himſelf that he ſhould

A Councell held
by the Emperor
in Bologna.

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haue had a great friend of him, ſeeing that he had euer procured his greates againſt the Emperor *PHILIP*; and the Emperor, after the accuſtomed manner, ſware obedience to the Church of *Rome*, and to enlarge, and not to vſurpe the patrimonie thereof: which he afterwards hardly performed.

The ſame day, betweene his ſouldiers, which remained in his Camp neere to the walles of *Rome* (part whereof were come to ſee the citie) and the citizens, aroſe ſo great a tumult and bickering, that about a thouſand of the Emperours men were ſlaine; wherewith hee was very much incenſed; and ſo was the Pope, who indeede was his friend: And ſeeing that greater inconueniences were likely to haue enſued, he departed, and came directly to *Milan* with his Army, accuſing and blaming the Pope for what had paſſed; and in *Milan* hee was receiued and obeyed, and lay there all the winter, which was very tempeſtuous. Leaving there his Imperiall enſignes (wherewith the Milanois held themſelves greatly honoured) reinforcing his Army (for that he had diſcharged a great part thereof) he departed in the Spring, to make a conqueſt of the Church lands; firſt in the province of *Tuſcane*, where he took many places: and thence he went into the *Marca de Ancona*, where he did the like, and could not be reſiſted: and from thence it was thought that he would haue made warre in the territorie of *Rome*, and haue beſieged the citie. The Pope ſent his Legates vnto him, putting him in mind of the fauours and good offices which he had done him; and to require and admoniſh him to deſiſt from his enterpriſe: but the Emperor making no account thereof, leauiſg garriſons in thoſe townes, marched towards the kingdome of *Naples*, and began to make warre againſt *FREDERICK* king of *Sicilia*: and took (the young King miſtruſting no ſuch matter) the citie of *Capua*, and many others in thoſe quarters: wherewith the Pope was no leſſe diſpleaſed then with the former, but rather more, for that he held thoſe kingdomes as feodatorie to the Church of *Rome*; and alſo for that the Pope had the protection and gouernment of the young King: ſo that the Pope, ſeeing that all his Ambaſſages and admonitions preuailed not, reſolved to vie a more violent courſe, proceeding againſt him by cenſures and excommunications, and by his Letters and meſſengers excommunicated him through all *Italy* and *Germany*: and he alſo excommunicated all ſuch as followed him, or did him ſeruite: which excommunications ſome prelates obeyed, whereupon new troubles began. But the Emperor regarded it not, but was rather therewith the more incenſed, and proſpered well in the warre, taking all *Phia*, and *Calabria*; and placing garriſons in the Caſtles and fortrefſes, made account to haue bin King thereof. Whereupon the Pope leuied ſouldiers, and fortified the citie of *Rome*, fearing to haue been beſieged; and againe ſent into *Germany*, to proclaime and publiſh the Emperor for deprived; and to releaſe his ſubiects from the homage and faith which they ought him. *CARION* writes, that Pope *INNOCENT* the Third ſeeing that all *Italy* in a manner had yeelded voluntarily vnto O T H O, and fearing that the Popes power & command would be thereby much ſhortned and reſtrained, for that he could not ſo ſuddenly repulſe the victor by Armes, hee flew to the weapon of excommunication, in which alone (whileſt that ſuperſtition ſwayed and ouerruled mens conſciences) they repoſed all their ſafetie. This, being fearefull to men grownded in ſuperſtition, not onely expelled O T H O out of all *Italy*, but vtterly ouerthrew him and ruined him; the Princes of *Germany* being perſwaded by the Archbishop of *Mentz* (who was the chief Inſtrument of the Popes tyranny in *Germany*, and the executioner of his vniuſt decrees) to reiſt O T H O, and to ſend for *FREDERICK* the ſonne of *HENRY*, to whom they had promiſed the Empire being a child before *PHILIP* and O T H O. O T H O being aduerted hereof, and that the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, and ſome others, claue to the Pope; and that there were both priuate and publike treaties and practices againſt him, with the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, and other Princes, he was much afraid: and leauiſg garriſons in ſuch places as he had taken, in great haſte he left the kingdome of *Naples*, and marching by long journeys, came into *Germany*, in the yeere of our Lord 1212, and called a Councell in the citie of *Norimbergh*; in which Councell it was decreed, that he ſhould make waite againſt the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and the Lantzgrau of *Turinge*; and ſo the war began; and was very cruel.

At this time died his wife the Empreſſe, daughter to the Emperor *PHILIP*. Notwithſtanding all this, *HARMAN* Lantzgrau of *Turinge*, *SIFRID* Archbishop of *Mentz*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Auſtria*, the Archbishop of *Treuer*, and others which reſolved to take Armes with them, and to obey the Popes cenſures, and to denie their obedience to the Emperor; taking the Popes aduice in the matter, who in all interpoſed his authoritie, choſe *FREDERICK* King of *Sicilia* for Emperor; who was but a youth, little more then eightene yeeres old;

The Emperor
made waite
againſt the
Pope.

old : and sent their Ambassadors vnto him, with their authoritie, soliciting him to come into the Empire ; alleging that in right he was and ought to be Emperour , for that he was chosen and Iworne King of the Romanes, in the time of his father HENRY the Sixt : the like reason they gaue to the other Princes in Germany : wherat Pope INNOCENT greatly reioyced, and in word and deed approued the same. O T H O herewith was very much troubled, and seeking meanes to defend his estate, made terrible warres against his aduersaries. The Germane Ambassadors were well receiued by the King of *Sicilia*, who was in great doubt to undertake so great an enterprise ; but being perswaded by them, and by the French Kings Letters (who was O T H O's enemy, for his strict allyance to the house of *England*) he consented thereto, and was called Emperour.

Frederick King
of Sicilia chosen
Emperour.

FREDERICK hauing in this manner accepted the Empire ; he first applied himself to recover such townes as O T H O had taken from him in the Kingdom of *Naples* ; which being done, with the greatest power he could raise, he tooke his way towards *Germany* ; and in his journey went to kisse the Popes foote, and to intreate him that he might be crowned Emperour of the Romanes, seeing that he was called and chosen : but the Pope resolu'd him that his request could not be granted, for that thereby the ancient custome in the election and coronation of Emperours should be peruered : and so encouraging him to proceede in his enterprise, he sent his Legat with him, to be present at his Coronation in *Germany* ; and therein to vse his authority, and to proceede against such as were disobedient, or rebelled against him. Herewith the Emperour elect continued his journey, wherein the cities of *Pavia* and *Cremona*, and some other, ayded and assisted him ; *Milan* and the rest being against him.

Finally, with much trouble and danger he arrived at the citie of *Constance* in *Germany*, whither many men of warre repaired to him, together with some Princes which were of his faction : which, O T H O vnderstanding, as he was very valiant, so with the greatest power he could leuie he went to that citie, thinking to haue been able to haue either slaine or ouerthrowne this new Emperour FREDERICK : but the men of warre which he brought with him, daily forsooke him and went ouerto FREDERICK ; in such sort, that seeing himselfe abandoned, he retired into his countie : and FREDERICK, very mightie, and accompanied with a great Army, marched along the riuier of *Rhine*, to the citie of *Mentz* ; where many prelates and Princes were assembled ; all forsaking O T H O, holding him for deperied, in performance of the Pope and his Legates commandement : amongst which, thither came the Archbishops and Bishops of *Mentz*, *Treuer*, *Cole*, *Constance*, *Basil*, *Spire*, *Hipergola*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Lantgrau of *Turinge*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, besides those which were already come with him, from whence, after the handling and concluding of many matters, FREDERICK departed towards *Aken*, where he was crowned with the first crowne, in the presence of the Popes Legate, who approued and confirmed his election ; and so he attained to the Empire : and for his better assurance in that estate, hee procured peace and a league with PHILIP, then King of *France*.

Frederick
crowned with
the first crowne
in *Aken*.

The Emperour O T H O seeing himself in *Saxony* thus forsaken, got from *England*, and other parts, such forces as he could, and came into the countie of *Gulders*, where hee made cruell warre, for that it held with FREDERICK ; and from thence, together with the Earle of *Flanders*, who was of that faction (for that he married with IOHN daughter to BALDVIN Earle of *Flanders*, which held the Empire of *Constantinople*, and at that time ioyned with *England* against *France*, and with the Earle of *Boleyna* in *France* who had rebelled) they went to ioine with the King of *Englands* forces, to fight with the French King (which O T H O did for the alliance betwene him and the house of *England*) thinking, by ouerthrowing the King of *France*, who was enemy to them both, he should be restored to his Empire. But his conceits deceived him : for the King of *France* came and fought a battaile with them, neere to the citie of *Tournay* ; which is recorded to haue been very bloudie and cruell, wherein the French king was in great danger to haue been slaine by the Emperour O T H O, who dismounted him : but he being rescued, encouraging his people, obtained the victory ; and O T H O escaped by flight, but the Earle of *Flanders* was taken prisoner, and some other principall men : and O T H O in the best manner that he could got into *Saxony* ; void of all hope to recover the Empire, when he had bin Emperour the space of five yeeres, and they not fully expired ; and there with sorrow and anguish he ended his daies. How long he liued after that he was deposed, authors write not : but true it is, that his raigne as Emperour, ended in the yeere of our Lord 1213.

In *Constantinople* (as writeth BALDVIN) the same day that O T H O was ouerthrowne, HENRY

11

RY (brother to the Greeke Emperour BALDVIN) died ; who being Earle of *Flanders* obtained that Empire ; and hauing made warre with the Duke of *Walachia* (which is part of the ancient *Dacia*) he made a peace with him, marrying himselfe with his daughter, and he gaue his owne daughter to PETER, Earle ALTIODORENSIS ; and he (as I said) dying at this time without any heire, the said Earle PETER had the Empire, and came afterwards to *Rome*, and was crowned by the Pope.

In the time of the Emperour O T H O (by whose aide, and the assistance of HENRY Emperour of *Constantinople*, an excellent French captain, called IOHN de *Bregna*, had the kingdome of the East, with the title of King of *Ierusalem* ; being called thereto, onely for the valour of his person ; marrying him with the daughter of ISABEL, to whom that kingdome appertained, as is aforesaid) the Captaines and masters of those parts denyed their obedience to ALMEYS King of *Cyprus*, of whom particular mention hath bin made. And so IOHN de *Bregna* had that kingdome, of whom we must of necessitie speake hereafter for which cause we remember him in this place.



THE
LIFE OF FREDERICK THE
SECOND OF THAT NAME,
AND THE HUNDRETH AND
FIRST ROMANE
EMPEROUR:
(*)

THE ARGUMENT.

FREDERICK hauing obtained the Empire, made a solenne vow to goe to the warres of the Holy Land ; and coming to be crowned in *Italy*, was earnestly perswaded thereto by the Pope's wherein he entred into the Croisade ; and deferring his going, many Lords went into the East without him. In the meane time there grew discord between him and the Pope, for that he withheld certaine lands belonging to the Church, and for deposing certaine Bishops from their Bishopricks in *Sicilia*, and placing others at his pleasure ; upon which occasions the Pope proceeded against him with his pontificall Armes ; and excommunicated him : But the King of *Ierusalem* coming afterwards into *Italy*, and giuing the Emperour, his daughter to wife, he was absolved, and he againe promised to goe to the warres in the East : but delaying the time, and finding daily new reasons to deferre his going, he was in the end againe excommunicated by reason whereof he resolved to goe : but being arrived in the East, he procured an agreement with the Soldan, and obtained the citie of *Ierusalem*, and therein was crowned ; but this satisfied not the Pope, neither the Christian Princes ; and then he returned into Europe with small reputation, and went into *Germany*, where his soune (through his Fathers absence) had taken upon him very great authority, whereof grew some suspitions between them, which were soon ended ; neuertheless, the Emperour coming into *Italy* (by reason of *Lombardy*) and finding that his sonne was his enemy, he causing him to be apprehended, made him to die in prison, and bending his forces against *Lombardy*, principally against *Milan*, he used such rigour, that the Pope became his open enemy and calling a Conncell to be held in *Lion* in *France*, he excommunicated him, and induced the electors to chuse a new Emperour : which was the Lantgrau Henry, who liued but a while after, and then the Earle of *Holland* was chosen, against whom his sonne Conrad continually warred, although with no great success. But

Frederick

Frederick being in *Italie*, seeking to be revenged of certaine Cities which rebelled; and seeing that his enemies came daily more mighty, by reason of an Overthrow given him, he with drew himselfe with disposure into *Etna*, where falling sick he dyed (as it was thought) through the practice of his base some Mantriede, when hee had held the Empire, about five and thirty yeeres.



Discord between
the Pope and
the Emperor.

Frederick the
second time
crowned.

A Councell held
by the Pope in
the city of Rome

In such manner as I have declared, had this second FREDERICK the Empire, and therewith the Duchie of *Sardinia*, having first been King of *Naples*, *Sicilia* and *Sardinia*, and held the same the space of thirty and odde yeeres, with great revolutions, warres, battails and troubles, as you shall hear: wherefore I must spend more time in writing the history of his life, than of some others. He was at no lesse variance with the Church of *Rome*, than the other FREDERICK his Grandfather was before him; and it now seemed to be an hereditary malady, through which the Emperours and the Popes neuer failed to bee at contention and discord; for the Popes would vphold their

Supreme Authoritie, their Lands also and Patrimoine; whose only study and care was to make all old *Italy* which is diuided from *Lombardy* by the river of *Rubicon*, subject to the Citie of *Rome*, from whence they had excluded the Emperours; The Popes knowing that what they attempted, they should neuer attaine unto, nor long maintaine the authority which they had gotten, vnlesse they should suppress the Emperours growing power in *Italy*, neither could the warres be euer pacified, vntill they had gotten all they desired, or wrested away part: Neither did they as Popes doe in these daies, enrich their kinfolks with the goods of the Church, but to settle and enlarge their dominion. This CARION writes, and this experience hath been verified.

The Emperours after they had obtained the Empire, and were established in their thrones, pretending that all the iurisdiction and supreme power in temporall causes, both in *Germany* and in *Italy* appertained to them, could therefore endure no superiority; and there wanted not men of either side to perswade them that they had reason: and sometimes ambition and couetousnesse of eyther side were the occasions of the miseries before mentioned, and of such as we will relate.

FREDERICK seeing himselfe freed from his aduersary ORTHO; the better to iustifie his title and raigne, caused a new assembly and meeting to be held of the Princes of the Empire, and of the deputies of the Imperiall Cities, and went to *Akon*, where he caused himselfe to be the second time crowned with great solemnitie; and then he made a publike solemn vow, within a certaine time to goe in person to the warres and conquest of the Citie of *Ierusalem*, for the victory which God had giuen him: and in requitall of the ayde and fauour received from Pope INNOCENT, he gaue for euer to the Church of *Rome* the Citie and Countie of *Fondi*; with all which the Pope was very glad.

After this coronation, FREDERICK went through sundry prouinces, and making himselfe absolute Lord thereof, brought them to his obedience as to their Emperour. And for as much as HENRY Duke of *Brabant* had not yet done him homage, he with all the speede possible, with a great Army, marched into that prouince: and the Duke seeing himselfe in danger, sought his fauour, offering to obey, and to doe him seruice, and was admitted, he giuing his son and other Noble men of his house, for hostages and assurance thereof. Few daies after this (by the Emperours consent) Pope INNOCENT called a generall Councell in the Citie of *Rome*, whither came from all parts of Christendome, Greeke and Latine, the Patriarchs of *Ierusalem* and *Constantinople*, three score and ten Archbishops Metropolitans, foure hundred and twelue Bishops, eight hundred and odde Priors and Abbats couentuall; and Ambassadors from the Emperour FREDERICK and King of *Sicilia*, from the Emperour of *Constantinople*, from the Kings of *France*, *England*, *Spain*, *Aragon*, *Hungary*, *Cyprus* and *Ierusalem*; and from other Kings and Princes: in which Councell were condemned certaine sects newly risen in *France*; but the chiefe matter that therein was handled, was for the warres and conquest of the Citie of *Ierusalem*, whereto they all gaue their consent, promising ayde and assistance. The Pope sent his Letters into all parts of Christendome, inciting all men to this holy war: graunting large Indulgences and Pardons to such as dyed in that action: and all such as gaue their names to goe to that

warre,

war, took for their deuice the signe of the Crosse of *Ierusalem*, which they wore vpon their garments, and were called Croisats. And so an infinite number of men, and many Princes tooke the same: amongst which in *Germany* the Emperour FREDERICK took it, and HENRY Duke of *Brabant*, the Duke of *Moravia*, the Duke of *Sulzers*, the Count Palatine of *Tubingen*, the Marguise of *Baden*, the Earl of *Nassau*, the Duke of *Limburgh* and other Princes with the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and many other Bishops: and in *France*, were many which prepared and armed themselves for this expedition, which afterwards took no such effect as the preparation seemed to prognosticate. Amongst other matters, the great warres betweene the Pisans and the Genoyses (then two mighty common wealths by sea) was a great let and hinderance; wherefore the Councell being ended (which was one of the most famous that euer had been) the Pope went from *Rome* to *Perugia*, that by his authority he might settle some peace or truce betweene these two Common-wealths; where, within few daies, without concluding ought, he died, having governed the Church of *Rome* eighteen yeeres and a halfe. He being dead, HONORIVS the Third was chosen, who in the beginning of his Papacy crowned PETER, and his wife, Emperour of *Constantinople*; who (as I have heretofore told you) succeeded his father-in-law HENRY.

The death of
Pope Innocent
and the election
of Honorius.

A voyage into
the holy land.

While these matters passed, the Emperour FREDERICK applied himselfe to settle and confirme his estate in the Empire; and to prouide for his coming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, deferring his journey to *Ierusalem* vntill this were done. But Pope HONORIVS (having a propheticke revealed vnto him, importing that in his time the Citie of *Ierusalem*, (should be recovered) vsed all means possible to cause those which had vnderaken the same to depart into the East, and neuer ceased to vige the Emperour FREDERICK to accomplish the voyage which he had made; threatening him with censures if he performed not the same: but the Emperour delaying his going, by the Popes perswasion there went into the East, ALEXANDER King of *Hungary*, the Dukes of *Baviera* and *Austria*; and out of *France*, the Earl of *Niuer*, WALTER, the Kings chamberlain, and other great men; and with them went JOHN de *Colonna* the Popes Legate, with so many good men of warre, that it was hoped they would haue effected some great matter: who being arriued in *Palestina* in *Asia*, in the harbour of *Plophaida*, others, which called *Aron*, after certain consultations, ioyning themselves with JOHN de *Bregna*, King of *Ierusalem*, and with the Masters of the Knights Templars, of *S. Iohn*, and the Dutch, ordered all their forces, whose number was great; they departed thence with a prosperous winde to the City of *Damietta*, called in ancient time *Pelusium*, on the coast of *Egypt*, in one of the mouthes of the riuer of *Nilus* where it falleth into the sea, which they besieged the space of eighteen months: in which time many accidents befell, which the Authors write, and I will passe as nothing to my purpose. The Soldan of *Egypt* was heere with so much put to his shifts, that he offered to giue vp the City of *Ierusalem* and the Territories thereof, vpon condition, that they would raise their siege from before *Damietta*: and notwithstanding that, there were sundry opinions between the Kings and Princes concerning the same, yet in the end it was concluded not to accept thereof, wherein they greatly erred, as by the sequell it appeared. In the mean time, the Soldans sonue CORDIVS, who was in *Ierusalem*, seeing what distresse *Damietta* was in, and that both he and his father were out of hope to defend *Ierusalem*, threw down and ruinated all the wals thereof. In the end, the Christians took the City of *Damietta*, and certain other Towns in that Quarter, and in all things had then good success, although after wards the contrary ensued.

Ierusalem dis-
mantled by the
soldan son of
Egypt.
The city of *Damietta* in *Egypt*
taken from the
Soldan by the
Christians.

At this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1220, the Emperour FREDERICK came into *Italy*; and by Letters and Ambassages vnderstanding the Popes mind, came to *Rome*, and was therein received and crowned, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed; and there he againe vowed and bound himselfe, to make his voyage into the East, promising also great matters to the Pope: but being out of *Rome*, their friendship continued not long, for he presently seized certaine townes into his hands, pretending that they appertained vnto him. CARION writes, that FREDERICK, coming into *Italy* certain Noblemen of *Thracie* and *Asiatic* with some Bishops falling from their allegiance to the Emperour, by the Popes instigation invaded both what belonged to the Empire and to FREDERICK by inheritance, whereof some places they took and held, others they spoiled and burnt: the Emperour being incensed with their perfidious treacherie, came to Arms; and having happily subdued his enemies he displaced the Bishops and subrogated others in their places. The rest which had fled vnto the Pope (the Author of the sedition) depriued both of dignity and estate he condemned to

perpetuall

Y Y

perpetual banishment. The Pope requiring to have these restored, the Emperor in a grave Oration refused him, inveighing bitterly against the ambition, pride, fraude, and practices of Popes; whose speech is yet extant. This bred a bitter hatred between them, which burst forth into cruel wars.

Then the Emperor came into *Lombardy*, to settle that estate; and passing through *Tuscany*, there arose some controversy between his soldiers and the inhabitants of that country: the like happened afterwards in *Lombardy*, so as he began to grow odious, and ill beloved: and from thence he gave a turn to visit his kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*; where, besides the taking of some towns and places from the Pope, he placed certain Bishops, in some Churches displacing such as the Pope had entailed therein; alleging that the Kings of *Sicilia* had a privilege to do so. Whereupon the Pope and he fell at open variance; and the Pope proceeded against him by his fulminations, commanding him particularly to accomplish his vow, for the conquest of the Holy-land; and pronounced him for excommunicate, if within a prefixed time he restored not what he had taken; and performed not his vow: and so this contention continuing, he seizing many towns into his hands (which he left garrisoned and fortified) returned into *Germany*.

Whilest these matters passed in *Italy*, great discord and dissension arose in the East, between the kings and princes, and the Popes Legate about the superiority, and at what time, and in what manner the warre was to be made; but finally, the Christians agreed to take the field, and to besiege the great city of *Babylon* in *Egypt*, called *Cair*, and other Towns thereabouts, in the month of July, in the year 1221, with an Army of three score and ten thousand excellent men of warre, foote and horse, besides groomes and horse-boyes. And notwithstanding that the Soldan had an exceeding huge Army, yet he durst not, or would not fight with them, of purpose prolonging the warre, untill that about two moneths after (the Christians having not encamped themselves in such place and order, as was convenient; and as they ought to have done) the river *Nilus* swelled and overflowed, as it usually doth in that country yearly in August: Besides which, the Soldan caused the dikes and banks thereof to be broken and cut, which in ancient time were made for a defence, and to keepe in the waters of that river: so as the Christians Campe was enuironed with water, in such sort that they could not forage or get any victuals: finally, they were so distressed, that they sent to the Soldan (who lay not farre from them) offering to come to a composition with him: In conclusion (to be briefe, and to return to my History) after many treaties between the Kings, the Legate, and the Soldan; a peace or truce was concluded for eight yeers, and that hee should suffer them freely to depart; and that thereafter they should presently render the City of *Damietta*, and such other townes of lesse importance, which he held in *Egypt*; and that all Captives of eyther side should have liberty; and that the Christians should depart with their troups, to the Cities of *Ptolomaida*, *Tyre*, and such other places as they held in *Soria*.

These conditions being agreed upon, the Soldan made provision for them, and help them upon their way, untill they came to *Damietta*; where the Christians againe fell at variance amongst themselves, about giving up of the City: but in the end it was yielded, and the Christian Army returned into *Palestina*, part by land and part by sea. And from the port of *Palestina* the king of *Jerusalem* returned to his country; and the king of *Hungary*, and the other Dukes, into *Europe*, unto theirs, with little contentment and lesse ioy, extreme sad and sorrowfull for their ill successe; having done little or nothing to any purpose: by reason whereof, there was great sorrow and heaviness through all Christendome; and all men murmured against the Emperor *FREDERICK*, for that he went not that journey. In the next yeere, which was the year of our Lord 1222, the Emperor summoned a Councell to be held in the City of *Heidelberg*, where he procured the electors to make his yong son *HENRY* of the age of sixteen yeers, King of the Romans; and so he caused him to be crowned in the City of *Aken*.

Presently after this, *TOBIAS* de *Breganz* King of *Jerusalem*, seeing the small power of the Christians in the East, resolved to come in person to seek reliefe, leaving the best garrisons in the country that he could (notwithstanding the truce) and came from *Soria* into *Italy* and went to *Rome*, where the Pope gave him honorable entertainment; and he presently undertook to be a mediator between the Pope and the Emperor, who then was a widower, whereby a peace was made in this manner: The King of *Jerusalem* gave his only daughter in marriage to the Emperours son; with the right of inheritance to the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. And the Pope absolved him of his excommunication: Whereupon he promised presently after the marriage

goe with his whole power to the warres in the East, and to reforme all matters whereof the Pope accused him; and to restore such lands as he held from his Church. Upon this agreement he came from *Germany* to *Rome*, whither the kings daughter of *Jerusalem* was brought; and the marriage was solemnized with great ioy and feasting. By this title, and by the marriage of this Lady with the Emperour *FREDERICK*, *CONRAD* their sonne, and those which untill this day have succeeded in the kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, have been, and still are, called Kings of *Jerusalem*. This being ended, the king of *Jerusalem* went into *France*, where he received a great summe of money, which King *PHILIP* left him by his last will and testament, towards the warres: there he staid certaine daies for the Emperor, whom all men beleaved (for that the inheritance of that country belonged to him, and for the great power and fit opportunity which he had, being King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*) would now have performed his vow and promise. But departing from *Rome*, he went with his spouse into the provinces of *Pulia* and *Calabria*, visiting his kingdomes, not caring to proceed on his journey, in more then two yeeres space: For which cause, and for that he had not fully performed the agreement with the Pope, they againe fell at variance.

After this, his eldest sonne *HENRY* (who was in *Germany*) held a Councell in *Frankford*; vnder pretext to procure certaine Princes to goe with their power to the conquest of *Jerusalem*, to which the Emperour sent his Letters, certifying his speedie coming into *Germany*, to the end to goe that journey: wherefore many Princes gave in their names, promising to goe with him. At this assemblie was *HENRY* King of the Romans, the Emperours sonne, married to *MARGARET*, daughter to the Duke of *Austria*. The yeere following, most of the cities in *Lombardy* made a league, and rebelling against the Emperor, denied him their obedience, alleging the principall reason thereof to be, for that he was disobedient to the Church: where-with he was very much displeased; and many ambassages were sent from the one to the other; and there were many tumults, and much leuying of men, which continued many daies; the Emperor pretending it to be the cause why he deferred his journey.

At this time died Pope *HONORIUS* the Third, having bin Pope tenne yeeres and halfe; in the end of the yeere 1226. This Pope is held for a very good Pope. The greatest reason why he is so esteemed, is, for that he solemnly confirmed the orders of the Franciscane and Dominican Friars. After *HONORIUS* succeeded *GREGORY* the Ninth, an Italian borne, nephew to *INNOCENT* the Third. The first matter he took in hand, was to require the Emperour to restore what he detained from the Church of *Rome*, and to goe the journey which he had vowed to *Jerusalem*; publishing him for excommunicate, if within a certain time limited he did not put the same in execution; which he afterwards incur'd: yet he presently answered; he was content to go from *Sicilia*, where he then was, and sent to his son to call a Councell in the City of *Aken* in *Germany*; where (through his perswasion and the Emperours letters) many Princes offered to go that journey: and the Emperor sent to them, that (with the greatest expedition that might be) they should repaire into *Italy*, to the Port of *Brundisium*, which is in the remotest part thereof, whither he promised presently to come: whither repaired many men of war, Princes and Prelates, attending the Emperours coming all the summer: but he came not, pretending that he was sicke. Which (as most Authors affirme) was but fained; and as *BLONDVS* and others affirme, he treated vnder hand with the Soldan of *Egypt*, hoping to have concluded some peace with him before his going out of *Sicilia* into *Italy*: so as by reason of the great heat of the summer, the most of the men of war at *Brundisium*, and the Countie thereabouts, attending his coming, dyed, together with many great Personages, amongst which was the Lantzgraue of *Turinge*, a rich and mighty Prince: which when the Emperour understood, he came to *Brundisium*, where he seized into his hands all the gold, silver, Armes and other things which the Lantzgraue brought with him; and it was sayd that the Emperour came thither for no other purpose. But the sickness increasing in the Army & Letters coming daily from the Pope, the Emperour, to performe his promise, departed with all his Army towards the East: but within few daies failing he returned, and arrived in *Italy*, alleging that contrary winds had constrained him so to doe. But this was held but for fained, and he was therefore ill spoken of by all men: and Pope *GREGORY* holding himself to be abused by the Emperours promise (other discord and disagreement remaining betwixt them) sent to declare him excommunicate, and for such proclaimed him throughout all *Germanie* and *Italy*. At this time dyed the Emperesse, wife to the Emperor *FREDERICK*, and daughter to the King of *Jerusalem*, who left behind her one sonne, whose name was *CONRAD*.

Yy 2

CARION

The death of
Pope Honory
and Gregory
eleven.

The Emperour
Frederick the
Second excom-
municate by
the Pope.

Babylon besieged
by the Christians

A peace be-
tween the Chris-
tians and the
Soldan.

THE DEATH OF
PAPES
HONORIUS
AND
GREGORY
ELEVEN.

CARION writes, that the Emperor lay sick in *Brundisium*, when as the Lantzgrauce and diuerse others died; and that contrary winds draue him back, being in the Streights of *Relopnefus* and *Crete*: yet the Pope began to thunder against him, taxing him with the crimes of perjury, adultery, cruelty to his wife, and with the losse of *Damiata*, for the which he did excommunicate him. He sent *IOHN de Bregna*, the Emperors father-in-law, into *Romagna*, with the title of Exarch, and commanded the Earls of *Tuscanie*, with the Cities of *Lombardy*, to take arms.

These matters which we have related being past; the Emperor, seeing himself in a streight by reason of the Popes censures on the one side; and the intreaty of many of his friends on the other, with the greatest power that he could make, and with a great number of ships, sette his course towards *Soria*, and landed in the City of *Ptolomaida*, otherwise called *Acon*: yet *BEONDVS* and some other say, that he first staid in the Ile of *Cyprus*, and from thence sent a Captain with the greatest part of his Army to *Acon*; who by his commandement began a treaty of peace with the Soldan, before that he himself came to the war. *FREDERICK* coming afterwards thither, the Masters and Knights of the Orders of *S. IOHN* and the Templars ill agreed with him: for, they furnished he had intelligence and treated of a peace and agreement with the Soldan. And in *Italie* he was in no better terms with the Pope: for, *RAINFOLD*, the Dukes son of *Spoleto*, whom he had left for Captain and Gouverner in the Kingdome of *Naples*, began to make war, and took certain places from the Church of *Rome*, in the *Mare di Ancona* and other parts. Whereupon, the Pope called to his aid *IOHN de Bregna*, King of *Ierusalem*, who then was ready to haue taken shipping, to haue gone to defend his countries in the East, and to haue holpen *FREDERICK* in the warres; which (it was thought) he would haue done: and so open war began between the Pope and the Emperors Captaines and Countries. I haue not read in any Author, in what manner hee began and continued the warre, during his abode in *Palestina*; onely they say, that prosecuting the treaty of peace begun with the Soldan, it was concluded, and that they came to an agreement; which was, that the Soldan should deliuer vp the Cities of *Ierusalem*, *Nazareth*, *Tapha*, and other places in that Kingdome; and should retain to himself certain fortresses of greatest importance, and that ther should be peace & truce betwixt them for ten yeers.

An agreement
between the em-
peror and the
Soldan.

Many daies were spent about this matter; and on Easter day, in the year of our Lord 1229, the Emperor entred *Ierusalem*, and made himself to be crowned therein, and was called King of *Ierusalem*. Then he presently sent an ambassage to Pope *GEORGY*, giving him to vnderstand of all that had hapned; therewith requesting him, seeing that he had accomplished his vow, to declare him absolved *a pena et culpa*, for his long delaying the same, and for some other matters. But when his Ambassador came, the Pope holding the peace and agreement made by the Emperor, dishonourable (sith the Soldan should continue in the possession of the fortresses and strong holds; presupposing, that as soon as the Emperor should haue left those countries, the Soldan would presently resume them into his hands, as he afterwards did) protested that the Emperor had done this but onely to make a shew to haue performed his vow: wherefore, and by reason of the wars which his Captains then and before that time had made against him; hee affirmed, that the Emperor had made no satisfaction, nor was freed from the excommunication: and so practising with the Emperors lubbeeds in *Palestina* to renounce their obedience to their Soueraign, he recovered some Towns which had been taken from him; which when the Emperor vnderstood, with the greatest speed that he possibly could make, he embarked himself, leauing part of his Army in *Palestina*, and the Towns fortified and garrisoned in the best manner he could; and with a fair gale of winde landed in *Palestina*, so as this enterprize of the Emperor *FREDERICK* the Second had no better success than the rest.

Being arriued in *Italy*, those places which had rebelled and had held for the Pope, reuolued and held for him; and he sent for men into *Germany* and into *Sicilia*; and began to warre vpon the Popes townes, and took many of them: and notwithstanding that he seemed to haue sped well in the warre, yet he sought to be at peace with the Pope, by reason of some tumult and combustion in *Germany*. And by the intercession of the Master of the Order of the Knights and Friars, called *Teutonicis* (which like the Knights of *S. IOHN* and the Templars, lay in the East) and the Archbishop of *Messina*, a peace was concluded betwene the Pope and him: *LEOPOLD* Duke of *Austria*, with other Princes and Prelates of *Germany*, being there present. *CARION* writes that those Prelates and Princes of *Germany* were a whole yeere before they could pacifie the Popes displeasure against the Emperour: but in the end his choler was appeased with a hundred and twentie thousand ounces of gold; and so hee was absolved and

TOWNS

A peace conclu-
ded between the
Emperor and
the Pope.

townes were restored, and the Pope absolving him, proclaymed him King of *Ierusalem*, *Naples*, and *Sicilia*; and they met at a place appointed, and with great shew of loue and good will dined together at one table, and so a peace was concluded betwene them for that time; wherein, and touching that which I haue already written, were sundry opinions, as the custome is in this world, some excusing the Emperor, and others imputing the fault to him, for what had passed: and others attributed the fault to the Pope, for practising against him in his absence. This peace being made, the Emperour returned into his Kingdome of *Naples*; and the Pope to pacifie matters in *Perugia* (where had been great tumults and contentions) went thither; what befell in *Rome* in the time of this his absence, I will presently tel you; first bringing in few words to minde, the estate and successe of the Empire of *Constantinople*; where I am also bound; for as the Emperour *FREDERICK* reigned long, it is not conuenient to leaue this, to make mention of another matter, wherein were great changes of Emperours, through the small time of their continuance: and thus it was.

By the death of *HENRY* Emperour of *Gracia* (as we haue aboue said), *PETER* had the Empire, for that he married his daughter *IOLA*; who returning crowned by Pope *HONORIUS* to his Empire, had warres with *THEODORE LASCARVS*; who holding the Citie of *Adrianople*, was called Emperour, for that he married the sister of the Emperour *ALEXIS*, who killed his owne Brother, as is before declared: and a peace was made between them, wherein *PETER* being circumvented and taken prisoner by *LASCARVS*, was afterwards put to death in prison, when he had reigned three yeeres onely: which when his wife *IOLA* vnderstoode, she making her sonne, called *ROBERT*, to be proclaimed Emperour, vndertook the government, vntill that he should come to *Constantinople*: (for hee was in *Italy* when his Father dyed) and he being come, was obeyed, and began to gouerne the Empire. Within few daies after this, dyed *LASCARVS* the Tirant of *Adrianople*, and left the vsurped name of Emperour to his sonne in law, *IOHN de Plebanacio*, who married his onely daughter, called *YRENE*; by whom he had already one Sonne, called *THEODORE LASCARVS*, as his Grandfather. *ROBERT* hauing made shew of a good Prince (by the duels instigation) fell in loue with a faire young damsell, which was betrothed to a Burgonian Knight (a man of great fort, and which had serued the Emperour) and by the consent of her mother, brought her to his court, and married her, and made her to be honoured and held for Emperesse: which did so much grieve the Burgonian that should haue been her husband, that after some daies dissembling, he took a terrible reuenge, which was, that ioyning himself with his friends and kinsfolkes, together with many Greekes, which hated this *ROBERT*'s government; accompanied with them all, with armed hand he came one night into the Emperors Palace, to the Emperesse which should haue been his wife, and cut off her nose: and her Mother which had been the causer of the marriage, he threw out at a window into the sea, wherein she was drowned: and hauing done this, he departed, and put himself and his friends into a place of safetie, so as the Emperour *ROBERT* could not punish the fact: who shortly after came to *Rome* to be crowned, and returning homewards, fell sicke in *Alacedonia*, and dyed, leauing behinde him one Sonne, called *BALDVIN*; others say, a Brother, who was presently receiued for Emperour and his successor. And for as much as he was very young, by a generall assent *IOHN de Bregna* King of *Ierusalem* was sent to be his gouernour and assistant in the Empire, who then was in the Popes seruice in *Italy*; and he with the Popes leaue and consent came into *Gracia*, and tooke vpon him the government of the Empire of *Constantinople*; and betrothed a daughter which he had, to the young Emperour *BALDVIN*; and gouerning that Empire whilst he liued (which was some fix or seven yeeres) he left it in peace to his sonne in law: but in what manner he lost the same, you shall know hereafter.

Peter Emper-
vntill that he
single put La-
cous the Tirant
of Adrianople
to death.

This coming of *IOHN de Bregna* to *Constantinople*, was about the same time that the peace was made betwene the Emperour *FREDERICK* the Second; and Pope *GEORGY* the Ninth: which being concluded, Pope *GEORGY* went to *Perugia* to pacifie the Citie and the marches thereof: and the Emperour went to his Kingdome of *Naples*. During the time that the Pope was absent from *Rome*, the government of the Consuls being abolished, (which was so hateful to the Popes) and now the government of a Senour being brought in, sometimes one, and sometime five, which gouerned the body of the Citie; a man of great power, called *HANNIBAL*, was advanced to that dignity, who incensed the people against the Pope, he being absent: and the Pope coming to *Rome* at that time, many combustions ensued; but in the end, this *HANNIBAL* was deprived of his office, and one *IOHN de Poli*, a seditious fellow

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fellow also succeeded him, who put the City in Armes against the Pope, and against such townes as held for him, and open warre began between them, yet the Pope by all means that could be imagined fought peace.

The Emperor **FREDERICK** being in *Pulsa*, and aduertised hereof, offered to come to his aide, and came to speake with him (and as saith **BLOMVS**) gaue him for a pledge of his friendship a bafe son which he had, whose name was **HENRY**, whom he had made King of *Sardinia*, the Germans call him **ENCYS**, and so do some authors; but the Emperor performed not what he had offered; for within few daies after, he departed for *Germany*; the Pope remaining in the heate of his troubles with the Romans; wherewith he was much discontent, but yet not so as to breake the peace between them. But before the Emperors departure, the Pope with his money drew the Germane souldiers to his seruice, and with them recovered certain Townes which rebelled; and his Army ouerthrowing the Roman forces, he made quiet; yet for that time he could not safely come into *Rome*. The peace betweene the Pope and the Emperour lasted about eight yeeres, although there were little loue between them.

The Emperour being come into *Germany*, from whence he had been long absent, where his eldest sonne **HENRY** King of the Romans commanded for his father, and had taken greater authority vpon him, than his father would he should haue done: there grew some suspitions and jealousies between his father and him, and many Princes held with the Sonne, against the Father: Vpon this occasion many Meetings and Councels were held; but in the end, **FREDERICK** forced his sonne to leaue the countrey, and to go as his Lieutenant and Vicetoy, into *Sicilia* and those Countreys.

After this, the Emperour being a widower, he married with the King of *Englands* sister. In this journey, the Emperour gaue to **FREDERICK**, Sonne to **LEOPOLD** Duke of *Austria*, the title of King, and that his eldest sonne and his posterity should so be called: but his successors haue not enjoyed this priuiledge, the cause whereof I thinke to be, for that this Duke **FREDERICK** died without issue that might succede him; and there was great contention for his estate; but in the end, **RODOLPH** Earle of *Habsburg* enioyed it, who was afterwards Emperour, and gaue the estate of *Austria* to his eldest sonne **ALBERT**, as when time cometh shall be declared.

This being past, the Emperour made no long abode in *Germany*, but as soon as he could, leued an Army and went into *Italy*: for many Cities in *Lombardy* rebelled, and some men waxing mighty, tyrannized the same, and many of them maintained the old league and confederacy, which they held in the time of **FREDERICK** the first; as *Milan*, *Brescia*, *Mantua*, *Bologna*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, *Triuigi*, and many others, which being assisted by the Venecians, made head against the Emperour: and for the Emperour, *Cremona*, *Bergamo*, *Parma*, *Modena*, and *Reggio*, continued in their obedience, and bound the one to the other. The Emperour being come neere to *Verona*, after some skirmishes, the Towne was forced to yeeld, through the policy and power of one **ENCELINVS**, called by his surname **ROMANVS**; who was the mightiest man in all those parts, and by descent a Duch-man, Nephew to another of the same name, who came into those parts in the time of **OTTO** the Third. From *Verona*, the Emperour went into the territory of *Mantua*, where he took and sacked two strong Townes, the one of which was called *Marcaria*, and the other *Claro*. From thence he went to *Cremona*, where he was joyfully receiued, and made his abode there the space of nine moneths: at the end of which, giuing it out, that he would go to besiege *Mantua*; he sodainly returned and came before *Vicenza*, which he besieged: the inhabitants being taken vnwares and vnprovided, offered to yeeld vpon composition; and the Emperour gaue eare to this parle, giuing them good words: but vpon a sudden he commanded the City to be assaulted; and entering by force, he set it on fire, and did much harme, passing forwards and spoiling the fields and marches of *Padua*: thinking to haue taken *Triuigi*, he besieged it, and put it to such distresse, that if from *Padua* had not come reliefe, he had entred, and ruined it.

As he lay before *Triuigi*, he had certain intelligence that his sonne **HENRY**, King of the Romans, whom (for that in *Germany* he had practised against him) he had made Governour of *Sicilia*, was confederate with the City of *Milan*, and the rest of that faction, and that some Princes of *Germany* were of that league, and that they leuiued their forces to succour those Cities. The Emperour stood in such fear of this practice, that he resolved for his refuge to flee to Pope **GRIGORY** (notwithstanding that he knew him to be displeased, for abandoning him when he had warre with his Citizens of *Rome*) and by Letters and Ambassadors complained

The emperor
Fredericks son,
Henry conspi-
red against his
father.

to the Pope of the perfidy and disloyalty of his son, humbly intreating him to grant his Letters against him, as against one that was disloyall and disobedient to his father: and the Pope, knowing that it was true, did so, thinking it a iust request; or else for fear of the Emperours power. He wrote his Letters to the Princes of *Germany*, commanding them vpon pain of excommunication not to ioin with **HENRY**, King of the Romans, against his father the Emperour, neither to obey his commandements. The Popes command was of such authority, that none durst come into *Italy*, as they promised; and the Emperour vsed such means, that hee apprehended his sonne, and sent him prisoner to a Castle in *Pulsa*, where he afterwards died; some men were of opinion, that he was poysoned by his fathers commandement: and he inioyned the Dukes of *Bohemia* and of *Bauiera*, to make warre vpon **FREDERICK** Duke of *Austria* (whom he had made a King) for that he had conspired with his sonne against him.

The Emperor
committed his
son to prison,
where he died.

Within few months after that **HENRY** King of the Romans was taken, his father the Emperour leauing the affairs of *Lombardy* in the best order that he could (notwithstanding that *Milan* and other Cities still continued disobedient) doubting of the estate of *Germany*, went thither; and making warre in *Austria*, took the City of *Vienna*, and many other Towns: so as, taming and punishing the Duke of *Austria*, he was much feared, and generally obeyed. And knowing that his sonne **HENRY** was dead (who left a lawfull sonne called **CONRADIN**, of whom hereafter much mention shall be made) he vsed the means to assemble the Princes Electors, and that they should chuse his sonne **CONRADIN** (whom he had by his second wife **IOLE**, and whom he had already made Duke of *Sueuia*) for King of the Romans; and notwithstanding that the Electors did it in his absence, yet for the better assurance of what was done, he and his sonne called a Councell in the City of *Ratisbone*, where what was already done was approved, and **CONRADIN** was againe chofen and crowned King of the Romans: from whence they both sent their Ambassadors to the Pope, for a confirmation of the title to the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, which his father-in-law **LOHN** de *Bregna* had resigned vnto him. The Pope granted his request: for, the Emperour was of great power, and it was said that he would return into *Italy*; which put him in fear, notwithstanding that the speech went, that he came but against *Milan*, and the other Cities of that faction, with which he was much displeased, and resolved to bring them to subiection: but the Cities alleged, that they were content to serue him according to the agreement made with the Emperour **FREDERICK** the first, called the peace of **CONSTANCE**, as we haue declared in his history; wherewith he held himself not satisfied: and so raising a very great power, he came again into *Italy*, leauing his son **CONRADIN**, King of the Romans, in his place in *Germany*.

Vienna in
Austria taken by
the Emperour.

The Emperour, coming into *Italy*, took his way directly towards *Padua*; and the *Padoans*, being induced thereto by **ENCELINVS** (who bare a great sway in *Lombardy*) receiued him into their City, assuring themselves, that the liberty and priuiledge which the Emperour **FREDERICK** the first had giuen them, should haue been maintained: but this **FREDERICK** was of another humour; for, when he was within the City, he prescribed them such lawes as pleased him, as to his vassalls and subiects.

Pope **GRIGORY**, hauing intelligence of the Emperours coming into *Italy*, sent a messenger to meet him, called **GRIGORY** de *Monte longo*, by whom he both desiring and requiring him (in requital of the benefites which he had receiued from the Church, as well in the peace and absolution granted him when he came from *Ierusalem*, as in the fauour which he had shewed him against his sonne, and in dispensing with his marriage in *England*) that his now coming might be for the good and peace of the countrey; and that he would maintain that peace and agreement which was granted by his Grandfather to *Milan* and to the other Cities, and which was confirmed by the authority of the Church. And after this hee sent three Cardinals with the same message: but to neither of them he gaue any good answer; so as they conceiued, that he was no good friend to the Pope; and they all feared that he came no lesse against him, than against *Milan*; so as without any conclusion they returned to *Viterbo*, where the Pope then lay. It is written, that **FREDERICK** and his sonne **CONRADIN** did require the rights belonging to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; which, the Pope, contrary to couenants, vnjustly detained from them: And the Pope, to arm himself with a faction, commanded the Emperour not to molest the confederate Cities of *Lombardy*, with whom he was in league: but the Emperour giuing him reasons why he could not do it vnlesse they would giue ouer their conspiracies against the Empire, and return to their obedience; the Pope, fearing the event, bent all his forces to this common warre.

Isabel, daughter
of Iohn king
of England, mar-
ried to the em-
peror **Frede-
rick** the second,
died in childbed.

The Emperor, leaving *Padua* garrisoned, marching through *Lombardy*, took his way towards the City of *Brescia*, which was of the league, and besieged a Town called *Claramonte*; and taking it by assault (the more to terrifie the Brescians, and to make them to yeeld) he destroyed and burnt the same. But, the Brescians for all this were not dismayd, but made shew of greater obstinacy. **FREDERICK** at that time besieged not their City, but marched towards *Milan*, the Captain and Head of all the Rebels: and the Milanois (with the help of the Venecians, and of other Cities their friends) had an Army in a readinesse; whereof, **PETER TRYPOLLO**, the Duke of *Venice* his Sonne, was Generall, together with **CHARROCHIO** a principall citizen of *Milan*, and other primemen of other Cities: all which with great courage (for that not long before they had overthrowne his Grandfather **FREDERICK**) itaied to fight with him in the field, and met with him near to a place called *Crotana*, and he marched with as great a desire to fight with them; so as they fought a very cruell battell, the Armies being in number and in force (in a manner) equal: but, after they had fought many houres, the Milanois began to shrink, and the victory shewed it self on the Emperors side; and **PETER TRYPOLLO** their Generall and other Captains were taken prisoners: all which, the Emperor commanded to be put to a shamefull death. After this victory he came to *Cremona*, to refresh and reinforce his Army, having had some losse in the battell; where some cities which had rebelled, compounded, and yielded their obedience.

The Pope being aduertised of the calamity of the Milanois & of those of the league (whose cause he seemed to protect and defend) fearing the Emperors greatnes (whom he knew to hate him) made a league with the Venecians (which he knew to bee much grieved for the pitifull death of their Dukes sonne) and refused to succour *Milan* and their confederates. And the better to bring this to passe, he made a kinde of peace and truce for ten years, between the Cities of *Venice* and *Genoa*, which at that time were at warres; and vsed such means, that he himself was received into *Rome*, having euer since the last troubles liued out of it. Being in *Rome*, hee sent out his Bulls against the Emperor, which he published to all Christendome, and excommunicated both him and all such as took his part; who then from *Cremona* (where he had refreshed his Army after the battell) came to *Padua*, leaving *Milan*, to make warre vpon the Venecians. And there he was aduertised of the Popes fulminations, and of the great preparation made by the Venecians against him, both by sea and land. Vpon this he raised new forces, and so with a great victorious Army (wherein many Moors of *Africa*, which they called Sarazins, serued him on horseback) he took the field, and ouerran the Territories of the Venecians, waisting and spoiling the same; and incamping himself by the waters side in the fight of *Venice*, the Venecians sallied forth with a great number of Archers and others, in barks and boats, their with to annoy his Camp as much as they could from the water.

The Emperor, seeing how little he profited by lying there, returned to *Padua*, leaving **ENCELIVS** to warre against *Trinigi* and the country thereabout, carrying with him some principall men of *Verona* and *Padua*, for hostages; giuing it out, that he went to besiege *Manisa*: and passing by it, he went to *Parma*, and from thence to *Luca*, and from *Luca* to *Pisa*, with a resolution not to stay till he came to *Rome*.

At this time **GREGORY de Monte longo** (who was the Popes Legate in *Milan*) came to *Bologna*, and from thence took the field with the troops which came to him from *Milan* and other parts: and ioyning with the Venecians, and others of the league (first taking *Berrara* by force) euery where began a most cruell warre, which was the greatest that of long time, either before or after, had bin seen in *Italy*; some houlding for the Pope, others for the Emperor. This war was so great, and so many and so great accidents hapned, that if I should relate what I find written, I should spend a great part of this volume in this relation: wherefore I will onely writte the summe thereof.

The Emperor being in *Pisa*, with a resolution to besiege *Rome*, then began the great and fatal factions in *Italy*, between the Guelphs and the Gebelins; the Guelphs houlding for the Pope, and the Gebelins for the Emperor: of the originall of which factions authors write so confidently, that I will not enter into disputation concerning the same. Let their beginning be what it will: I thinke it was the inuention of some duell, as it should seeme by the sequell: for within short space, these factions extended themselves so farre ouer all *Italy*, as no place was free from this infection (*Venice* except) wherein this pestilence took no hold: all the rest was diuided into these two names and factions, without any other foundation of loue or hatred, but only for the names sake; and there daily ensued scandalls and slaughters; and in families addi-

nages

nages it often happened that the father was against his sonnes, and brothers were against brothers; which fighting slue one another, ransacking townes, burning and rinating houses; in worse sort then if they had been traytors, or Infidels, with so great rancor and hatred, as the like thereof before that time had neuer been seen nor heard of. And truly it was a strange thing and to be admired: these two factions were so contrary the one to the other, that they could nor in any thing endure any conformity or resemblance: for they differed in their enignes, in their colours, in the fashion of their apparell, in attiring themselves, in their disports, in their feasts, yea, even vnto their very manner of going, speaking, feeding, riding, and in all things that mans wit could inuent.

The Emperor and his adherents were called Gebelins; and he proclaimed that all such as took part with him should be so called, which was performed throughout all *Italy*: and all the Guelphs held with the Pope. With this name the Emperour departed from *Pisa* towards *Rome*; wherein the fire of these factions was already kindled, and the greatest part of the people were Gebelins, who were ready to haue set vpon the Guelphs; and to haue spoiled and killed them, without any redemption. The Pope seeing himselfe in so great danger, took the heads of *Saint PETER* and *Saint PAUL* (as they say) and made a solemm procession, and therewith a long oration to the people; shewing them how vaine a thing it was for men to kill one another, for that they had only taken contrary names; and dissuading them from their intent he perswaded them to defend his Church and their countrey against his enemy **FREDERICK**, who was coming thitherwards: and of his bountifull liberality he gaue to all such as in his quarrell would take Armes, and would beare the signe of the Crosse, plenary Indulgence, and absolution.

The people were herewith so much perswaded, that when the Emperor with his Army came before *Rome*, presupposing that the greatest part of the Citizens had been Gebelins; hee to the contrary found them all markt with the signe of the Crosse, in Armes against him: and coming with his people to the gates of the city, some companies sallied to skirmish with him: and so some were slain of eyther side, which made him to vse extraordinary cruelty; for all those of the City which were taken with the signe of the Crosse, he caused to be slain: some of them had their heads clouen acrosse; and of some others hee made crosses in their foreheades with hote irons: and priests hee made to bee crossed vpon their crownes: and after three daies (despairing to take *Rome* by force, spoyling the countrey round about it) he went into *Campania*, and gaue a sudden turne and came to *Beneuent*, which he took and sacked, and commanded the same to be dismantled and razed: and so marched through many parts of *Italy*, waring vpon the Popes Townes, and such as took his part; wherein he took *Ravenna*, and besieged *Fauencia*. And in *Sicilia* he confiscated the goods of many Ecclesiasticall persons, and apprehended and put some Bishops to death: others he banished out of that countrey; and he particularly caused all places, which appertained to the order of the Knights Templars, to be sacked and spoyled; vsing herein the seruice of his horsemen, which were Moores of *Africa*, which serued him in that war, to whom he gaue many prebendances and double payes, and the City of *Nuceria* in *Pulia* to inhabit, which they possessed many years after. Pope **GREGORY** seeing himselfe so distressed, sent his Legates to the kings of *France*, *England* and *Spain*, bewailing his misery, and complaining of the Emperour, he implored succour, aide, and councill: whereto they gaue him gentle answers; and by their consent he called a generall Councill, for the reformation and preservation of the Church, and for a conquest to be made of the Holy land, which was now in greater distresse then euer.

The Emperour having intelligence that a generall Councill was summoned, and imagining that the chiefest intent thereof was against himselfe; he resolved by all means possible to disturbe it, by stopping the passages, and apprehending such as went to it; and sent his son **ENCIVS** (king of *Sardinia*) to *Pisa* (which then was of great power by sea) where he armed a great number of ships and gallies, to stay the coming of the Cardinals, the Popes Legates; which with many prelates of *Spain* and *France* came to the Councill: they being vpon the sea, in a fleet of Genoacs of 40 Gallies, between *Corsica* and *Pisa*, within sight the one of the other, the Legates would haue fled, and so auoided the sight: But the Admirall who was a Genoais, would not alter his course, so as they fought a most cruell bataille, which lasted the greatest part of the day: But in the end, the King of *Sardinia* had the victory, and the Cardinals and Legates being taken prisoners, were carried into *Pulia*, except some which were slain or drowned.

The

A battell between the Emperor and the Milanois.

The factions of the Guelphs and Gebelins between the Emperor Frederick the second and Pope Gregory the ninth.

The originall of the Guelphs and Gebelins in Italy

The French Bishops and Abbats which were taken, the Emperor set at liberty, at the request of the French King: the rest lay long in prison; so as the Council could not be held or begun as the Pope would have had it: wherewith he was so much troubled, that with very rage and anger he fell sick and died; having bene Pope about fourteen yeers, whereof the most part was in trouble and contention. He died in the year of our Lord 1241. This Pope in his life time first canonized S. FRANCIS and S. DOMINICK for Saints; and afterwards Saint ANTHONY, called Saint ANTHONY of Padua, although a Portingall, and born in the City of Lisbon. He compiled also the Book of the Decretals, and instituted the singing of *Salve Regina* at certain times and hours, with the ringing of the facing Bell; and that our Lady should be prayed vnto in the night, with *Aue Maria*, which should agree with the ringing of the Bell; and did many other things like a Pope.

Pope GREGORY being dead, by the general consent of all the Cardinals which were in Rome, GAVINREDE de Castillon, a Milanois born, was chosen Pope, and called CELESTINE the Fourth, a good man and very learned, but old and sickly; who presently sought to bee at peace with the Emperor, and to that effect sent his Legates to his Camp, hee then lying before *Bavencia*: but this Pope could not tarry for an answer; for, he died the eighteenth day after his election.

CELESTINE being dead, the Cardinals could not agree about choosing him a successor: some say, that for fear of the Emperors threatnings, they durst not chuse whom they would have chosen. PLATINA saith, that the Cardinals of Rome determined to chuse no Pope at all, vntill that the Emperor released those which he held prisoners. BLONDVS following his Author (who as he said was an ey-witnes) affirmeth the cause to be, for that the Cardinals who were prisoners, sent to require, and therewith protested, that no Pope should be chosen without their voices. So as vpon some of these occasions, or for all together, for the space of twenty months Rome was without a Pope. And in all this time the Emperor would not release those Cardinals which were his prisoners; neither would those of Rome chuse a Pope. In which time the Emperor took the City of *Bavencia* (which held out against him about one year) and came before *Bolonia*: but seeing that he could not take it, he spoiled the country, and transferred the Vniuersity from thence to *Padua*; and afterwards went to *Modena*, and to *Rezzo*, which also flood vpon their guard, and took Towis appertaining to the Church of Rome; so as there were great wars in all parts of *Italie*, which cost many men their liues.

At the same time, when the Emperor thus warred in *Italy* against the faction of the Guelphs, the Tartarians invaded *Hungary*. These Tartars are a barbarous Nation in the North, which came out of *Seythia Asiatice* (as some say; and VOLATERANVS saith, out of *Taurica Chersonesus* in Europe) about the year of our Lord 1202, and made an irruption into *Asia*, and subdued some Provinces therein, vnder the leading of their King and Captain, called CANGYS: and they afterwards so increased in the beginning of the Emperour FREDERICKS Raig, about the year 1222, that they conquered *Georgiana*, *Armenia* the Lesse, and other provinces in *Asia*, and suppressed the power of the Turks (which I for breuity sake passe over). And coming afterwards into Europe by the *Caspian* sea, crossing the mountains *Rhiphei*, became Masters of those countries, and made wars in *Russia* and in *Polonia*, and subdued a great part of *Sarmacia*, which at this day is called after them, *Tartaria*; and their King is called the Great CAN: they received the sect of MAHOMET, through their first conuincing with the Turks; and in such manner they made war, that they put the world in fear of them. And the Emperor now making warre in *Italy* against the Guelphs, the Tartars, vnder the leading of their King called BATVS, came into *Hungary*, and warred therein three yeers, and did much harm; VELA the Fourth being then King thereof: at the end of which time they returned to the countries which they before had gotten. And so *Hungary*, a Province of the Empire, endured as great misery as *Italy*.

And it hapned also, that the Emperour of *Constantinople* liued not in peace in those daies: for, JOHN de Bregna, King of *Ierusalem* (who was Gouernour of the Greek Empire, with young BALDVIN who married his daughter) being dead, the Empire remained in BALDVIN against whom JOHN LASCARVS (nephew to the other of that name, who was called Emperour in *Adrianople*) raised such power, and found so many friends, that he took *Smirna* and *Satilia*, with other cities, towns and Ilands: so as the Emperour BALDVIN, accompanied with the Earl of *Tolosa* (who had bene with him in all his wars and troubles) came into *Italy* to sue for aid and relief against his enemies: and finding it in such estate as you haue heard (imagining that

Pope Gregory the Ninth died for anger.

The original and true effe of the Tartarians.

Hungary invaded by the Tartarians.

that in time of such confusion he should not get any) hee sought means to haue a Pope chosen, and so came directly to the Emperour; who hauing then taken the citie of *Parma*, and driven the Guelphes out of it, went thence to *Placencia*. And BALDVIN coming thither, and being well received and entertained, vied such means to the Emperour FREDERICK, that at his request all the Cardinals were released and set at liberty, whom he had long detained prisoners in *Melphi*: and the Emperour of *Constantinople* with the good leave of the Emperour FREDERICK, went to *Bologna*, where the Cardinals were, to treat with them concerning the election of such a new Pope, as might be acceptable to the Emperour FREDERICK; to the end that peace might be maintained between them. Where he was with great joy honourably received, in June, in the year 1244. and they presently conferred about the election of a Pope, and one SINOALDVS, Cardinall of S. LAURENCE borne in *Genoa*, was chosen, and called INNOCENT the Fourth; who was the Emperours greatest friend of all the Cardinals: which when the Emperours friends and seruants vnderstood, with all possible speede they gaue him to vnderstand thereof: when the newes was brought vnto him in the citie of *Parma*, it is reported that he presently said, (presaging what would follow) I haue exchanged my best friend, being a Cardinall, for my greatest enemy, being Pope.

After the election, the new Pope, the Emperour of *Constantinople*, and all the Cardinals came together to Rome, where they consulted of a peace to be concluded with the Emperour FREDERICK, and Ambassadors were sent from the one to the other: but the Emperour in the time that the Papacie was void, was growne so great and so mighty a Lord in *Italy*, that he would not accept such conditions as were propounded; and so gaue ambiguous and vncertain answers, such as they knew not how to resolve: foure months being spent in this party, the Pope was certified that the Emperour had secret intelligence with Iudric in Rome against him: the effect whereof was, that in a place called *Cassella amar*, whither it was agreed that the Pope should come, to yield his resolution concerning the peace, and there expecting the Emperours coming, should be seized on.

This being discouraged, and the Pope seeing how small power he had in *Italy*, speedily went to *Russia*, and there embarking himself in certaine galleys of *Genoa*, which he had secretly caused to be brought thither for that purpose, went to *Genoa*, where hee fell sicke, and recovering health hee there againe shipped himself, and went into *France*; and arriuing at *Aigues mories*, and coming vnto the river *Rodanus*, the French King received and entertained him with great solemnities: and then he went to the citie of *Lions*, where hee complained of the Emperour, and within some few daies after, proclaimed through all Christendome, a Councell to be held at *Lions* in *France*, in the beginning of the yeere 1246, whither he cited the Emperour to come, and to make his personal appearance; and in many his sermons and orations which hee made to the people, hee with a lowd voyce summoned him to appeare: and so prelates from all parts of Christendome repairing thither, the Councell began; and the Emperour sent his Ambassadors to make his excuse; and otherwise made many large offers. But the Pope would accept neither his offers nor excuses; but published, that if within a certain time limited hee appeared not, he would then pronounce Sentence against him; as is contained in the chapter *Ad apostolicam sedem, de reuindicta, libro sexto*: wherein he condemned him in the loss of his depriuation of the Empire, and of all the other kingdoms and dominions which hee enioyed, and presently proclaimed the same throughout all Christendome, and commanded the Princes Electors with all speed to chuse a new Emperour, releasing them from all allegiance and othes made to the Emperour FREDERICK whatsoever. At this time, BALDVIN Emperour of *Constantinople*, vnderstanding that his enemy ROBERT LASCARVS was dead, returned, and had such success as you shall heare.

So great account was made of the Popes sentence pronounced against the Emperour in Germany (it being approved by the Councell) that the Electors began to treat of the choosing of a new Emperour; and notwithstanding that his sonne CONRAD the King of the Romans, was therewith much grieved, and by all means sought to haue prevented the same, yet they met at *Speier*, and chose HARRY Lantgrau of *Turinge* Emperour: and he according to the accustomed manner went to *Aix*, where he was crowned; whereupon presently betwene him, and CONRAD the Emperours sonne, began a cruell warre: the end and success whereof we will report hereafter, when we haue related what FREDERICK did when he vnderstood that he was depriued. As soon as he heard thereof, in extreme choler he caused the houses of the Popes friends and kinsmen in *Parma* to be thrown downe, and their goods to be spoiled;

and

Pope Innocent went into France, where hee excommunicated the Emperour, and released his subjects from their othes to him.

Henry King of Germany was chosen Emperour.

and wrote his Letters into *Germany*, excusing and iustificyng his proceedings, and to animate his sonne, But conceiving his estate to be in great hazard, he resolved to goe in person to the Council at *Lions* in *France*; and to that effect he first made a league of friendship with the Duke of *Burgundy*, and had a safe conduct and assurance from the French King, for his going, abroad and returne. And leaving his son *ENCIVS* (King of *Sardinia*) in *Parma*, he commanded him not to fall out of that City, for that he held the same and the situation thereof to be of great importance; and so being accompanied with men both of peace and warre, he took his way towards *France*; and having past *Turin*, messengers overtook him, which gaue him to understand, that *Parma* (whereof he made so great account) was lost, through his sonnes oversight: for he through a greedy desire to have taken *Brescia*, which was of the contrary faction, by the advice and procurement of those of *Cremona*, went from *Parma* with part of the garrison which lay therein; and in the meane time that he was about this exploit, the Popes friends and kindred, which lived in *Placencia*, having intelligence with some which were within *Parma*, came thither, & by surprise took it, but not without shedding of much blood. These ill newes touched the Emperor *FREDERICK* to the quick; and he fearing on the one side, his vn safe going into *France*, and on the other side, that other Cities in *Italy* following the example of *Parma* (he being absent in a strange country) would also rebell, resolved therefore in great fury to returne: and raised forces in *Sicilia* and *Naples*: and from *Triuigi* came his great friend *ENCIVS* with a great troupe of men of warre; all which he sent against *Parma*, whither he himself marched with a full resolution to have ruined the same, and to have laid it waste, and vied some speeches to the same effect: but he failed of his expectation; for *GEORGE de Monte lungo*, who from the time of *GEORGE* the ninth had been the Popes Legate in *Milan*, and in the other Cities of that faction in *Lombardy*, getting souldiers from *Milan*, and other Cities of the league, put himself with them into *Parma*: and furnished and provided it with all things requisite to endure a siege.

It was not long before the Emperor came before it with his Army (wherein were three score thousand men) and besieged it, with a full resolution not to rise from before it, untill that he had taken the Citie; and so he began to assault it on euery side. But the besieged defended themselves so well, that they daily sallied out and skirmished with their enemies, in such manner that it beuolued the Emperor to withdraw his Campe a little further from the City, and the war continuing, he compassed the City round about with a wall: and as hee purposed wholly to have ruined *Parma*, so he caused a new Citie to be built in the same place where his Army lay; which he presently enuironed with walles, and made market places, Churches, and houses in it, and appointed lands for those of *Parma*, which would come thither to inhabit: so as within short space the city was built, and peopled, and he named it *Victoria*. And as the Emperor had lien about two yeeres before *Parma*, and the news of this new Citie, and the distribution made by him was bruited abroad, many came thither from all parts to dwell; in so much that *PLATINA* affirmeth, that therein were as many faire gardens and orchards, with birds and beasts in them, and so great concourse of men and women, as in any the most peopled ancient cities of *Italy*.

While the Emperor lay before *Parma*, his son *CONRAD* and the Lantzgraue *HENRY*, made cruell warres; which Lantzgraue through *FREDERICK*'s depriving, was chosen and called Emperor: and he raising the greatest power he could (therewith to make himselfe Lord of the Empire) he met with the Emperors sonne *CONRAD*, neere to *Frankford*, who had as great an Army as his; and there they two fought (as some authors write) one of the most cruell battailes that of long time had been seen, wherein *CONRAD* being overthrown, he fled into *Suenia*, and *HENRY* remaining master of the field, was held for Emperor. And for as much as he understood, that the Emperors sonne *CONRAD* leuied new forces, and gathered head in *Suenia*, he went thither with his Army, and besieged and tooke some cities, and continuing his course of victory, laid siege to the city of *Pime*; and holding it very hardly besieged, at a time when he thought that nothing could haue offended him, or defended it selfe against him; an arrow shot at randome out of the city (which was thought to be poysoned) wounded the new Emperor *HENRY*, so as within few daies after he died thereof, within one yeere after his election: and the princes and men of war which were with him dispersed themselves, so as it presently appeared, that the party of the Emperour *FREDERICK* and his sonne *CONRAD* would againe preuaile. But yet the electors of the Empire, within few months after (by the procurement of the Cardinal of Saint *G* called

called *PATER* Image of gold, whom the Pope (being aduertised of the death of *HENRY*) sent from *Lions* thither, the Emperors sonne *CONRAD* not being able to stay or hinder the same) they met at *Waringen*, and chose *WILLIAM*, Earl of *Holland*, for Emperor: who, accompanied with the Electors, and other Princes and Prelates, went to *Frankford*, and there was crowned. And for as much as he understood that *CONRAD* leuied a power against him, he called a Councell in the City of *Precht*: whither came the Archbishops of *Meitz*, *Trier* and *Colen*, and other Prelates; and *LEVY*, Count Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other Earls and Deputies from more than twenty feuerall Imperiall Cities in *Germany*, and from some Princes also; where they handled some matters concerning his confirmation in the Empire. But *CONRAD*, raising a great power in *Suenia* and in other parts, began to war against *WILLIAM*; and *WILLIAM* leuied an Army to do the like by him: in which warre we will leaue them for this time, to speak of the Emperor, and of what successe he had in *Italy*; and then afterwards, when time shall serue, we will againe return to this subiect.

Two yeeres were now expired since that the Emperor *FREDERICK* came to lie in his new City *Victoria*, before *Parma*; daily expecting when it would haue yielded (for, the Besieged endured extreme famine): by reason whereof, there was not so good guard held in the Camp as there was wont to be. And *GEORGE de Monte lungo*, the Popes Legate, who had the command of the City, as he had valiantly defended it, so he neuer let slip any opportunity to do any notable seruice; who perceiving, and being also aduertised, what manner guard was held in the new City (without attending any other forces to ioyn with him) he resolved to sallie, and to attempt it; and laid such a plot, that he performed one of the strangest exploits that hath bin seen or heard of; which was in this manner:

Certain companies of Moors and Germanes, coming from the Camp, drew neer to the City, expecting that some would come forth to skirmish with them, as at other times they vsed to do. The Legate, perceiving this, and thinking it now a fit time to put in execution what he before had proiected, with all possible speed made all his Troops to be armed; and setting them in order, when the skirmish in the field was most hot he commanded the Ports to bee opened, and salying suddenly, charged with such resolution, that without any great adoo or difficulty hee ouerthrew those Troops; that presently reuiewing they turned their backs and fled: and hurrying them came to the new City (wherein was the Emperor *FREDERICK* in his palace disarmed, suspecting no such matter, and so was the greatest part of his Army) and charging with such fury that the Guard could not withstand them, entered the City, putting to the sword as many as they found to bear Arms against them: and so the fight began on euery side. But as the attempt was sudden and vnexpected, so great a fear surprised them, that without making any great resistance they all fled: and the Emperor, knowing no better course to be taken, took horse, and so escaped with such as could keep with him; and all those which remained, were either slain or taken: and the Legate and his people had one of the richest preies and booties that had been seen, as well of such things as were the Emperors and of the Army, as of the Inhabitants of the City; which they presently razed and made leuell with the ground, executing as much therein as the Emperor thought to haue done in *Parma*. And heere was slain *JOHN TVARIO*, one of the heads of the faction in *Milan*, who kept with the Emperor: and with the Legate was one *MATHEW VISCOUNTY*, who was the other: for, these two, namely, Viscounts and Turrons, were the two factions, then in the City of *Milan*. As soon as the fame of the taking of *Victoria* was spred ouer *Italy*, those which held for the Pope were greatly encouraged.

The Emperor in his flight staid not in any place vntill he came to *Cremona*; but hee trusted them not so well as to come into their city, notwithstanding that they earnestly intreated him: but raising men from all parts (besides that many of the Gibelins cam voluntarily to serue him) within a small time, as a valiant man, and as if he had had a great Armie, hee came to *Placencia*, but besieged it not, onely spoiling the Countrey. And leaving his sonne *ENCIVS*, King of *Sardinia*, for his Lieutenant in those Towns which held for him, hee went into *Tuscane*, in hope to haue taken *Florence*, which in that Prouince was against him. But as his faction was now but little regarded or feared, so the Florentines would in no wise receiue him; but agreed with him to put all the Guelphs, which were his enemies, out of the Town, wherewith it was contented: and staying in the Countrey neer *Florence*, in hope to haue leuied some new Troops, and so to haue recouered the honour which he lost, newes came how that his sonne *ENCIVS*, with the greatest power that hee could leuie, thinking to haue done some notable peece

William, Earle
of Holland, chosen
Emperor.

The city of *Victoria* taken and
destroyed by the
Parma forces.

of seruice, went towards *Bologna*; and the Bolognois, being aduertised thereof, with the aide of their friends, sallied forth to fight with him; and ouerthrowing him, had taken him prisoner. Which when the Emperour vnderstood, he was extremely grieved and offended; and seeing that in *Lombardy* his enemies were too hard for him, and that out of *Germany* he was out of hope that any succour could come, for that therein his sonne CONRAD made warre against *WILLIAM*, Earle of *Holland*, who was called Emperour; he therefore resolued to go into his kingdom of *Naples*, in hope there to reinforce his Army, and to take some other counsell. And coming into *Pulvis* with greater wrath then honour, by reason of such aduentures as were befallen him; he made a bafe sonne of his, call MANFRED, Prince of *Tarent*, and gaue him many places in subiection.

Within few dayes after, he fell grievously sicke, and his discafe held him long, whereof in the end he dyed: which Historiographers relate after sundrie manners, so as it seemeth that the truth can hardly be known. Some say, that his discafe killed him: others say, that beginning to recouer health, he was poisoned: others say, that his sonne MANFRED practised his death, with desire to raigne; as it after appeared. Some write, that when he saw that not only his friends failed him, who commonly change their mindes with fortune, but that also fortune had abandoned him, which hitherto had fauoured him, and vnderstanding that there were practices to poyson him, hee resolued to returne into *Sicilie*: but vpon the way hee fell into a burning feuer through poyson, and ended his dayes in a certaine Castle of *Apulia*. Some affirme that his bafe son MANFRED (hearing that the Physicians had abated the force of the poyson, and that there was hope of his recouerie) smothered him with a pillow. But howsoeuer, he dyed at this time, which was in the yeere of our Lord one thousand two hundred and fiftie and in the six and thirtieth yeere after his election. In the time also there is euer some difference for there bee some authors which doo reckon, but from the time of his coronation, and not before.

He was when he dyed seuen and fifty yeeres olde, and left behinde him, three sonnes, two bastards, and one legitimate: his eldest sonne CONRAD he had by *LOLS*, daughter to the King of *Ierusalem*, who in his fathers time was King of the Romanes, and inherited the Kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and the Duchy of *Sapua*. And his bastard sonne ENCIVS, whom he made King of *Sardinia*, liued, and died prisoner in the power of the Bolognois: whom they would neuer set at liberty for any ranfome. Some authors write, that he was prisoner there twenty and oode yeeres, very well vfed, and dyed in *Bologna*, and there was buried: and MANFRED, the aforesaid Prince of *Tarent*; he also had two daughters, ANNE and CONSTANCE, which married with seuerall Princes.

This Prince was adorned with sundry vertues, and excellent graces: and so likewise infested with dangerous vices: but he was very valiant, and of a strong constitution, able to endure trauell, very wise, and expert in the warre, desirous of glory and fame, very liberall, and enclined to learning, and skilfull in the tongues, and could speake Greeke, Latine, Arabick, French, and Dutch very well, and delighted much in the reading of Arts and Histories. But these vertues were greatly obscured, through his vnmeasurable desire of honour, and his ambition to command and to be Lord ouer all men, and through his cruelty vfed in many exploits in the wars, destroying and raising townes, and in shedding blood, for he was very vindicative and fuddain: and, about all, was an enemy to the Popes, and scorned their command. Hee was likewise noted of incontinency: for, besides that he had sundry wiues, he kept many concubines, and accompanied other women; all which, in Princes deserue greater reprehension: for In the higher degree, the lesse liberty. What things followed after his death you shall knowe in the next.

CARION, writing of this Prince FREDERICK, saith, that he was of a noble and generous spirit, neuer dejected nor daunted in danger, constant and temperate in all fortunes, valiant and warie in battell, actiue both with hand and counsell, bountifull, and most free from cruelty. And when as the Popes by open force, secret fraud and treachery, had sought his death, yet he suppress his indignation, and desire of reuenge, as much as might be, being Victor; and did moderate the offenders punishments. But his many crofles and homebred conspiracies in the end did much alter him, and made him bitter, when as he was deuiued of the Empire, not finding any one among his owne whom he might trust: and being often vexed and v wounded to the very heart vvith the fear of his friends falling from him, and of new conspiracies, euery thing grew suspicious vnto him, and age did make him more apt to iealousie; insomuch that he

spa-

spared not those who were neerest and most faithfull vnto him. But as there is no humane vertue, how great and glorious soeuer, that is perpetuall and without some blemish, the which is more apparant in great Personages than in priuate men: so I will not deny but FREDERICK was subiect to some vices, whereof I may partly impute the cause to his afflictions; the which errors at his death he did much lament.

In *Constantinople* BALDVIN was Emperour, who had great warres with MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, who was called Emperour, and succeeded ROBERT LASCARVS before mentioned, who left him Tutor ouer his sonne JOHN: but hee took the Empire to himselfe, murdering the pupill, and warred to make himselfe absolute Lord ouer all. In *France* at this time reigned King LAMBERT, called Saint; who, vnderstanding that the City of *Ierusalem*, after that the Emperour FREDERICK had recovered it, was againe lost, and that the Christians in the rest of the Cities were greatly distressed; providing a great Armie and Nauy, departed therewith in person, and sailed into *Egypt* to warre vpon the Soldan; and, taking land, besieged the City of *Damietta* before named, and after some skirmishes and conficts took the same, and performed other worthy aduentures, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand, two hundred, forty and nine. But, prosecuting the warre, it pleased God that in a battell hee was afterwards ouerthrowne, and by the Soldan taken prisoner, with two of his brethren; and, to recouer his liberty, he gaue vp the City of *Damietta*, and the rest of what he had gotten; and so returned to his Country, hauing effected as little as those which went before him. The Kings of *Spain*, with equal courage to any of the other Princes (but with better fortune) reconquered the countries which the Infidels held in *Spain*. At that time reigned King FERDINAND, who wonne *Seuil* and *Cordoua*, and many other Towns and Cities.



THE
LIFE OF CONRADE THE
FOVRTH OF THAT NAME, AND
HVNDRETH AND SECOND ROMAN
EMPEROR; AND OF THOSE WHICH WERE
called Emperors till that RODOLPHVS was chosen
Emperour.
(***)

THE ARGVMENT.



FREDERICK being dead, the Empire being diuided between two Emperors, was infested many yeeres each of vsing all means to suppress the other. First, Conrade determined to go into Italy to take possession of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*: and going with a mighty Army, hee took those Kingdomes by force. After which conquest he died, and William remained sole Emperour; who desiring to go into Italy to be crowned by the Pope, was hindered through a tumult raised by the Frisians: and going against them with an Army, he was by them vnfortunatly slain. The death of William was the occasion that the seat of the Empire was void, and that the Electors were diuided, and could not agree among themselves: for, almost euery one of them would haue such an Emperour as was best to his liking; whereof ensued great trouble and much preiudice to the Country of *Germany*. In Italy also were great warres between Manfred and the Pope, King Charles and Conradin, whereof in the end King Charles had the victory. And in *Germany* the

the Electors being a long time at variance, in the end agreed to chuse Rodolph Earl of Habsburgh, when as for a long time they could neuer agree upon any other man.



THE greatest part of the Authors which wrote the liues of the Emperours, account all the time from the death of **FREDERICK** (whose life we haue now written) vntill that **RODOLPH**, Earl of *Habsburgh*, was chosen Emperour (which were 23 yeeres, beginning in the year 1250, in which **FREDERICK** died, and ending in the year 1273, in which **RODOLPH** was chosen) for an interregnum and vacation of the Empire; accounting none of those for Emperours which in that time were chosen and so called, for that they were chosen in competency one against another, and were not crowned by the Popes; which were **WILLIAM**, who was Emperour in the time of **FREDERICK**, and **FREDERICK**'s son, **CONRAD**, who was King

of the Romans; and **RICHARD**, brother to the King of *England*; and **ALONSO**, King of *Castile*, whom the Spaniards call the Wife: all which were chosen in contention, and were competitors; wherein (in my opinion) they haue no reason, especially in what concerns **WILLIAM**, sixth he before **FREDERICK**'s death was in name and possession Emperour; and albeit he was not crowned by the Pope, yet his election was approued and confirmed by him: wherefore (to yeeld euery man his title and dignity, howsoever it were, as also to keep the course of our history) I haue determined to treat briefly of all in such matters as concern the Empire, which is the subject of my trauell. I will likewise in summe relate what pass in *Italy*, that to the history following may be the better vnderstood: I say then, that the Emperour **FREDERICK**'s death was soon published (as that of Emperours and Kings is vsuall) and caused new accidents.

In *Germany* his son **CONRAD**, who in his fathers life time was Duke of *Suenia*, and King of the Romans, and his heir in the Kingdoms of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, and by his mother pretended title to the Kingdome of *Ierusalem*, took vpon him as Emperour against **WILLIAM** Earle of *Holland*, who by the Popes commandement was chosen against his father, and possessed the empire. **WILLIAM**, seeing that his competitor was dead, made account to haue defeated and supplanted **CONRAD**; whereto he was presently countenanced and encouraged by Letters from Pope **INNOCENT**, who all this while was in *France*, and was supported by many Princes of *Germany*; which, forasmuch as **CONRAD** was excommunicate (as well as his father **FREDERICK**) **WILLIAM** pretended that **CONRAD** had lost his right to the Empire, and was deprived thereof by the Pope, as indeed by the Popes Sentence he was. Neuertheless, **CONRAD** was still called Emperour. And so they were diuided into two factions: yet **WILLIAM** was the mightier, for he commanded (in a manner) all the cities in *Germany*.

In *Sicilia* and *Naples*, **FREDERICK**'s base sonne **MANFRED**, who (some say) smothered his father, had a conceit in time to make himselfe King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*: but being a bastard he knew that the lawfull inheritance appertained to his brother **CONRAD**, who was in *Germany*, in whose name (as gouernour for him, and to his vse) he possessed himselfe of those kingdomes, excepting *Naples*, *Capua*, and some other townes, which would not receiue him: whereupon he proclaimed them traytors and rebels, and began to warre against them. In other parts of *Italy* the warres ceased not, notwithstanding that the Emperour was dead: for malice and hatred had taken fo deepe roote betweene the Guelphes and the Gibelins, that they were neuer without warres and troubles, murdering one another: and **ENCELIVS** (who as I said before was of great power in *Lombardy*, and a faithfull seruant to **FREDERICK**) took part with **CONRAD**, as with the Emperour, and so did some others: yet the contrarie party which held for the Pope was more mightie.

CONRAD seeing the affaires of the Empire to stand in this estate, and considering that it was doubtfull holding of *Germany* against **WILLIAM**; and that *Naples* and *Sicilia* was a good portion, & came to him by inheritance from his father, raising the greatest power that he could in *Suenia*, leaving garrisons therein, and in such other parts as he held of the Empire, with the aid of the Duke of *Bauiere*, with whose sister he was married, came to take possession of those Kingdomes, as most certain and assured; and with a very good Armie came to *Verona*, houlding still the name of Emperour, where he was receiued: and afterwards (being assisted and guided by

ENCELIVS, Gouverner of *Lombardy*) he came to certain Harbours vpon the coast of the Venecian Sea; where he was shipped by the Venecians, and thence sailed into *Pulia* (for, from thence there was no safe passage for him by land) and taking land with his people, he was obayed by his brother, and receiued into the Towns of *Naples* and *Sicilia*. And notwithstanding that those of the Cities of *Naples* and of *Capua* alleged, that in that they refused to be commanded by **MANFRED**, it was not in respect that they had any meaning to haue rebelled against him, but for that they vnderstood that **MANFRED** meant to become a Tyrant; Yet **MANFRED** carried the matter so cunningly, that his brother was perswaded to the contrary, and therefore highly offended: by reason whereof, the Neapolitanes and Capuans durst not put themselves into his hands, but stood vpon their guard; and **CONRAD** with great fury held *Naples* besieged the space of eight months: in the end whereof he took the same through famine, and executed cruell punishment therein; and thence went to *Capua*, where hee did the like, and in some other places which were of their confederacy: so as from thenceforth, where-soeuer he went he found no resistance, neither by Cities, Princes nor Lords.. And those which heany way suspected, he banished, and then began to war against the Lands and friends of the Church of *Rome*.

After this (two yeeres after his coming into *Italy*) he fell sick and died, being poysoned in his medicines (as it was then thought) by the practice of his brother **MANFRED**, who did it of purpose to haue been King. **NAUCLERVS** and **HENRICVS** **MVCIVS** write, that the Emperour **CONRAD** before he died went into *Germany*, leaving garrisons in *Sicilia*; for that he vnderstood, the Emperour **WILLIAM** made himself strong, and was possessed of the whole Empire, by the means of the Legates which the Pope sent thither for that purpose; and that **CONRAD**, coming into *Germanie*, ioynd with the Duke of *Bauiere*, and with an Army entered the iurisdiction of *Ratisbone*, and afterwards took the city it self, where he committed great spoils; and that **WILLIAM**, vnderstanding thereof, leued such forces, that **CONRAD** durst not giue him battell; and that he then abandoning *Germany*, went to *Naples*, where he died. Heerof other Authors make to mention: wherefore I am of opinion, that it was before **CONRAD**'s first coming to *Naples*, and that after his coming thither he returned no more into *Germany*. But whether he returned into *Germany* or no (for, it might be) he died in the Kingdome of *Naples*, and left his sonne **CONRADINE** (who was in *Suenia*, being very young, and whom he had by the Duke of *Bauiers* sister) for heir of his estate and Kingdomes; wherein also is difference between the Authors: for, some say, that he was his sonne (which is the most likely) and others say, that he was his nephew, and the son of his elder brother **HENRY**, who (as we said) died in prison in the time of his father **FREDERICK**. But I finde it written, that **HENRY** married **MARGARET** the daughter of **LEOPOLD** the Glorious, Duke of *Austria*, by whom he left two sons, **FREDERICK** & **HENRY**, whereof one was poysoned by **CONRAD**; the other by **MANFRED** a bastard, as competitors to the kingdoms of *Sicily* & *Naples*. His sonne **CONRADINE** remaining his heir, and not of age fit to gouern his Kingdomes, he left him vnder the tutele and protection of his mother, and of certain Dutch Princes, And **MANFRED** (as some write) for certain daies space concealed his brothers will; and though as yet he durst not take vpon him as King, yet in his nephew **CONRADINE**'s name he sought by all means to possesse himselfe of the whole Country.

As soon as the death of **CONRAD** was published in *Germany*, all those which had taken this part, fought to be friends with **WILLIAM**; who being freed from his competitor, friendly receiued them, and fought (by force or policy) to draw them to him, to the end to haue made a generall peace. At this time Pope **INNOCENT** (who had made his abode in *France* for the space of nine yeeres) vnderstanding that **CONRAD** was dead, came presently into *Italy*: And **MANFRED** (as he knew him to haue bin an enemy to the Emperours, **FREDERICK** and **CONRAD**; and that he alleged, that their wils and testaments were of none effect, seeing they were by him excommunicate and deprived; and that the Kingdomes of *Sicilia* and *Naples* belonged to the Church) fainedly took part with him in *Otranto*; purposing to exclude those which came to gouern for the childe **CONRADINE**, who remained in *Suenia*, and by fishing in troubled water, to get the Kingdome for himselfe.

The Pope being ioyfully receiued into most of the Cities in *Italy*, with the greatest power that he could make, took his way towards *Naples*, where hee was receiued; and to that place came **MANFRED**, and some other Princes and Gouernours of Cities, to yeeld their obedience, as feudatories to the Church of *Rome*: and he, excluding **CONRADINE**'s tutors, sought

The death of the emperor Conrad the fourth.

Pope Innocent returned out of France into Italy

within short time to be Lord of the greatest part of the rest. And as this was his drift, so after that the Pope had confirmed him in his estate, and had bestowed other favours vpon him; hee began to publish the discord openly, which he before had sown in secret, and to shew himselfe enemy to the Pope: but before that it took any effect, the Pope died in *Naples*, having bin so cleuen yeeres and halfe, in the yeere of our Lord 1254.

This Pope gaue order that the Cardinals should ride on their foot-cloathes, and weare red Hats and Robes, which they vse at this day; to the end that as they did excell other men in dignitie and preheminance, so they should goe different in apparel, and thereby be knowne from other men. Presently vpon the death of Pope INNOCENT, MANFREDE publishing that his Nephew CONRADINE was dead, cladding himselfe in mourning attire, proclaimed himselfe King of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and raising forces, drew the Africane Moores, which dwelt in *Nuceria*, to his seruice; and suddenly set vpon those places which held for the Pope: so as ALEXANDER succceding INNOCENT the Fourth, sent a Cardinall whose name was OCTAVIUS to *Naples*, against MANFREDE, who proceeded so farre as to excommunicate him; but MANFREDE, who now was called King of both the *Sicilies*, took such order with the Legate that he constrained him to shut vp himselfe in *Naples*; and so was he Master of the field, and not onely in that prouince, but in all *Italy* fought to raise dissension and discord, shewing himselfe to be of the faction of the Gibelins, with whose aide he made himselfe mightie, and was principally assisted by the great tyrant ENCLINVS. In *Florence*, in *Lombardy*, and in other parts, happened many great accidents, which I haue no time to relate, being to returne to my History of the lines of the Emperours: neuertheless it shall be expedient to declare what end MANFREDE and his Nephew CONRADINE made; who was also called King of both the *Sicilies*; and at that time, by reason of his nonage, was in his mothers keeping in her estate of *Suenia*; which gaue oportunitie to MANFREDE to rise, as he did, with the king-dome.

The Emperour WILLIAM, seing in what estate *Italy* stood, and being now Lord of all *Germany* in peace, desiring to come into *Italy* to visit the lands of the Empire, which had recovered liberty through the long absence of the Emperours; and likewise to be crowned by the hands of Pope ALEXANDER, he summoned a Councell to be held in the cite of *Colen*; and hauing therein determined of his iourney, he was aduertised that the prouince of *Erifeland* was vp in Armes, and rebelled against him; and that not content therewith, they had invaded *Holland*, where they had done great harme, by taking and carrying away whatsoever they found. WILLIAM, to suppress this rebellion, resolved to goe in person to bring the Frisons to obedience, which were such men, and so many, that he otherwise knew not how to bridle them; and it seemed no found course for him to goe into *Italy*, and to leaue *Germany* in an vpror. And so marching with his Army against the Frisons, which lay encamped not farre from him, as it was in the winter, and in that country are many Lakes and Moorish places, which then were frozen, the Emperour with one or two with him, or else alone on horsebacke, went to view his enemies Campe, or to view some ground where his own Army might lodge: and passing ouer a lake, his horse slipped, and fell with him, and the Ice breaking, his horse and himselfe were so pressed in the water, that they could not get out of it: which a company of Frisons (which lay vndiscovered in an ambush) perceiving, sallied out, and vnknewne slew the Emperour, thinking that they had slaine but some meane horseman, without being perceived by any man in his Camp, neither by them which were with him, or else they durst not reueale it: and so he lay vnder the water, vntill that afterwards he was found and knowne by his enemies.

This happened in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred, fiftie and six: in the eight and twentieth yeere of his age, and the seuenth of his raigne. And as he was mist in his Campe, and no man knew what became of him, nor what was befallne him (men being of sundrie opinions) some imagining that he was gone, and had abandoned them, and others were of other opinions; at last they were certified of the truth by their enemies. Whereupon the Army disbanded, and went euery man whither hee listed: in this manner ended the aspiring thoughts, life, and raigne of the Emperour WILLIAM, whom his sonne FLORIS, which then was a child, succeeded in the estate of *Holland*, and the rest: who afterwards made cruell warre against the Frisons, in reuenge of his fathers death; who vntill then lay in a poore Sepulture. In *Sicilie* and *Naples* MANFREDE grew daily more mightie, and was called King.

The discord and diuision, which (as we sayd) was in the Empire between FREDERICK and

The institution
of the Cardi-
nals Hats and
robes by Pope
Clement, and
riding vpon
foote-cloathes.

The Emperour
William, Earle
of Hollaue slaine
and drowned.

was crowned
1254
at Aachen

and WILLIAM, and afterwards between WILLIAM and CONRADE, FREDERICK'S sonne, and that which we will declare which hapned after his decaise, was the beginning and originall cause why the Empire lost in those times great part of the authority, power and reputation, which it before inioied, and that some Cities in *Italy* recovered liberty, and were exempt from the Empire, and that others fell into the hands of Tyrants, as it afterwards ensued. For notwithstanding that there afterwards were valiant and mighty Emperours, yet all matters were so corrupt and out of order in the Empire, as it could not be reduced to the ancient policie; neither did the Electours and Princes of *Germany* (in whom consisted the chiefest strength of the Empire) yeeld such obedience and fealtie to them, as their ancestors had done, making themselves through these vacancies and dissensions, free, and of greater power, and the Emperours became poore, of lesse account, and were lesse respected by them. I say then, that as the Princes Electours of the Empire were certified of the death of the Emperour WILLIAM (which were as all men knowe) the Duke of *Saxony*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Colen* and *Treuer*, and (when they cannot agree) the King of *Bohemia*, they began to consult about chusing of a new Emperour, first writing the one to the other, and afterwards meeting in *Frankford*, where they could not agree, for there were many Competitors, and the matter was carried by bribes, gifts and sinister means.

Commig in the end with great difficulty to make the election, vpon Twelfth day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, two hundred, fiftie and seauen: the voices were diuided into two parts; the Duke of *Saxony*, the Archbishops of *Treuer*, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh* chose ALONSO King of *Castile*: and EBERARD Archbishop of *Mentz*, CONRADE Archbishop of *Colen*, and LEVVE Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, gaue their voices to RICHARD Duke of *Cornewall*, brother to the King of *England*. In this manner they parted diuided, either party holding him for Emperour whom they had chosen: but most men affirmed that it was no election, for it seemeth not that the King of *Bohemia* gaue his voice, or was present at the election, or would ioinc with either of the parties, but was singular in his voice, seeking to haue been Emperour himselfe. Those which chose ALONSO and held with him, sent him their Ambassadors (which were the Bishops of *Spire* and *Constance*) to giue him intelligence of his election, desiring him to prepare himselfe to come into the Empire: at their comming into *Castile* they were ioufully receiued by the King, who being very glad of their Ambassage, accepted the election: but he being busied in the warres against the Moores (from whom hee had a litle before taken the Towne of *Nigbla* and other places) hee could not then come into *Germany*: but writing his letters to the Princes Electors, he dispatched the Ambassadors (giuing them and sending to the rest many iewels and great rewards) and so they returned very well content. But King ALONSO his going into *Germany*, through many occasions which were offered in *Castile*, as well against the Moores (from whom hee twice won the Citie of *Xeres*, the Citie of *Murcia* and other places) as for that his brother PHILIP with-drew himselfe from his seruice, his iourney was a long time deferred. The other part of the Princes Electors, which had chosen the King of *England*'s Brother, sent him also a solemne Ambassage, and he came into *Germany*, and with the ayde of his Brother the King, came to *Aken*, and there was crowned by those which had chosen him, and he afterwards was possessed of some Townes and Cities vpon the *Rhines* side: and so began very great warres and troubles in *Germany*, some holding for RICHARD, and others for ALONSO; others (which were the greatest number) admitted neither the one nor the other, holding the Empire for voyde: and so miserable *Germany* was set on fire with cruell warre, which continued the space of fiftene or sixteene yeeres, in which time, RICHARD dyed out of possession of the Empire, and King ALONSO could neuer come thither, by reason of sundry accidents which happened in *Castile*, as in the Spanish Chronicles doth appeare.

At the same time BALDVIN the Emperour of *Constantinople* being vnable to make his partie good, against MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS, (who by making away the two sonnes of THEODORE LASCARVS, gat the Empire to himself) fledde from *Constantinople*, and MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS had the Empire, and so it returned to the Greken nation, hauing bin aboue seuentie yeeres gouerned by the Latins: the first that had the same was called BALDVIN, and so was he which lost it, which was in the yeare of our Lord 1260.

At this time also came Ambassadors to Pope ALEXANDER, from CONRADINE Duke of *Suenia* (who was called, and ought to haue been, King of *Sicilia* and *Naples*) entreating his

The cause of the
declining of the
German Em-
pire.

Princes Elec-
tors.

Disagreement
in chusing of
the Emperour.

Alonso King of
Castile chosen
Emperour.

Richard Bro-
ther to the King
of England
crowned Em-
perour in Aken
in Germany.

The death of
Richard, Bro-
ther to the king
of England.

Baldwin de-
posed from the
Greke Em-
pire by Mi-
chael Palaeolo-
gus.

his fauour in his behalfe against MANFRED, who vsurped the said kingdomes; but it could take no effect at that time; for MANFRED was now growne so mightie, that the Pope was not able to make head against him: and besides the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, he was Lord of *Florence* and other townes in *Italy*. Within few daies after this dyed Pope ALEXANDER, hauing held the chayre about seuen yeeres, with troubles and warres in little prosperitie. This Pope canonized Saint CLARE, of the order of Saint FRANCIS, for a Saint: and he being dead, the Patriarch of *Ierusalem* (a French man borne) was chosen Pope, and called VERNAN the Fourth; who considering what great power the Tyrant MANFRED had got in *Italy*, (for what his father held therein, was at his deuotion.) And seeing that there came no sufficient ayde from *Germany*, and moreover hauing no meaning to approue the succession of CONRADSON CONRADINE, for that his ancestors had bin ancient enemies to the Church of *Rome*, but chiefly for that he had small confidence in his power, and for other occasions which I forbear to write; by the aduice of his Cardinals he sent his Ambassadors to LEVVS the French King, desiring him to send his brother CHARLES Earle of *Provence* and *Aniow* with an Army in reliefe of the Church, and to expell the Tyrant MANFRED out of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, and that then he would giue the same to him in fee, as the Churches inheritance. The French King willingly gaue eare to the Popes Ambassage, and yielding to his demand, offred aide, and to send him into *Italy*: and so CHARLES began to provide necessaries for his iourney, which Pope VERNAN could neuer see take effect, for he was intercepted by death in the citie of *Perugia*, in the third yeece of his papacy: in all which time (by reason of factions and partialities) he neuer came to *Rome*.

This Pope instituted the feast of *Corpus Christi*, which is celebrated by the Church of *Rome* with great solemnity, vnto this day, being first inuented by the famous Doctor THOMAS of AQUINA, a Frier of the order of Saint DOMINICK, who flourished in those times. At that time also flourished S. BONAVENTURE, a Doctor and Frier of the order of Saint FRANCIS. VERNAN being dead, GUIDO Cardinall of *Sulconia* borne in *Narbonne* in *France*, was chosen Pope, and called CLEMENT the Fourth; in whose time at his instant entreatie, the French Kings brother, or cosine germane, Earle of *Aniow* came into *Italy* with a great Army, to make a conquest of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* from MANFRED, who was already called king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; and there passed betwene them many conflicts and encounters, which I ouerpasse: CHARLES being assisted by the faction of the Guelphes, at length nere to the Citie of *Beneuent*, MANFRED and hee, with power against power fought a battaile, wherein MANFRED was ouerthrowne and slaine, after that hee had scene CHARLES cast to the earth, and his Army in a manner wholly ouerthrowne, but yet in the end CHARLES had the victorie; wherein he was much assisted by the counsell and help of JOHN de RASA, Earle of *Caserta*, who fought reuenge for that MANFRED had rauished his wife. Thus MANFRED lost his life with his kingdomes, the which he had gotten by fraud, treachery and parricide.

This ouerthrowne and death of MANFRED caused a great alteration in *Italy*, for the faction of the Guelphes euery where prevailed (in a manner) in all the cities of *Italy*, being fauoured by the new king of *Sicilia*, against the Gebilins. And in short space king CHARLES was possessed of the kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, being first crowned in *Rome* king of both the kingdoms; and in acknowledgement of the fee, he was bound to pay yeerly to the Church of *Rome*, threecore thousand ducats, or crowns of Gold. In this manner, the state of *Provence*, whose head is the City of *Marselles*, was vnitd to the kingdom *Naples*, which was in the yeece of our Lord 1266.

In the time of these alterations in *Italy*, *Germany* was still troubled about the election of an Emperour: and whereas the king of *England*s brother RICHARD, who contended with ALONSO for the Empire, at this time died, if ALONSO had then come into *Germany* he might easily haue obtained the Empire, seeing his competitor was deceased: but by reason of ciuill warres against the Moores, he could neuer haue opportunity to come thither: and his brother PHILIP, and other great men of *Casile*, left his seruice, and ouerran his country. *Germany* being thus without an head, endured great misery, aswell for this cause, as through the great warres which the king of *Hungary* made against the king of *Bohemia*, and other Princes, vpon sundry occasions. CHARLES the new king of *Sicilia* liuing in this prosperity, all those which in *Italy* were of the faction of the Gebilins, sent to sollicite CONRADINE Duke of *Suenia*, who was also king of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, (as sonne of the Emperour CONRAD, and Nephew

to the Emperour FREDERICK) to come, and reconquer his kingdomes, and that they all would helpe and serue him in that action: whereto CONRADINE (as a courageous young man) soon agreed, and began to gather forces and to trie his friends, whereto he was also persuaded & encouraged by HENRY the king of *Casile*s brother, who was banished from his brother for some factions and confederacies which he had made against him; And at that time was gouernor, and a Senator of *Rome*, made by Pope CLEMENT; which dignity he obtained (after that he had wandred through *England*, *France* and *Germany*) at the request of king CHARLES of *Naples*, by reason of his affinity, and the Popes fauor, to whose court he came, lying then in *Viterbo*, and the Pope made him a Senator of *Rome*, which then was the highest dignity and command therein.

This HENRY was a man of so great valour, and therewith so politick, that he wholly commanded the City; and being so, he induced CONRADINE to come into *Italy* (for hee was his kinsman, and had found him his friend at his being in *Germany*) promising and putting him in hope, that he should not only haue the kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicilia* (which were his by inheritance) but should also be Emperour of *Rome*, for he would receive him into the Citie. Finally, CONRADINE moued by these Letters and messages, but reposing pert men of warre that hee could get; to whom many of the Gebilins resorted, and hee was receiued and lodged in *Verona*, whither the Sienois and Pisans sent their Ambassadors (and many other Cities wherein the Gebilins were masters) exhorting him to proceede.

When King CHARLES was aduertised hercof, he went from *Tusane*, where he then remained, into his kingdoms; leaving good garrisons in those townes which held for him; and a gouernour with the title of Marshall. And HENRY the Kings brother of *Casile*, who was then in *Rome*, whither CONRADINE was traualling, openly shewed himselfe for him, being of power able to doe so, whether the Pope would or not; who fauoured CHARLES his party, as a King whom hee had made. But the factions in *Italy* made all poore, and inconstant. To be short, after other matters which befell CONRADINE by the way, he being come neere to the City of *Arezzo*, fought a battaile with the Marshall whom King CHARLES had left in those parts. And notwithstanding that the Marshall and his people fought valiantly, yet CONRADINE was Victor and the Marshall was slaine in the battaile, and his party ouerthrown; wherby CONRADINE wonne so great credit and reputation, that if he would haue stayed in those quarters, many townes would haue yielded vnto him: but being solicited by Letters, and messages from HENRY in *Rome*, he took his way thitherwards, passing neere by *Viterbo*, where Pope CLEMENT lay, who as an enemy to wars, and bearing of Armes, was very fory for what passed: and comming to *Rome*, he was solemnly receiued with all the ceremonies accustomed, and HENRY calling him Emperour, lodged him as one in the Capitoll.

After some few daies stay in *Rome*, he departed towards *Naples*, accompanied with the said HENRY, to finde out king CHARLES; and HENRY left in his place and office in *Rome*, one GUIDO FERRETANY, a man whom he much trusted. King CHARLES hauing already intelligence of CONRADINEs comming, and seeing that by delays he daily lost more and more, notwithstanding that he had no equal forces, yet he refused to end the controversy by a battaile, which by CONRADINE (who presumed much vpon the multitude and valor of his soldierys) was chiefly desired, so as the one Army drawing neer the other, neer to *Alua*, CHARLES knowing how to take benefit of the ground where he was encamp't, marshalled his troups in such manner that he might shadow the greatest part of his Army behinde a Hill, and so the fight beganne and continued aboue three houres: in the end whercof CHARLES his troups being neer ouerthrowne, he brake out of his Ambuscado, and charged with such fury, that he forced his enemies to turne their backs, and obtained the victory: And CONRADINE, HENRY and FREDERICK, who (I know not by what title) was called Duke of *Austria*, escaped by flight. But through sundry casualties they all three within few daies after fell into his hands, and he cruelly executing the law of Armes, made the heads of king CONRADINE, and of FREDERICK Duke of *Austria* to be striken off, contenting himselfe to hold HENRY prisoner for their neere enemie in blood.

Some Authors write, that when these Princes were brought before CHARLES, he not content with the glory of the victory (which had been the part of a noble and generous mind)

Pope Alexander canonized Saint Clare for a saint.

Pope VERNAN the fourth called the Duke of Aniow into Italy, to make warre with Naples and Sicilia.

The Feast of Corpus Christi instituted by Pope VERNAN the fourth.

Manfrede king of Iob Sicilia, ouerthrowne and slaine by Charles duke of Aniow.

Conradine his comming into Italy against the Duke of Aniow.

A battaile between Charles and king of Sicilia, and Conradine duke of Suenia.

Conradine duke of Suenia and king of both the Sicilies put to death by Charles duke of Aniow.

insulted

insulted proudly ouer them. Then by the barbarous and wicked cruelty of Pope CLEMENT the fourth, who being demanded his aduice touching the prisoners answered; The life of CONRADINE is the death of CHARLES, and the death of CONRADINE is the life of CHARLES: whereupon, by a neuer heard-of example of cruelty in the Christian world and vnworthy the name of a King, he put them to death, as hath been said; The Earle of Flanders telling him in vaine, that moderation and clemency did become a generous conqueror. So in the end by the execution of CONRADINE, a most generous and innocent young Prince, the most ancient and noble family of the Dukes of SUEVIA hauing managed the affaires of the Empire and their owne at home and abroad, both in peace and warre, wisely and valiantly, was by the practice of Popes extinct, when it had reigned in the Empire, one hundred and fifteen yeeres, and held the realmes of *Sicilia* and *Naples*, 76.

By this meane king CHARLES wonne great reputation, for he had ouerthrowne and slain two kings, MANFRED and CONRADINE. And within short space all those towns which held for CONRADINE hearing of his death, reduced themselves to CHARLES his subjection: and so in *Sicilia*, *Pulia*, *Calabria* and in all *Italy*, the faction of the Guelphs recouered the vpper hand. So as poore CONRADINE in hope to haue gotten the kingdom of *Naples*, lost his life, and therewith his estate of *Sueuia*, whereof he was assured: and in him ended the line of the house of *Sueuia*, for he left no heire; and that state was lost, most of the Cities therein making themselves Imperiall: yet RODVLPH and his soane JOHN were afterwards called Dukes of *Sueuia*.

The victorious triumphant king CHARLES, with Pope CLEMENT's leaue and authority, went to *Rome*, to execute the office of Senator, which HENRY had lost, and to pacifie the factions which were in the City; and the Pope from *Piterbo* where he made his residence, neuer ceased to procure peace and concord between the Cities of *Italy*, and to pacifie king CHARLES: but his desire took no effect, for he was interrupted by death, which ouertook him in the end of the year 1278, hauing been Pope little more then 3 yeeres, and was recorded amongst the Saints.

Pope CLEMENT the fourth being dead, the Cardinals agreed so ill about chusing him a succellor, that for the space of two yeeres there was no Pope. What hapned in the meane time, is too long to be written, wherefore I leaue it apart: amongst which Saint LEVVES King of *France* went against the kingdom and Citie of *Tunis*, where he died of the Plague. His going thither was with an intent to haue gone from thence to the conquest of *Ierusalem*, whereunto hee was induced by Pope CLEMENT before his death. Before the Popes death, EDVVARD King of *England* went to the same seruice with about two hundred thousand men, which from all parts of Christendome vowed to goe that voyage, but all was afterwards. Two yeeres being past that the Cardinals could not agree, by their common consent in the year 1270, THEOBALD a Cardinal was chosen, and called GREGORY the tenth, who was a Legate with King EDVVARD in that enterprise: which EDVVARD performed as little in that action, as well by reason of King LEVVES his long abode before *Tunis*, where he died, for whom King EDVVARD stayed; as also for that the Popes feare was voided the space of two yeeres, which put all out of order, and caused him and such as were with him, to endure great want and penury: and for that at this time also died the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; by whose counsell he began and continued that warre, and in the end THEOBALD: who was the Apostolick Legate in this journey, came to be Pope, wherefore King EDVVARD also returned to his country, without effecting what he desired.

When THEOBALD, or P. GREGORY the tenth, being in *Aken* was advertised of his election, with the aide of King EDVVARD, who furnished him with men and shipping, hee came into *Italy*, and was joyfully receiued and entertained by King CHARLES of *Naples*, through whose country he passed, who accompanied him some daies journeys; and coming to *Piterbo*, where the Cardinals attended his coming, he was crowned after the accustomed manner: and he then presently summoned a generall Councell, first to procure the reformation and peace of the Church: Secondly, that an Emperour should be chosen; for *Germany* was brought to ruine through ciuill dissension and war of iustice: and Thirdly, to take order for the conquest of the Holy-land, appointing *Lions* in *France* to be the place where this Councell should be held; whether he presently went, first settling the best peace he could in *Italy*, principally between the Genoais and the Venecians, two mighty Common-wealths in those times who made most cruell warre. This being done he came to *Lions*, from whence

he sent to the Princes Electors, commanding them to meete, and to make choise of an Emperour. To this Councell at *Lions*, came PALBOLOGVS the Emperour of *Constantinople*, whom the Pope confirmed in his Empire, notwithstanding that he obtained the same by indirect meanes; and hee and the Prelates which came with him, in the name of the Grecke Church, submitted themselves to the Councell in certaine pointes, wherein the Grecks differed from the Latines: but they obserued the same as little as at other times they had done.

The Princes Electors met at *Frankford*, to treat of the election of an Emperour; seeing how many yeeres the Empire was voided, for now twenty yeeres were fully expired since the death of FREDERICK, in all which time, *Germany* was neuer free from factions and partialities about the Empire, and thirteene or fourteene yeeres since the Emperour WILLIAM died, so that *Germany* lay abandoned without an head or soveraign Lord: for RICHARD brother to the King of *England*, and ALONSO King of *Castile*, were chosen in discord and dissent of voyces; and RICHARD within short space died, and King ALONSO could neuer come to enjoy the Empire.

All the Princes Electors meeting, spent three yeeres before they could agree about the Election; for either of them would haue him to be Emperour in whom they thought to haue greatest interest: some alleged that no election could be made, for that King ALONSO of *Castile* was chosen; and the same King sent his Proctors to protest that he prepared himselfe speedily to come vnto the Empire: there were others that hindred the election, for that they had vsurped the lands and possessions belonging to the Empire, and were in feare to lose the same: finally, the matter was very confused and out of order, but in the end they agreed: and notwithstanding that OTHO CARVS King of *Bohemia*, had won the most part of the Electors, and assured himselfe that he should haue been chosen in this great confused Anarchy during the vacancy, *Italy* being on fire with intestine combultions and seditions, and *Germany* with old hatreds and new alterations, when as all things threatned a fearefull ruine, then did the Electors chuse RODVLPH Earle of *Habsburgh* and *Hefisia*, who in line Masculine descended lineally from the father to the sonne, from PHAROMOND King of the Francons: others haue written (amongst which is VOLATERANVS) that this RODVLPH was descended from the house and family of the PERLONES, or LEONES in *Rome*, an ancient house of Earles, and that one of them vpon certain occasion left his country, and went into *Ergonia*, and there built the Castle of *Habsburgh*, from whence descended the Earles of *Habsburgh*: which they say was in the year 1150. But it cannot be so, for the Towne and Castle of *Habsburgh*, from whence these Earles are descended, is not in *Ergonia*, but another much more ancient, and faire distant from that, whereof long before the time that they speake of, the Earls of *Habsburgh* were Lords: And JOHN STABVS setteth down a pedigree of nine Kings and fourteen Earles before this RODVLPH, of whom we now treat: who besides that he was chosen and crowned Emperour, and gouerned the Empire the space of eighteen yeeres, came (through want of Heires) to be Duke of *Austria*; and that house hath continued in that linage from that time vntill this day, and hath produced nine Emperors, and a great number of dukes: from which RODVLPH the first, is descended RODVLPH the Second now reigning in the yeere one thousand six hundred and foure. In *Constantinople* still reigned MICHAEL PALBOLOGVS.

The Earle of
Habsburgh, and
Hefisia chosen
Emperour.





THE LIFE OF RODVLPH, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND THE HVNDRETH AND THIRD

Romane Emperour; And of MICHAEL

PALEOLOGVS, Emperor

of Constantinople.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.



Then Rodulph's election was published, all Germany reioycied, seeing an end of so many troubles: he was according to the custome crowned in Aken, but would neuer go to be crowned in Italy, alleging that all the Emperours which went thither, either died there, or returned with great losse. He had great warres with the King of Bohemia, who by his wifes persuasion, violating his faith, rebelled against the Emperour to whom he had sworn fealty and obedience. After this warre, the Emperour addidit himselfe to maintaine iustice, and taking no care to come into Italy, contenting himselfe with their tribute, he held all Germany in peace, a thing which no Emperour euer bad done. Hee subdued all those which rebelled, and being old departed out of this life. Hee made alliance with many great Lords by meanes of his daughters, for in his sonnes hee was not very fortunate.



Soon as it was published that R O D V L P H was chosen, there was great ioy in all the towns and Cities of Germany, and by all men which desired peace and iustice, as well through the desire they had to haue an Emperour, as for that R O D V L P H was a man much esteemed, and the hope they conceived that he would prouea good Prince; for he was held to be a man of great iudgement and very valiant, whereof he had made great prooffe both in peace and warre, in the seruice of F R E D R I C K the Second, who was his God-father, and afterwards in the warre against the King of Bohemia. But the Ambassadors of the King of A L O N S O, and likewise of the King of Bohemia, departed very much discontented from Frankford, making first their protestations. Earle R O D V L P H had

little apprehension thereof when the newes was brought him of his Election, who at that time lay before the City of Basil, besieging the same, wherein were two factions of the Pstici and the Stelleferi, whereof the one had driven the other out of the City: and he tooke vpon him the charge to restore the banished to their houses, with whose ayde, and the ayde of his friends and subiects, he besieged that City: but being aduertised of his election, he came to the Citie of Aken, and there according to the accustomed manner was crowned; whither came Ambassadors from the Princes of Germany to congratulate his election: but neither the

King

King of Bohemia, nor the Duke of Baviere would obey; or hold him for Emperour. What ensued, you shall vnderstand hereafter. After the coronation, he and the Electors sent their Ambassadors to Pope GREGORY the Tenth, who then was at the Court of Avignon in France, who being very glad of his election, confirmed the same, and promised to give him the Imperiall Crowne, if he would come into Italy; but he would neuer go to be crowned in Rome; neither come into Italy: It is written that being demanded wherefore he would not go thither, for as much as he recited one of his excuses, saying that the Lyons king of all other beasts being sick, would have them all come to visit him, and they went to comfort him; but the Fox of purpose staying to be last, and being come to the mouth of the Cane wherein the Lion lay, would not enter; and the cause being demanded, answered, that the most part of the footsteps which he saw, were of such as went in; but he could hardly perceiue that any of them came forth againe; whereby he knew that the most part of them remained food for the sick Lion; wherefore he would not put his life in such hazard. After this manner said R O D V L P H, it befell the Emperours his predecessors, in their iourneys into Italy; for they either died there, or returned with great losse; wherefore vpon this consideration, he would neuer come into Italy to be crowned, which was the cause that many Cities exempted themselves, and became free.

A tale of a Lion

The cause why the Emperour Rodulph would not come into Italy.

The new Emperour through a desire to reforme the estate of the Empire, summoned a Diet in Parliament to be held in the City of Norembergh; whither came all the Princes in person; for as much as could not come, sent their Agents or deputies, excepting the King of Bohemia; and the Duke of Baviere, who neither came nor sent; neither would they acknowledge him for their Emperour: Whereupon R O D V L P H by the consent of all those which were present, prescribed them a certaine time, within which they should discourse and deliuer vp the Lands and possessions which they had vsurped in the time of the Empires vacancie; as well such as appertained to the Empire, as to other particular persons; and charged them to make their appearance within the time limited, in the Citie of Augsburch. The time being expired, and the Emperour being come thither, all came or sent their lawful excuses: And notwithstanding that the Duke of Baviere came not, yet he sent by his Agents, to yeeld his obedience to the Emperour; but in the behalfe of the King of Bohemia it was not so; for he sent his Ambassadors, amongst which was a Bishoppe, to whom publicke audience being giuen, the Bishoppe began a long Oration, wherein he sought to proue, that the election of R O D V L P H was of no effect; and that the King of Bohemia was not bound to yeeld him obedience, neither to acknowledge him for his Lord: Wherewith he and the Princes present were so much displeased, that without permitting him to end his discourse, they commanded him presently to depart: the Court and City; and so he and his associates departed. In that Councell the King of Bohemia was proclaimed a Rebelle and disobedient, and as such, they were to proceed both against him and his estate: The Emperour presently sent the Burgeaue of Norembergh (which is a dignity in Germany) to require him to surrender the Duchy and staires of Austria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Stiria, which he vsurped. But the King neither would, neither had any meaning to do so, and therefore tooke Arms to make resistance: And the Councell being ended, the Emperour likewise leued an Army against him: What ensued, wee will tell you after that we shall haue related what end the King of Castile had in the Empire, which passed in this manner.

ALONSO King of Castile vnderstanding that R O D V L P H of Halsburgh, was chosen Emperour, was very fory; and after many consultations held, and a peace established with the King of Granada, he departed from Spaine, purposing to haue been Emperour, and sent souldiers and other prouision before him, by sea and land to the City of Marselles, for he held the Kings of France and of Naples for his friends and kinmen: and so departing from Castile; accompanied with his brother E M A N U E L, and other great men in the month of March in the year 1275, leaving his eldest sonne HERNANDES Gouverneur in his absence, he came into France, with an intent to haue proceeded on his iourney. What ensued; and how he passed, Histories record not: the effect is, that at the same time the Pope GREGORY having dissolved the general Councell, and returning into Italy, met with King A L O N S O, at a place called Bellocadero, where the King shewed himselfe discontent, for that the Pope (to his prejudice) had consented to the election of an Emperour, he pretending to be already lawfully chosen: but the Pope so excoiled himselfe, and gaue the other so good counsell, that he perswaded him to giue ouer his challenge

Aaa

challenge

Pstici and Stelleferi, two factions in Basil.

The Emperour Rodulph crowned in Aken.

challenge, and returned to *Cassile*, which was greatly furthered, through the newes of the death of his eldest sonne, and of the incursions made into his Countrey by the Mdores, and of the promises of his second son called *Charles*, (who afterwards was King) who then took vpon him the government of the Kingdom, and sought to haue succeeded by depriving the sonnes of *Don Henric*, and by those and other great difficulties wherewith the King was afflicted, he returned into *Italy*; where he afterwards liued in great trouble, for his son *Shaw* rebelled with the Kingdom; only the Cities and Kingdoms of *Sauil* and *Moravia* were faithful vnto him; and about 16 years after he died in *Sauil*, in the year 1284; and the said *Shaw* succeeded him in the Kingdom. Pope *Gregory* after his departure from King *Adolph*, travelling through *Italy* towards *Rome*, died in *Arrezzo*, and in his place was chosen *Peter Tarentius* Cardinal of *Hosina* Dominican frier, and was called *John* to the first: In whose time the truce between the Venetians, and Genoais being expired, cruel war began betweene them: the Pope sought to make peace between them and the other cities in *Tuscane*, *Pisa*, *Florance*, *Lucca*, *Siena*, and the rest which were in arms; King *Charles* of *Naples* also incorporating his authority. But before he could effect it he died, having beene Pope 8 months and two daies only, to whom succeeded *John Bonifaz*, a Cardinal, and was called *Adrian* the first, who was Pope but forty daies: after him was chosen one *Petrus*, born in *Uzbin*, and was called *John* the 12; who was a great Physician, and wrote of Physick; and although he was a great clerk, yet was he nothing expert in governing his charge: so as if he had liued long, he would haue shewed his imperfections, but in the 8 month of his Papacy (he being in *Rueto*) the stroke of a chamberfell vpon him: and although he was taken out alive, yet he was bruized, as he died within 7 daies. He being dead, Cardinal *John Gayetanus* was chosen, and called *Nicholas* the third, with whom, and with all the rest, the Emperor held friendship, whom we left making preparation for his wars against the king of *Bohemia*, which he was constrained to defer for a space; for that *John* Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, and the Marquess of *Baden*, would not (within the time limited) surrender such lands and towns as they had taken; at what time the Empire was void: wherefore he went in person to recover them by force with much trouble and danger: This being done, he marched first with his forces to mole war against the D. of *Bavaria*, for that he performed not what he had sworn by his Ambassadors and Proctors, but aided and favored the K. of *Bohemia*. The Emperor with a mighty Army entering his countrey, slew many of his people, and by force took and ruined some towns, so as he compelled the Duke to submit himselfe. The Emperor marching further, entered *Austria*, which *Otto* the Count had taken, and therein had placed Bohemian garrisons: neuertheless some castles yielded, and others were taken by force; and he afterwards besieged the city of *Vienne*, to the relief whereof, after the siege had lasted the space of 7 weeks, the King of *Bohemia* came with a great power, which he had leuied in his kingdom, and in *Moravia* and other countries: and to the Emperors campe came against him the King of *Hungary*, who was an enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and had taken some towns from him: the two Armies being come, the one neerer the other; and in a readines to haue fought; certain Monks and Friers became mediators between the King and the Emperor, who used such means, that a peace was concluded: and the Emperor pardoned the King, vpon condition that he should presently surrender the estates of *Austria*, *Carinthia*, *Siria*, and *Carniola* to the Emperor; and to the King of *Hungary*, what he had taken from him; and that the Emperor should confirm vnto him the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, and *Moravia*, for which he should come in person to yeeld obedience; and to be sworn after the accustomed manner: All which the King (seeing no other remedy) yeelded to performe, being at the point to haue lost all the rest: but he instantly requested, that he might doe his homage in some secret place; for as he was a very haughty minded man, so did it extremely grieve him to kneele to a man to whom he had given pay; and thinking that the Emperor would haue performed what he requested, forasmuch as he stayed for him in a close Tent, hee came; and kneeling downe before the Emperour to doe him homage, the Tent was so artificially made, that it fell open, in such manner, as he was seene by the whole Army, where with he was much discontented.

This agreement being made, and the King returned into his countrey, he was by his wife the Queene very ill entertained; for being a vaine proud woman, she told him that hee was not worthy the name of a King, neither to weare a crown, since he had lost so great estates without the hazard of one battaile; and had humbled himselfe disarmed, before him who had been his

seruant

seruant; having an Army of so good men to take his part as he had: and since that he had made so shamefull a peace, he should now let her haue his Army, and the would by war recover what he had lost by auoiding it. These his wines speeches, and such like, which she used at other times, added to the sorrow for what he had lost, did so disquiet him, that he repented him of what he had done; and rebelling, meant to wipe away this reproach by Arms: Whereupon he drew his forces to an head, and such places as were not resigned, he repayed, and fortified; and went into *Austria* to recover what he had already surrendered; which he did with such expedition, that he took many places there. When the Emperor vnderstood of the King of *Bohemia*'s proceedings, he with no lesse expedition raised his forces, and with some Princes of the Empire came against him with a great power; who resolutely stayed in the field to giue him battell, which befell vpon the six and twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord, 1277: which battell was sharpe and cruel, and the king in the midst of the troups, being deadly wounded by one *Barold*, a favorite of the Emperors, fell from his horse: Which sudden accident, together with the enemies force, was the cause of his peoples ouerthrow, and that the Emperour being victorious was master of the field; and the King was afterwards found there, as naked as he was born of his Mother.

The Emperour hauing obtained this notable victory, followed not the same with such rigor and cruelty as he might haue done; for the King leauing a sonne called *Wenceslaus*, the Emperor married him to his daughter *Iudith*, and inuested and confirmed him in the kingdoms of *Bohemia* and *Moravia*: and for as much as he was but a child, he gaue the government both of his person and estate, to the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*: and so had *Rodolph* the Duchy of *Austria*, and other estates thereto appertaining, which hee afterwards gaue to his eldest son *Albert*, who in proceesse of time came to be Emperour.

After the war of *Bohemia*, the Emperor sought to settle iustice, and to free the country from theues and rebels, by reason of the late troubles; amongst which, one was so audacious that he shamed not to say that he was the Emperor *Fredrick* the Second, who died in *Italy*, stoutly maintaining himselfe to be the same: the cause whereof was, for that the common people neuer certainly knowe what passeth; and some reported that the Emperour *Fredrick* was not dead but lay hidden. This rumor was so generally diuulged and beleued, that this man gathered so many vnto him, that he took some Cities, and so much troubled the Emperour, that he was constrained to leuie an Army against him, by which this counterfeit *Fredrick* was ouerthrowne and taken prisoner; and afterwards burnt by the Emperors commandement, and the rest of his confederats were severely punished: and so he was generally obeyed. But as for matters of *Italy*, he tooke no care to goe thither in person, but sought to gouerne by his Vicars and Lieutenants, euer maintaining peace with the Popes; contenting himselfe that some Cities in *Lombardy*, and others which acknowledged the Empire, repaired vnto him and paid their customes and tributes, whereof he was very greedy: for in truth, notwithstanding that this Prince was adorned with many great vertues, yet he was much noted and taxed for being couetous and greedy of money, as he afterwards shewed. And in regard of peace betweene him and Pope *Nicholas*, he freely granted to him *Rauenna*, and the other Townes of that gouernement, which the Pope challenged to be the Church inheritance; vniing thereto the City of *Bologna*, which of later time held for the Empire. Pope *Nicholas* hauing the Emperors friendship, and for that he was a Romane borne, was of greater power then any of his predecessors had been; and took from *Charles* King of *Naples* the office of Senator, and made a Law, that from thenceforth no king or Kings sonne should be Senator: he also tooke from him the Lieutenantship for the Church in *Tuscane*, alleging that it was not the Emperors pleasure that he should hold that dignity; and so ialousie and suspition grew betweene them: for it was odious to the Pope to see that *Charles* was of such power; wherefore he procured *Petrus* king of *Arragon*, to make challenge to the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicilia*; affirming that they appertained vnto him, by reason of his marriage with *Constance* daughter to *Manfred* king of *Sicilia*. All this the Pope durst to doe, hauing the fauor and friendship of the Emperour *Rodolph*, whom they knew to be of great power in *Italy*, and obeyed in *Germany*.

About this time the Emperour sent one to be his Lieutenant in *Italy*, whom many Cities received and obeyed, and others would not. At this time also died Pope *Nicholas*, hauing held the sea foure yeers, sauing foure moneths; and vpon some occasion, that Sea was voided five moneths; and then was chosen *Simon* Cardinal, of *S. Sicilie*, a French-man borne, who

A Battelle betwene the Emperour and the King of Bohemia, wherein the Bohemians were ouerthrowne, and their King slain.

A counterfeit Emperour.

The Pope was author of all the warres between the French and Spanish for the Kingdom of Naples.

was called MARTIN the Fourth. In those times, the Popes made their abode in *Viterbo* but he would not be sacred there, but went for that purpose to *Cinilia Velina*, whither came to see him CHARLES King of *Naples*, who (for that they both were French-men) was very joyfully received; and afterwards much favoured; which was in the yeere of our Lord 1281. In the same yeere, the Emperour settled WENCESLAUS King of *Bohemia* (whom he had married with his daughter IVDITH) in the government of his kingdom; free from the tutorship of the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, to whom he had given the same. And the same yeere he had warre with the Countesse of a people called *Ethni*, inhabiting a province in *France* about *Lionois*, who rebelled, and would have made himselfe Lord of *Burgundy*, and of part of *Suenia*; whither he went in person, obtained victory, and left the country in subiection. And returning from his journey, he came into the province of *Alsacia*, where were many factions, and many great men rebelling; disobeyed his commandements: but with his presence all was still and in quiet: so as in all *Germany* he was both obeyed and feared, and reigned in prosperity. But as in this life no estate high or low is free from disasters and misfortunes, so a sonne of his whom he much loved whose name was HARMAN, passing the river of *Rhine*, in a boate, was drowned, together with certain other eminent men, and his wife the Emperesse also died; and about three yeeres after he married again, with the daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*: and so he passed five or six yeeres without any accident worth the writing. In *Italy*, CHARLES, King of *Sicilia* and *Prouence*, being rich and of great power, through the fauor of Pope MARTIN, had a concite to haue deposed MICHAEL PALOLOOVS, and to haue restored BALDVIN to the Empire of *Constantinople*; who marrying his daughter, was deputed: and although hee pretended this title, yet it was thought that he would haue had the Empire for himselfe.

This being done, he thought to haue recovered the kingdom of *Ierusalem*, whereof he intituled himselfe King: whereupon he practised with the Pope, perswading him to excommunicate PALOLOOVS, for that he had not obserued what was decreed in the Councell lately held at *Lions*, whither he came to Pope GEORGE the Tenth, concerning the vniing of the Greeke Church with the Latine. He had also intelligence with certain Cities in *Gracia* which rebelled against PALOLOOVS, and began to provide men and gallies for that enterprise. But all these purposes were frustrate: for whilst he sought to depose another from his Empire, he within few daies lost great part of his owne: for all the Cities in *Sicilia*, vnable to endure the violence and oppression vsed by the French, rose and rebelled, and slew all the French-men which were in the Island, in two houres space: hauing first had intelligence with PETER King of *Arragon*, who lay in waite for *Sicilia* (vnder this title, that he married the daughter of King MANFRED) and came in great haste with a flecte of fifty gallies and ships, sailing that he had rigged the same, to haue passed over into *Africa*; and so became Lord of the whole Island. Afterwards there were great wars between them both by sea and land, during which, King CHARLES falling sick, of an infirmity and of sorrow, died; leaving his eldest son CHARLES prisoner, in the power of PETER King of *Arragon*. Pope MARTIN sent his Legate to *Naples*, to hold that kingdom in subiection to CHARLES who was in prison, whom he proclaimed to be his fathers heire and successor: the French King sent also to the same effect. Finally, at this time the Kingdom of *Sicilia* was diuided from the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the King of *Arragon* held the same; and afterwards followed other alterations. Returning to my History, I say that the Emperour RODOLPH, through the counsell of HONORIVS the Fourth, who succeeded Pope MARTIN, in the yeere of our Lord 1286, sent for his Lieutenant-generall, an Italian Earle called PINGNAGLIA di *Fisico* (a man very priuate with the Pope) who coming into *Tuscane*, *Florence*, and many other Cities which were of the faction of the Guelphs, would not obey him; and there passed many treaties and demands; but in the end, he hauing made his protestations, and condemned some cities, returned into *Germany*: and the Emperour sent thither another Lieutenant, who (hauing commission) gaue care to certain cities, which offered to compound for money; and so by the Emperours consent, *Florence*, *Luca*, *Fisa*, and some others, bought their liberty, whereby the Emperour gat little honor; notwithstanding that in all the rest he was a good, a valiant, and a prudent Prince: but the greediness of money, and his resolution not to come into *Italy*, made him to vse this baseness.

In those daies, EBERARD Earle of *Wittenbergh*, being assisted by some other Princes, rebelled: but the Emperour entering his countrie, besieged him in a strong Castle, and compelling him to sue for mercy, at the entreaty of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, he pardoned him: and although that he afterwards made some alterations, yet in the end he persued in his seruice.

At this time died in *Rome* HONORIVS the Fourth, hauing been Pope two yeeres and one moneth, and after his death the chaire was void ten moneths; and then was chosen the Cardinal of Saint *Sabina*, a Frier, and Generall of S. FRANCIS Order, called NICHOLAS.

All this while the Emperour RODOLPH governed *Germany* in peace; yet in the prouince of *Turinge*, many insolencies and robberies were committed, by reason of the factions and contentions, betweene the Lords of the Castles there: wherefore the Emperour called a Diet to be held in the citie of *Esfordia*; and by the consent of the Princes, made thre score Castles in that prouince to be throwne downe, and laid leuell with the earth, whereby he brought all *Germany* into quiet subiection; which continued so, vntill his death, which was within a little while after. So as it cannot be denied, but that this Emperour was a good Prince, and a prudent gouernour, both in peace and in warre, and in all things (wherein hee would intermeddle, which was but in *Germany* onely) desiring as a wise Prince to rule and gouerne the same well, rather then to seeke to subdue *Italy*, and other countries, and so to lose both the one and the other; and to avoid contention with the Popes, which in *Italy* he could not elchue. One thing made his reignie infortunat, which was the losse of the Holy land; the Christians losing all the cities which they held in *Soria*, and *Palestina*: for the Souldan of *Egypt* being Lord of *Ierusalem*, seeing the warres betweene the cities of *Italy*, and the Christian Kings of *Arragon*, and of *Naples*; and also betweene the Kings of *England* and of *France*; came with a great Army of foote and horse, and besieging the citie of *Tripoli* in *Soria*, took the same by force: and presently did the like by the cities of *Tyre*, *Sidon*, and *Briis*, with their confines; which he destroying, slew and captiuated an infinite number of people. The Christians which escaped, retrying themselves by sea and land to the citie of *Ptolomida*, whither came the King of *Cyprus*, the Masters and Knights Templars, of S. JOHN, and of the Duch order, together with the Patriarch of *Ierusalem*; they fell there at variance amongst themselves, who should be Gouernour, and haue the command: which the Souldan vnderstanding, and a certaine truce which he had granted them being expired, he came with 150000 men before the citie; and taking and destroying all the countie round about it, sent his sonne with his whole power to besiege the citie: who continued the siege, notwithstanding that his father died in the meane season.

After fundrie accidents which happened, the greatest part of those which were in the citie, abandoning the same, fled by sea; and neere to the coast of *Cyprus* were overtaken with such a tempest, that the greatest part of them were cast away and drowned: and the next day, the Souldan entering the citie (some few which had no meanes to depart, being left to defend the same) commanded first all those which he found therein, to be slaine; and then the citie to be ruined, leaving no house or wall standing: and so the Christians were wholly expelled out of all which GOFFREY of *Buillon* and other Christian Princes had gotten 196 yeeres before: which was in the yeere of our Lord 1290: for which as soone as it was published in *Europe*, the Emperour, the Pope, and generally all the Princes Christian were very forie; knowing that by reason of the wars betweene them, those countries could not be relieved.

The next yeere after this, the Emperour falling fore sicke, was carried to the citie of *Spire*, accompanied with the Emperesse and his sonne in law, the King of *Bohemia* and his Queene, the Duke of *Bauiere*, and many other Princes: and dyed the same day that hee came to the citie. This Prince may well be accounted for one of the most valiant and excellent of the world; for that being but a meane Lord, and finding the Empire diuided, rent, and tyrannized, without an Emperour, and at libertie, for many yeeres space, he pacified and brought the same fully into subiection and obedience, and maintaining iustice and equitie therein, left the same in peace. His house and estate he so much encreased, that he left to his sonne ALBERT, the Duchies of *Austrich*, and *Carniola*. He was twice married: first with a Countesse of *Suenia* called ANNE; whom he made Lord of part of *Suenia*, who was father to JOHN the paricide, who slew his vnkle, as hereafter you shall vnderstand. He had also (as writeth JOHN CUSPINTIAN) seuen daughters, which he married to mightie Princes: the first was EVELMIA, which was a Nunne; the second was IVDITH, married to WENCESLAUS King of *Bohemia*; the third was MARY, married to the Count Palatine of *Rhine*; the fourth was YNE, married to the Duke of *Saxony*; the fifth was KATHERINE, married to HARMAN Marquis of *Brandenburgh*; the sixth was ANNE, married with OTTO Duke of *Bauiere*; the seventh and last was

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called

The last of the Holy Land.

The Emperour Rodolph dyed in this yeere 1291.

The Frenchmen slaine in the Ile of Sicilia.

Florence, Luca, &c. Pisa bought their freedom of the Emperour Rodolph the first.

called CLEMENCE, and was married to CHARLES the Second, King of Naples; from which issued great Kings and Princes.

The same yeere that the Emperor RODOLPH died, MICHAEL PALEOLOGVS Emperour of Constantinople died also, and his sonne ANDRONICVS had the Empire: and the next yeere following died Pope NICHOLAS, having bin so foureyeres, and through discord betwene the Cardinals, that Sea was void two yeeres and three moneths.



THE LIFE OF ADVLPH, ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND THE HUNDRETH AND FOURTH RO- MAN EMPEROR.

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THE ARGUMENT.

A L L men thought, after the death of the Emperor Rodolph, that the Electors would have chosen his sonne Albert: but, through the cunning of the Bishop of Mentz, Adulph Earle of Nassau was chosen which, Albert disdain (with the aid of the French King) bare Arms against him, purposing to depose him. Heir to the Electors consented, and repented that they had chosen him, deprived himself the Empire, and chose Albert; who, going to be crowned in Aken, came to a battle with Adulph, and slew him.



A policy used
by the Archbi-
shop of Mentz.

He Empire, through the death of the Emperour RODOLPH, being void, all men were of opinion that this sonne ALBERT Duke of Austria should have succeeded him: and (in a manner) all the Princes Electors desired the same. But GERARD, Archbishop of Mentz (which was one of them) used such policy, that at the Princes meeting at Frankford, he (cunningly) got their voices, and made ADVLPH, Earle of Nassau, who was his neer kinsman to be chosen. The mean which he used was this: Hee having already gotten to this effect the Archbishop of Colen voice, used the same policy in obtaining the rest of their voices. First, conferring with the Duke of Saxony, he told him that he had some of the Electors voices to chuse the Duke of Brunswick (who was his great enemy) but yet he would forbear to do it, if he would give him his voice. The Duke fearing that this had been true (for, he had heard that the Bishop of Colen, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, had granted their voices to the Bishop of Mentz) perswaded him not to consent thereto, for if he did, it would be his ruine if he were chosen: so as whosoever were chosen (were it not the Duke of Brunswick) he should have his voice presently.

The Duke of Saxony being thus deceived, with the like wile he gat the voices of the Archbishop of Treuier, and of the Count Palatine of Rhine; propounding in secret, to the Count Palatine

time

time, the King of Bohemia, and to the Bishop of Treuier, the Duke of Gueldres; whereto each of them answered him, that if he were not chosen whom hee named unto them, they would give him their voices: this they did, supposing that he would have chosen ALBERT the Duke of Austria, for so hee made shew in outward appearance: so as by this device hee gat all their voices, the one not knowing what the other had done: and the Marquis of Brandenburg promised him his voice also, for that he had fauoured him in the controuersie betwene the vnicle, and the nephew, Marquises, whether of them should be Elector: so as the day of the election being come, they all referring their opinions to the Archbishop of Mentz, by common consent the Earle of Nassau was chosen; whereto they all marvelled, as well for that they expected that ALBERT should haue bin chosen, as also for that ADVLPH was a man of meane estate, and of too poore a reuenue to maintaine the imperiall dignitie; notwithstanding that for his owne person hee was valiant, greatly esteemed, and held for an excellent man of warre: but as his reuenues were small, he presently began to be held in contempt, especially by the Duke of Austria and his adherents.

Adulph Earle
of Nassau chosen
for Emperor.

ADVLPH being thus chosen, by means of the Bishop of Mentz, and of his other friends and kindred, went to Aken, and there was crowned with great solemnitie; and then called a Councell to be held in a citie in Suenia: and from thence, (for that there were then great wars betwene the Kings of England and of France) hee sent to offer his ayd to the king of England against the French King; and the King of England lent him a great summe of money, to the end that with an Army he should in person haue come to his ayd; wherewith the Princes of the Empire seemed to be much grieued, alleaging that it was a great dishonour to the Empire, that the Emperour should take pay of any forraigne Prince: and the Duke of Austria said, that seeing the Emperour receiued pay of the king of England, he might as well take pay of the French king. The Emperour hauing receiued this money, and knowing that the Lantzgrau of Turinges sons made war upon their father, hee went in person to ayd the Lantzgrau; who to obtaine his fauour, and for the hatred which he bare against his sonnes, sold to him the Earldome of Turin-gia, for part of the money which the King of England had giuen him. It seemes the Author was not truly informed of this historie: and therefore (for that it is a memorable action) I will borrow so much liberty as to set it downe as I finde it in an approoued Author. ALBERT Lantzgrau of Turinge, married MARGVRRIT daughter to the Emperour FREDERICK the Second, a very vertuous Lady, by whom he had two sonnes FREDERICK and TICHEMAN: ALBERT fell so passionately in loue with a strumper, as he sought his wifes death, who being aduised by her wife and faithful friends to flee the furie of her wicked husband, retyred by night out of his Castle, and got to Brackford, where spending some yeeres in mourning and deuotion in a Nonnerie, she dyed. Soon after the Mothers escape, DITTRICH Marquis of Misnia, brother to ALBERT, a wife and a iust Prince, called the two sons to his Court, lest they should be spectators of their fathers villanie, and also to free them from daunger, breeding them vp ver-mously in the feare of God. This Marquis had one son who dyed, and therefore being loth his brother should succede him, and fearing that he would chase away his children, for that he more respected a base son, as also for that he hated his conditions, he made his wil, by the which he adoped his brothers sons, and made them heires of Misnia: and calling together the principall men of the prouince, hee acquainted them with his testament and the reasons thereof, requiring them to protect his heires, which they promised, and not to receiue any other Lord.

The Emperour
Adulph offered
to serue the
the King of En-
gland in his
warres against
the French.

DITTRICH being dead and the heires in possession and much beloued of their subjects for their vertues, the father ALBERT challenged the estate, as his brothers next heir: but the estates of the countrie would not accept of him, saying that they had allowed of DITTRICH's piete and the reasons of his last will, and that they would defend them who were recommended to their protection. ALBERT flies to armes, and in the beginning took his eldest son FREDERICK whom he kept in prison a yeere: but his keepers pitying the young mans estate, assisted him in his escape.

The Emperour RODOLPH being dead, who had inioyned them to peace, ADVLPH succeeding, ALBERT takes Armes againe, and to ingage him in this warre, he fels him Turin-gie, to deprive his heires: so as the warres grew hot in Misnia both during the six yeeres raigne of ADVLPH, and in the time of ALBERT of Austria his successor, but God protected the brethren and expelled the Emperours Army both out of Turingia and Misnia.

The Emperour ALBERT put FREDERICK in hope of peace, but finding Misnia and Turingia

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Turingia fit for him to make warres against the Bohemian, he deceiued **FREDERICK** and entred the Countrie with an Armie. They write that **FREDERICK** was called to a counter-fet treatie; where being inuited to a banquet by the Emperour, a souldier steep forth with his sword, drawne to strike **FREDERICK**, but a Citizen of *Strasbourg*, being among the guard, receiued the blow that he might escape. The Emperour excused himselfe: yet all men thought that he had suborned the murderere.

TICMAN the younger brother was soon after treacherously wounded in a Church at *Lipsie*, on Christmas eue at night being at his deuotion, and died within two daies after; It was thought that **PHILIP** of *Nassau* had employed this murderere, of whom **FREDERICK** vowed to be reuenged, and meeting him in a battaile, he slew him with his owne hand.

ALBERT the father a breaker of wedlock, cruell to his wife and children, who furiously drew ruine vpon himselfe and his Countie, suffered bitter punishment by the Iustice of God, dying in extreame want and contempt in the yeare 1315.

The Emperour spent two yeeres in those warres, desiring to aduance his house, and to enlarge his possessions, as he did: and this time being expired, he desiring to satisfie the King of *England*, and being vnable to perform the same (for, the Princes were much discontented for that hee gaue them no part of the gold which the King of *England* lent him) open enmity brake out between him and the Duke of *Austria*: and the Duke practised with the other Princes to depose him from the Empire, by the consent of the same Archbishop of *Mentz* who had chosen him; so as the Emperour **ADVLPH** was of no such power or authority as was his Predecessor: and men began to stand in fear of what afterwards ensued. While these matters passed in *Germany*, which were of great moment, I will tell you what passed in *Italy*, touching the Papacy: which was in this manner;

At the end of two yeeres and three months after the death of Pope **NICHOLAS** the Fourth, in all which time he had no successor, in *Perugia* (whither the Cardinals repayed to make their election) was chosen a very zealous man, who was both a Monke and an Hermite, called **PETER MURON**; who thinking himselfe to haue bin called of God accepted the Popedom, and was named **CELESTINE** the Fifth: in his beginning (as it was written) he was so highly honoured, that vpon the day of his sacrificing, there came to *Perugia* (as to lea wonder) 200000. persons: but as this man had wholly secluded himself from the world, and giuen himself to contemplation and prayer; so the world could not well like of him, nor of his fashions; neither knew he how to deale in the world, for his small vnderstanding, and lesse experience in worldly matters; which was the occasion that he gaue credit to what was told him; by meanes whereof he did sometimes one thing contrary to another: whereupon some of the Cardinals cunningly counselled and perswaded him to renounce the Papacie, whereto this good man willingly agreed, accounting himselfe incapable of that charge, and so oftentimes protested, and in conclusion (notwithstanding that **CHARLES** King of *Naples* would haue hindred him, and to that end induced him to come to *Naples*) did so, and in a solemne act renounced the Popedom; five months after that he had accepted the same: and vpon his renunciation, was chosen Cardinal **BENEDICT**, who was called **BONIFACE** the Eighth, who was the man which chiefly perswaded **CELESTINE** to renounce the Papacy: and this deuout man being about to returne to his hermitage, **BONIFACE** fearing that the people would againe haue restored him, made him to be apprehended and detained in prison vntill he dyed, which was within short space after: whose successor **BONIFACE** was farre vnlike vnto him, for he was ambitious, proud, factious, and a great persecutor of the Gibelins, yet very learned, politique, subtil, and of great experience; whose end was such as hereafter wee will tell you.

Returning to the Emperour **ADVLPH**, vnderstanding that the Duke of *Austria* practized against him, and sought to depriue him of the Empire, he made warre against him, to whom the French king vnder hand gaue secret ayd, to the end that the Emperour should not be able to ioyne with the King of *England* against him, as he purposed to haue done.

Vpon this occasion all *Germany* was in combustion, some holding with one partie, and some with the other: and **ADVLPH**'s friends daily forsooke him, through his vnequall cariage towards them, for in his fauours he was partiall, a thing which maketh Princes to be hated: by meanes whereof **ALBERT**'s party became so strong, that the Princes Electors (excepting the Archbishop of *Treuer*, and the Count Palatine of *Rhine* who would not be there) met in the citie of *Mentz*, where alleaging such reasons as they thought good (which in my iudgement were

were very insufficient) they depriued **ADVLPH** of the Empire, and chose his enemie **ALBERT**; who with the greatest and most flourishing power that he could procure, of his owne, and of his friends, went to be crowned in *Aken*: whom **ADVLPH** (who was not a coward, or any way pusillanimous, notwithstanding that his power was vnequall) went to meet: and the two Armies ioyning nere the citie of *Wormes*, in the month of Iuly in the yeere of our Lord 1308, there began between them a most cruell and bloody battaile; the despaire wherewith **ADVLPH** and those of his party fought, making their inequality equall. The battaile continued about six houres, either party fighting most cruellly, before that it could be perceived whether Army should haue the victorie; and each General hauing lost great part of his people: **ADVLPH** fighting with his face against the sunne (which did greatly annoy him) in the midst of the throng where the fight was most cruell, was in a great charge ouerthrowne from his horse, whither (by chance) came his enemy **ALBERT**, who (before that he could be able to avoid his thrust) with the point of his sword gaue him so great a wound in the face, that it be-yeaued him of his senses, so that he was slaine in the place. Some write, that whilst that he was in this fight, **ALBERT** cried vnto him alowd; Here **ADVLPH** shalt thou lose the Empire; whereto he answered, This (**O ALBERT**) is in the hand of God.

As soone as the Emperour was slaine, and being perceived by his souldiers, they (without making any more resistance) were ouerthrowne, and **ALBERT** remained victor, although it cost him deere, for a great number of his men were slaine and wounded. In this manner was this Emperour murdered by the hands of a Prince subiect to the Empire; in the seventh yeere of his raigne: whether the cause mouing him thereto were right or wrong, I leaue to God, who is the righteous iudge; but the reasons which they alleaged, were that he took pay of the King of *England*, wherewith he was grown so proud, that he caused a Masse priest to be beheaded; that he had caused false money to be coyned, and had degraded certaine Ecclesiasticall persons: that he had forced certaine damfels: and such others which they alleaged: which whether they were true or false, it pleased GOD that hee dyed in this manner. Some authors write that all those which conspired against him, and were accessarie to his death, had euill endes: how **ALBERT** sped, I will tell you hereafter.

Of **ADVLPH**'s sonnes small mention is made, excepting one who with many Earles was taken prisoner in the Battaille, and the Duke of *Bauire* escaped by flight; other men of great account in this cruell battaile were slaine. In *Constantinople*, **ANDRONICVS**, sonne to **MICHAEL PALOLOGVS**, was Emperour.

A battaile betwixt the Emperour **ADVLPH** and **ALBERT** Duke of *Austria*.

The Emperour **ADVLPH** slaine.



THE LIFE OF ALBERT, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND FIFT RO- MAN EMPEROR.

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THE ARGVMENT.

ALBERT would not accept of his first election: but **Adolph** being dead, he caused it to be renewed, and was confirmed by the Pope, who was easily drawne to confirme him, so the end he should make warre open to the French King: which he would not doe, neither enere came into *Italy*. *Germany* then enjoyed peace, and it was his first battaile he ever had the victory by reason whereof he was called **Albertus Triumphans**. Many notable matters happened in his time, as the translating of the pontificall seate from *Rome*

Pope Celestine the Fifth renounced the Papacy.

Rome to Anisio; the saluerfion of the Knights called Templars; the beginning of the house of the Ottomans in Turkey, and many other things worth the reading. He died unfortunately through the conspiracie of a nephew of his who flew him nere to the Rhine, in the tenth yeare of his reigne.



Albert Duke of Austria, the second time chosen Emperor.

And the chief right to Kingdoms and Empires many times consisteth in Arms: for ALBERT (who was, as it hath been often recited, sonne to the Emperor RODOLPH, Duke of Austria, and Lord of other estates) remaining victor, and the Emperor ADOLPH (who was his riuall) being dead, he finding no man in field to make head against him, remained sole Emperor. But forasmuch as his election was made in the time of the Emperor ADOLPH, in discord (many contradicting the same) hee sought to legitimate and assure his estate. For which cause (accompanied with many Princes) he went vnto the City of Frankford: where, in the presence of the Princes Electors assembled, he renouncing his first election, and holding the Empire for void, was the second time by common consent chosen Emperor; and from thence went to Aken to be crowned, together with his wife ISABEL, daughter to the Earl of Tirol and of Carinthia, by whom he had many children, whose brother married ALBERT's sister. Which Coronation was performed with great solemnity, and so many repaired thither to see the same, that vpon the coronation day there was so great a throng and prease of people, that the Duke of Saxony (who married another of the Emperors sisters) and many others were smothered to death, and no man could rescue them; which was a great disgrace to the Feast.

After this Coronation, a Diet or Councell was held in Norembergh, wherein he took order for such matters as appertained to the Empire: and thence sending his Ambassadors to Pope BONIFACE, he gaue him to understand of his election, and intreated him to confirme the same; which the Pope at that time would not grant, but like a proud priest (as it is written) answered, that he was not worthy the Empire who had murdered the Emperor. But hee shortly after confirmed him: for, as this Pope was of an high minde and presumptuous, so vpon some occasion which hapned (which I haue no time to relate) he fell at such oddes with PHILIP the French King, that the King apprehended a Bishop which was his Ambassador: and such other matters passed between them, that the Pope summoned a Councell to proceed against the King of France; who would not permit any his subiects to sue to the Court of Rome, neither to carry or send any rents or reuenues to the same. Whereupon the Pope, meaning to vse the Emperors aid against the French King, very willingly confirmed his election; and perswading him to take vpon him the title of King of France, he promised to deprime the King, and to giue him the Kingdom: about which matters were many treaties, and in the end the Pope pronounced Sentence against the French King; whereby he deprimed him of his Kingdom, and gaue the same to the Emperor. Heerein is great difference between the Historiographers: for, they report this after sundry manners. But the truth is, that the Emperor was the Kings friend, and had married his eldest sonne RODOLPH, whom he had made Duke of Austria, to the Kings daughter BLANCH: for which cause, or for some other (for, many are alleaged) he accepted not the title to the Crown of France; but was contented with his confirmation in the Empire, wherein (following his fathers counsell) he raigned in prosperitie, without any desire to go into Italy; and so neuer went thither.

The hatred betwixt the Pope and the King so much increased, that the King, deadly hating the Pope, practised with a Noble-man of Rome, whose name was SARRA, of the house and family of the COLVMOIS (who was Lord of many Towns and Castles, and was of the faction of the Gibelins) whom the Pope had banished: for this cause hee abode in France, and was highly fauoured in the French Court. The conclusion was, that this Lord should apprehend the Pope; which he undertook, vnto such means as you shall hear. This Lord SARRA COLVMOIS, hauing many friends of the faction of the Gibelins in Albania, where the Pope was then resident (for, it was his natie Countrey) departed France disguised, hauing first agreed with a Captain called NOGARBY, to lodge himself with two hundred souldiers in a place which he had appointed; and he himself went into Albania, where hauing secret conference with

with his friends, he shewed them the French Kings Letters and fauours; and so carried the matter, that one day he assaulted the Popes Palace, and took him prisoner, and presently took his way with him towards Rome; which he entered with the aid of the Gibelins, and of his owne family of the COLVMOIS, which lived there. But the Pope within five and thirty daies after died, hauing been Pope the space of eight yeers and nine months, which was in the yeer of our Lord 1302.

In this manner ended the high designs of Pope BONIFACE, who wrote the first booke of the Decretals. What the Lord SARRA meant to haue done with him, is unknowne, yet it is written that he purposed to haue carried him into France, which hee then could not, or durst not put in execution. After that BONIFACE was dead, NICHOLAS Cardinall of Hostia was chosen, and was called BANCIOT the Eleventh, who was born in Treuigi, and was a Dominican Friar.

While these matters passed in Italy and France, ALBERT raigned happily in Germany: but in Hungary were great combutions about the title to that Kingdom: for, ANDREW their King dying without issue, VENCESLAVS, son to the King of Bohemia, aspired to that Kingdom; and afterwards, OTHO Duke of Baviere, and CHARLES, sonne to the King of Naples; but in the end CHARLES was King, and VENCESLAVS inherited Bohemia, which was his fathers inheritance, who was of the same name: but hee prouoed to be so wicked (notwithstanding that he was but a yong man) that his subiects, conspiring against him, slue him in a City of Moravia. And forasmuch as he also had no issue, the like controuersie aroose in Bohemia, as was in Hungary, notwithstanding that he left a sister whose name was ISABEL; which the Emperor ALBERT vnderstanding, he resolved to procure her for his sonne RODOLPH, by reason of a certain couenant and agreement made between the houses of Austria and Bohemia; which was, that the one wanting heirs, the heirs of the other should succeed in the estate. But the greatest part of the Bohemians resolved to chuse a Lord of their owne nation for their King, whose name was HENRY, who was Earl of Carinthia and of Tirol, and was the Emperors brother-in-law: neuertheless there was euer some dislike and discord between them; and HENRY, desiring to raige, without any intermission halted into Bohemia, and there was receiued and obeyed for King. But the Emperor, presently leuying an Army, entered the Countrey with so great power, that HENRY durst not abide his coming; and he put his sonne RODOLPH in possession (who was a widower, hauing buried the French Kings daughter); and the better to assure him, and to make him the more acceptable to the Bohemians, he married him to the widow ISABEL, late wife to VENCESLAVS deceased: which took such effect, that he was presently obeyed by all men, and began to raige in peace. But it pleased not God that he should long enioy that Kingdom: for, within fewe months after, when he was tired from all his enemies, he died suddenly in the yeer of our Lord 1306. By reason whereof, the old discord and contention was renewed, some desiring to haue the deposed HENRY, Earl of Carinthia, and others would haue FREDERICK, the Emperors second sonne, to beech their King. But the Earl HENRY's party being the stronger, he was receiued and established in the Kingdom: which the Bohemians did so willingly, that the Emperor (within fewe daies after) coming thither in person with a mighty Army to haue preferred his sonne FREDERICK; they all so resolutely serued their new King, that, after much harm done in the Countrey, the Emperour was forced to return without effecting what he came for, seeing how constantly the Bohemians stood to their defense. In which warres and others, which he first had with the Emperour ADOLPH and other Princes, it is written, that he fought in person twelue severall times, and in them all had the victory, and therefore was called ALBERTVS Triumphant.

In the time of this Emperor ALBERT, Pope CLEMENT the Fifth, leauing three Cardinals to govern Rome, removed his seat from thence to Anisio in France, where he and his successors made their abode for the space of seueny and odd yeers, whereof ensued many inconveniences. In the beginning of the Emperor ALBERT's Raige, in Asia the lesse began the Empire and dominion of the great Turk, which is now so mighty and powerfull: the head and fount of which Empire was one OTTOMAN, of the same nation; a man of base parentage, but of a great spirit, and very politick; who of a small beginning grew to bee so mighty, and brought so many nations to his seruice and subiection, that he conquered many Countries, and made himself a King, and laid the foundation of that Empire, which his successors haue from time to time enlarged, and brought to that estate wherein we see it at this day: and from him is descended in line masculine, to the great Turk now rainging, in the yeer of our Lord 1604.

Pope Boniface apprehended by Santa Columa.

The death of the King of Bohemia.

The Pope removed his seat from Rome to Anisio, in France. The beginning of the Turkish Empire, anno 1307.

The Pope deprimed the King of France by his censures, and gaue his Kingdom to the Emperor.

In the tenth year of the Emperor ALBERT's Raigne, which was in the year 1307, the Knights of the Order of S. JOHN took the Ile of *Rhodes* from the Infidels, where they made their seat and principall residence, and therefore were afterwards called Knights of the *Rhodes*; and performed many maruels in Arms both by sea and land, untill (in our time) that Iland was taken by SOLIMAN the great Turk, who conquered the same.

In the time of the Emperor ALBERT, in *Lombardy* neer to *Nouarra*, began a sect of Hereticks, which vnder colour of Religion and charity, made all things common: and women in like manner moued men to carnall conjunction, alleging it to bee a deed of charity; and did many other things. This error dispersed it self into sundry parts, and many thousands of people followed the same. But the Pope and other Princes vsed such diligence in punishing these Hereticks, that in the end it was suppressed, yet not without great difficulty.

In the time of the Emperor ALBERT's Raign, the Heluecians (now called *Swissers*) began to bee famous: all which ioyning together, made a league to enfranchise themselves, and to defend their liberty, and gouerned and ruled their state by their Heads or Cantons; which they haue maintained untill this day, and haue done many singular feats of Arms against the Dukes of *Austria* and other Princes; and from that time hitherto haue been accounted for a very valiant Nation.

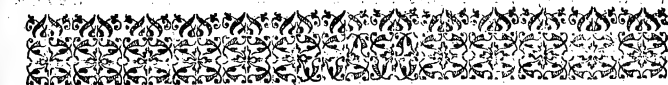
Towards the end of this Emperors Raign, Pope CLEMENT, by the counsell and consent of the King of *France*, dissolued the whole Order of the Knights Templars, and condemning their bodies, confiscated their goods; which were of so great value throughout all Christendom, that what was taken from them, was sufficient to haue enriched many Princes, and the other Orders of Knights whereunto they were applied. In his time also *Sardinia* was taken by the Moors: which Iland Pope CLEMENT bestowed vpon the King of *Sicilia*, to the end that hee should recover the same.

About the end of the tenth year of this Emperors Raign, hee hauing leuied great forces to haue gone into *Bohemia*, with an intent to haue made his sonne FRIDERICK King, wherein then reigned HARRY, Earl of *Carinthia*; a nephew of his, beeing his brother RODOLPH's sonne, whose name was JOHN, through secret hatred which hee conceived against him for not giuing him any estate (he withholding from him in *Sueuia*, what to him by inheritance from his father appertained) resolved to kill him: and vpon this occasion, conspiring with other Barons, which were RODOLPH, VLERICH and WALTER, in the month of April, in the year 1308, the Emperor being in *Austria*, purposing the next day to haue passed the Riuer of *Rhine*; he after dinner for his pleasure taking horse, and riding ouer the ploughed fields between two little riuers called *Rifa* and *Arula*, neer to the *Rhine*, accompanied onely by these conspirators, who were his great Familiars; his nephew JOHN with his confederates, and others which followed him for the same purpose, getting before him, RODOLPH laid hand vpon his horses bridle: his nephew JOHN stabd him in the throat; and VLERICH with a blowe claued his head; and therewith wounded him, some with blowes, some with thrusts, so as he was soon slain: and the murderers, setting spurs to their horses, left the miserable Emperor dead in the place; in which, his sonne the Duke of *Austria* afterwards built a stately Monastery: his body was carried to *Spire*. The conspirators were fought out by his sonnes, and most of them found and put to death. This death was reputed to happen in this manner to him through the iust iudgement of God, for killing his Predecessor the Emperor ADOLPH: the truth is knowne vnto God onely, who orders all things according to his good pleasure. All that I can say, is, that the highest estates are in least safety, and most subiect to danger both bodily and ghostly. What appertaineth to the soules hard to be proued, for that it is secret, whereof God onely can iudge: but, as it appereth, in great estates liberty to sin maketh it doubtfull, and mens weakness is alike as well in the great as in the small; which is an argument of the greater danger, as our Saviour plainly expresth in the Gospell; wherein he sheweth how hardly rich men inherit the Kingdom of heauen: wherefore great Princes ought to be circumspect concerning bodily dangers. I will not wearie the Reader with other examples: those shall suffice which I haue written of Emperors; on whom (as I haue declared) there is no kinde of death that hath not befallen. And, to the contrary, in many mean estates we finde not any that in many yeers space haue died of a violent death, but that most men of mean fortune haue died naturally: but pride and ambition do so blinde mens eyes, that what is most hatefull is most desired; and we euer seek to attain to that wherein is greatest danger: yet some haue been of so good an vnderstanding, that they would not accept, but haue refused Empires and dominions when they haue been offered them,

although the number be but small. But returning to the Emperor ALBERT, he had by ELIZABETH his wife one and twenty children, sonnes and daughters, whereof tenne died in their infancy: and his eldest sonne RODOLPH died in his time King of *Bohemia*; so as when the Emperour ALBERT died, he left fise sons, and as many daughters: his daughters names were ELIZABETH, ANNE, GVTTA, KATHARINE and ISS, all which were married to sundry Princes: his sons names were FRIDERICK, LEOPOLD, HENRY, ALBERT and OTHO, which OTHO married the Duchesse of *Bauiera*, all which (after the German manner) were called Dukes of *Austria*, which causeth a great confusion in histories; but the house of *Austria* rested in ALBERT, who (for that he had the gowt) was called the lame; and was the item & original of the house of *Austria*, from whom are descended his successors.

At what time as the Emperor ALBERT was slaine, ANDRONICVS was Emperour of *Constantinople*: of whom I finde little written, and therefore make no particular relation of him.

Pope CLEMENT the Fifth making his aboad in *Auinion*, gouerned *Rome* and his estates of *Italy*, by his Legates; by reason whereof, and of the Emperours long absence, many cities in *Italy* took for their Lords, the heads and leaders of their factions, which they possessed a long time, and to this day some remaine, which of tyrants, haue in proceesse of time made themselves absolute Lords; as in *Perona*, those of the house of *SCALA*, in *Ferrara*, the house of *EST*, extending it selfe afterwards to *Modena*, whose descendents at this day enioy that estate; in *Padua* those of *CARRARA*; in *Mantua* the *PASSERINI* were expelled by the *GONZAGHI*, who afterwards were, and to this day are, great Lords: and others in other parts,



THE LIFE OF HENRIE, THE SEVENTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SIXT RO- MANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGUMENT.

Henry being chosen by the Electors was confirmed by the Pope, with an insinuation that hee should come into *Italy*, by reason of much discord which was there: the French King was greatly displeased with his election, for that he pretended to haue been Emperour. The first enterprise he took in hand was against the King of *Bohemia*, and against the Earle of *Wintzenberg*, against both which he had good success: he came afterwards into *Italy*, as well to satisfy the Pope, as to visit the Countries vnder his iurisdiction: hauing past the Alpes he found no great resistance by reason of the factions in *Rome*, where he was crowned with more aduantage than hee expected; the Citie being divided betweene the Colonnels and the Priests, who daily fought together. The Florentines would not yield vnto him, nor lose their liberty: and hauing endured a long siege, in conclusion they defended themselves bravely, so as the Emperour changing his minde went to the conquest of *Naples*, and while he made preparation for the same he was poisoned, and dyed in *Buen Comento*, leaving *Italy* in greater combustion then before. Hee reigned seven yeeres.

Ruly I coniecture, that in writing the life of the Emperour ALBERT, I haue made too long a digression, by reason of the recital of other matters which happened in his time: but yet neuertheless I did it, for that I was briefe in writing his life; holding it necessary, to the end the rest may be the better vnderstood, and to explaine what is already sayd: and also for that the accidents were notable, if it was not fit to passe them ouer in silence. The Emperour ALBERT being slaine through the treason of his Nephew JOHN, and his death being generally published, his sons sought reuenge, and to get his goods and estates, and some of them to haue the Empire.

The princes Electors, to make choise of a new Emperour, retired themselves (according to custome)

custom to the city of *Frankford*. By the translation of the Popes seate from *Rome* to *Avignon*, the French conceived no small hope to obtaine the Empire, as the Councils of *PHILIP* the father, the French King, and *CHARLES* of *Vallois* his brother did discover. For, having him in their power, who did arrogate unto himselfe a right to give the Empire to whom he pleased, they perswaded themselves that they should recover it by him without any opposition: Wherefore, when as they were to go to an Election after the murder of *ALBERT*, *CHARLES* of *Vallois* by his brothers aduice drawes an Army together, that he might wrest away the Empire, even in spite of the Popes, who although he were no enemy to the King, yet foreseeing that this alteration would be fatal to *Italy*, and to the Roman Hierarchie, he would not suffer it, but prevent the French.

The Pope being secretly advertised of his purpose (and being together with the greatest part of his Cardinals, of opinion, that if the French King were Emperour, he would by that means make himselfe Lord of all *Italy*, and so his patrimony should be oppressed, and brought to subiection, and that many other inconveniences would have ensued) by his Letters and Bulls enjoyned the Electors presently without any delay to chuse an Emperour, such a one as should be most fit for the state and common good: and they knowing his minde notwithstanding that they were solicited and urged to the contrary by the French King, by common consent chose *HENRY* Earle of *Luxembourg*, vpon the first day of Nouember, in the year of our Lord 1308: Wherein his brother *BALDWIN* Bishop of *Treuire*, and one of the Electors did greatly assist him. When his Election was published, and notice giuen to the French King, he was much discontented (for he desired himselfe to haue been Emperour) and much more after that he understood that the Pope had hastened the Electors, and had authorised them to make the Election; for which, afterwards grew some discord between them. The new chosen Emperour, well accompanied, went to the city of *Aken*, where with great solemnity hee was crowned; and thence sent his Ambassadors to the Pope, entreating him to confirme his Election: which the Pope gladly performed, inioyning him within the terme of two years to come to *Rome*, there to be crowned by his Legats.

This the Pope did to the end that the Emperour should haue endeouored to make peace in *Italy*, for there were then many factions and tyrannies; *HENRY* accepting these conditions, resolved to come into *Italy*, and began to provide for his journey, which neither *RODOLPH*, *ADOLPH*, nor *ALBERT*, his predecessors would doe; and to this effect called a Diet to be held in *Spire*, whither came (in a manner) all the Princes. At the same time new cares and troubles arose, besides his journey for *Italy*: the first was, that understanding that *HENRY* Earle of *Carinthia*, was king of *Bohemia*, and that the same Earle was in possession of the kingdom, the new Emperour (wanting none to incite him thereto) resolved to depose the said Earle, and to make one of his own sonnes King: whereupon he caused the daughter of *WENCESLAUS* king of *Bohemia*, and of the Emperour *RODOLPH*'s sister, to be brought to *Spire*, and notwithstanding that she was four years elder then his sonne *JOHN*, yet he married him unto her, and with this title leuied an Army and sent him to the conquest of *Bohemia*, whither he was solicited to come by many of that Kingdom. At the same time also a second occasion of care was offered, which was, to leuie an Army and to send the same against *EDWARD* Earle of *Wittenburgh*, who being discontent with *HENRY*'s election refused to come to his obedience, and being contumacious by the French King, took many townes in the Empire. The enterprise of *Bohemia* had good successe: for the said Earle hauing (as writeth *HENRICKS* *MERICVS*) raised a power to fight with the Emperour; and the two armies being encamped the one neere to the other, between them many notable skirmishes were maintained; but in the end the Earle of *Carinthia*, who was called King, was constrained to retire, and the Emperours sonne assaulted the City of *Prague*, which is the head of that kingdom, and taking the same, was therein crowned by *PETER* the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and his power presently so much encreased, that the Earle of *Carinthia* abandoning the Kingdom, went home into his own country; and the Emperours sonne *JOHN* remained King of *Bohemia*. If he sped well in *Bohemia*, the Army had no lesse good fortune, which he sent against *EDWARD* Earle of *Wittenburgh*, for the greatest part of his castles were taken, which (as saith *NAUERVS*) were fourescore: and in the end hee himselfe in the best manner that hee could, was constrained to compound, not without great losse of his estate; which notwithstanding after the Emperour was dead, he recovered againe.

During the time of these troubles, the Emperour forgot not within the time limited by

the Pope to prepare for his journey into *Italy* (where, when his coming was certainly known, it caused so great feare, as though it had been a matter the like whereof had neuer been seene; for three score yeeres were now expired since that any Emperour had bene there, even from the time that *FREDERICK* the Second died there, who also was King of *Naples*: that time being spent in contention and discord in the Empire, by reason of the death of the said *FREDERICK*; and afterwards in the time of the Emperours *ADOLPH* and *ALBERT*, neither of them would euer come into *Italy*. The Emperour *HENRY* being in a readines to march with his Army, he first sent his Ambassadors to the Cities in *Italy*, and to their Gouvernours, giuing them to vnderstand of his coming, and of his Army, exhorting them to peace, and to lay down their Arms, for to that purpose he principally addressed his journey into that country; and he further required them to receive him and his Army into their Townes and Cities: His Ambassadors were very honorably received, and answered generally by them all: for as there were many factions and partialities, each party desired to win the Emperours favor: onely the Florentines holding themselves free (having bought their liberty of the Emperour *RODOLPH*, and being then very mighty, having at that time made a league with *ROBERT* King of *Naples*, and lying then encamped before *Arezzo*) answered the Emperour that they would not, that so wilke a Prince as he was, would come into *Italy* with so great a number of barbarous people, as it was said he brought with him, seeing that the Emperours office and duty was to take care to purge that country of barbarous nations, and not to bring them thither. And whereas he said that they should leaue to make war against the Aretines; they answered, that it also was against his Imperiall office, for it was his part to right wrongs, and to redresse injuries: and whereas those of *Arezzo* had banished the Guelphs from their houses, he ought to command them to be restored; and as for receiving him into their City, they would be auided and consider what ought to be done, and in time would answer him accordingly. The Emperour took this answer in very ill part: *BLODVS*, *PLATINA*, and others write, that *DANTE* an excellent learned Poet in that time, vnderstanding of his country-mens answer in his absence, said, that the Florentines were blind and saw not the present estate, seeing they had giuen such an answer.

The Emperour hauing past the Alps, the Earle of *Sauoy* and the Marquels of *Monferrat* came to receive him, and went with him to *Turin*, where he and his wife the Emperesse were quietly received: with him also came *RODOLPH* Duke of *Bavaria*, and *LEOPOLD* sonne to the Emperour *ALBERT*, who (as were his brethren *FREDERICK*, *ALBERT*, and *HENRY*) was called Duke of *Austria*: and the Archbishop of *Treuire*, with other Princes, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1312. At that time Pope *CLYMENT* called a generall Council to be held in the cite of *Vienne* in *France*, whither came three hundred Bishops, besides many other prelates, wherein the Begardes were condemned for heretikes. From *Turin* the Emperour came to *Aste*, whither came vnto him some principall heads and Lords of cities, offering him their seruice and to receiue him into their gouernments. And so came to him *PHILIP* who was called Earle of *Paui*; *SYMON* *COLLVIANO* of *Bercelli*; *ANTHONY* *VISERRAGO* from *Lod*; to all which cities, and to *Turin* and *Aste*, the Emperour sent his Lieutenants to gouerne in his name, who were receiued.

From *Aste* he went to *Milan* (the head and strength of all *Lombardy*) wherein were two houses & factions of great power: viz. the Visconti from whom descended the Dukes of *Milan*, and the Turriones which were of the faction of the Guelphs; and as these two were then of chiefest authority, so they sought to hinder the Emperours coming into their cite: so as there was a great tumult about the matter: but either party fearing that their aduersaries would ioyne with the Emperour, they both receiued him into *Milan*, and he made many of the Viscounts which were expelled by the Turriones, to come in with him: and the Emperour to content both parties, and to make them friends, to *GUIDO* *TERRIO*, he gaue the cite of *Bercelli*; and made *GALBAZZO* Viscount, his Constable of the cite; and left *LEOPOLD* of *Austria* with certaine companies of Germanes to keepe the cite in peace: *CARION* writes, that before the Emperour came to *Milan*, he reconciled the Turions, and the Visconti, inioyning them to liue with equal rights in their country which was now restored to their ancient liberty, and to be content with their patrimonies: but when at the Emperours entring into *Milan*, *MATHIEV* *VISCONTI* went on the right hand, and *GUIDO* *TERRIO* being commanded to go on the left, he grew discontented; and fearing the losse of his authority, and that his faction would be expelled, he flew to turbulent courses, causing a tumult in the City after the coronation of *HENRY*, so as the Emperour was in no small danger, but the losse fell vpon the Author.

The Florentines
answer to the
Emperour
Henry the 7.

The Emperour
Henrick comes
into Italy.

Henry Earle of
Luxembourg
chosen Emperour

The Emperour
Henry made
his son John X.
of Bohemia.

The other cities of *Lombardy* vnderstanding that the Emperour was possessed of *Milan*, sent their deputies vnto him to offer him their obedience, and receiued such Lieutenants as he sent them: and so did those of the contrarie faction, excepting *Alexandria* and those which were further off, as *Padua*, *Ferrara*, and *Bolonia*, which being of the faction of the Guelphs, and in league with the Florentines, sent not to him. The Emperour within few daies after was crowned with the iron Crowne in *Milan*, which was wont to be done in *Menza*: for which and for other occasions, a certaine contribution of mony was leuiued in the cite, which (as they thought which paid it) was too excessive: by reason whereof and of the Germans ill behauiour, the people murmuring, took Armes against the Imperialists and fought with them; and the Emperour sending for his souldiers into the cite, *Galazzo* Viscount, head of that faction, vied a notable (though doubtful and dangerous) stratagem; which was, that he leauing his father in his house, together with the greatest part of his adherents, went to *Leopold* of *Austria* (who was with the Imperialists) and told him that *Guido* Tyrion and his adherents had caused that tumult, to make themselves Lords of the cite, as they already were: but as for him and his friends, they were still ready to doe the Emperour seruice in ought they should be commanded. It was an easie matter to perfwade him, who had all men in suspition, to giue credit hereto: and so *Leopold* and the Imperialists ioyning with *Galazzo*, set vpon *Guido* and the Turriones, who suspected no such matter, (yet armed and in order, expecting the issue of that tumult) and wounding and killing many of them, they draue them from the place which they had taken: and *Guido* Tyrion (surmising what the matter might be (seeing the Imperialists ioyned with his aduersaries against him) abandoned the cite, and in the best manner he could, with the greatest part of his faction, retired to *Beregli*: in this manner were the Turriones (who were of the faction of the Guelphs) driven out of *Milan*: wherefore as soone as this was knowne, some other cities which were of that faction, forsooke the Emperours seruice, amongst which were *Crema*, and *Cremona*, which presently by force thrust out the Emperours Lieutenants, together with the faction of the Gibelins: the like was also done in *Brescia* and in *Parma*. The Emperour leauing *Milan* vnder the gouernment and guard of the Viscounts, which (as he thought) had done him loyall seruice, marched with his Army against *Crema* and *Cremona*: but as soone as those of *Cremona* vnderstood that hee was entred their confines, without making any resistance they submitted, and yielded themselves and their cite, and the Emperour receiued them to mercie. But those of *Crema* suffering themselves to be besieged, were taken by force, and had the walles of their cite rased and dismantled, and the Emperour otherwise punished them for an example: whereupon *Parma* fearing the like, sued to him for pardon. But the Brescians trusting in the strength of their cite, chose rather to hazard themselves like those of *Crema*, then to follow the example of *Cremona*, and so had the like successe: the Emperour besieged them long, and many were slaine both of the besiegers and besieged, but in the end the cite was yielded to the Emperour; who commanded their gates and the most of their Bulwarkes to be thrown downe. By these two enterprises the Emperour wanne so great reputation, that the cities of *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padua*, and *Trenigi*, sent their Ambassadors, and entreating for peace, offered him their seruice, and to receiue any garrison that he should send them. His Ambassadors also which he had sent to *Venice*, returned, certifying him that the Venecians were willing to do what he required of them, which was, to furnish him with shipping to conuey his Army (if he pleased) to *Rome*.

The Emperour having taken order for the affaires of *Lombardy*, desired to see the cite of *Genoa*, and being there his wife the Emperesse fell sicke and died; and thither came to him Ambassadors from *Robert* King of *Naples*, and from *Frederick* King of *Sicilia*; both to desire peace and his friendship: but the request of the King of *Naples* was held for counterfeite for that he maintained three thousand horse in *Tuscany*, in fauour of the Florentines: & of *Lucia*, who pleading liberty rebelled against him; and to the end also to relieue *Bolonia* and *Ferrara* if need required. The Emperour dispatched them, some with fained, and others with vained kind speeches of loue and good will, according to their ambages; and within few daies after departed from *Genoa* by sea, and sent his Army by land, which making great spoyle in the territory of *Lucia*, came to *Pisa*, a cite at that time very friendly and much deuoted to the Emperours seruice, wherein hee was receiued with great ioy, and continued there aboute two moneths. There hee was aduertised of the estate of *Rome*, and how that therein were great factions and combutions, some desiring his comming, and others seeking to hinder the same. Those which fought to let his comming were the Lord *John*, who was brother to the King

of *Naples*, who came thither with some troups, and with him came all the faction of the *Vrins*, and were seized of the Castle S. *Angelo*, the Capitoll, the Vaticane, and other Holds, and of all *Rome* beyond *Tiber*: against whom the Colonoi and their faction held the rest of the citie, between whom was daily skirmishing and slaughter of either side: for which, Pope *Clement*, by whose counsell and instigation the Emperour came into *Italy*, was much blamed: for it appeared that where he thought to haue established peace, he kindled warre.

The Emperour departing from *Pisa* towards *Rome*, and (for that he would not be pestered with the Florentines) taking his way neere to the sea side, sent the Earle of *Sauoy* before with part of his horse troups: finally, after some daies lay in *Viterbo* he came to *Rome*, where by the Cardinals Legates, and the Colonoi, he was receiued with great solemnitie; the Kings brother of *Naples* together with the whole faction of the *Vrins* hauing fortified themselves in such places as they had taken. The Emperour being entred *Rome*, how long he remained there, and what befell him, is not distinctly written: some say that he staid there three moneths, in all which time were daily skirmishings, the king of *Naples* sending valleys and souldiers vpon the riuer of *Tiber* to relieue his brother, who with the *Vrins*, held the Vaticane, and the Castle S. *Angelo*; and that the Coronation was deferred vntill they might send to the Pope to appoint the place wherein it should be solemnized, for it could not be done in S. *Peters* Church (for that it was held by the enemy) and that the Pope was in doubt to giue order for the Emperours coronation, for that many of his friends and seruants were of a contrary opinion. Others for lesse time, and write not that the Pope stood in any such doubt: but they all agree that the Emperour (for that he could not get into S. *Peters* Church) was crowned by the three Cardinals which were the Popes Legates in *Rome*, in S. *John de Lateran*; and that during the time he continued there, his people fought daily with the Neapolitans and *Vrins*, not only in the streets, but even in the houses also wherein they dwelt: during the time of which skirmishings he left *Rome*.

The Emperour being highly displeased with *Robert* King of *Naples*, leauing *Rome* went to *Arezzo*, which being at his deuotion was enemy to the Florentines and Lucois; whither all the Gibelins which were expelled *Florence*, *Lucca*, *Siena*, and other cities in *Tuscany*, repaired vnto him, and from thence he went to besiege *Florence*, in which siege many notable adventures passed: but the cite was with their owne people (together with the Sienois and Lucois which came to their aide) so well fortified and manned, that it sufficiently defended it selfe: whereupon the Emperour hauing lien six weekes before it, raised his siege, hauing first built a fortresse on a mountaine neere to the citie, wherein, and in other Castles and places of greatest importance, he left munition and garriisons to ouerrunne the Florentines cuntry, and to make warre vpon them; and so marching vp and downe their cuntry for the space of two moneths, in the end he went to *Pisa*: where vying more then ordinarie authoritie of an Emperour, he summoned *Robert* King of *Naples* to make his appearance before him, as before his Emperour and foreraigne Lord, and to answer to such matters as should be objected against him, for that hee meant to proceed against him, and to cause him, for such matters as he had attempted and done against him, aswell in *Rome*, as in other parts of *Italy*, to be indicted of treason. But King *Robert* making no account of this summons, the Emperour (lying at the siege of *Florence*) procured *Frederick* King of *Sicilia* (with whose sonne he purposed to marry his daughter) to make warre against him in *Pulia*: which *Frederick* putting in execution rigged a fleet, wherein he sent great forces, which began the warre. And in the meane time the Emperour left not to prosecute the warre against the Florentines and the other cities of their faction; and the Florentines seeing in what distresse they were, and fearing that the Emperour would the next Spring in person againe returne to the warre against them, sent to yeeld themselves subiect to the king of *Naples* (releuering certain preheminences and exemptions) vpon condition that he in person, or some other either his sonne or his brother should come to relieue them.

The Emperour having made his aboad in *Pisa*, many daies, in the midst of sommer (as writeth S. *Anthony*) departed thence very ill at ease; and passing through the territory of *Siena* (wherein he did much harme) he went to the cite of *Arezzo*; whither being come, and the time limited to the King of *Naples* expired, he pronounced sentence against him, whereby he deprived him of his kingdome of *Naples*, and releasd his subiects from the homage and allegiance which they ought him; and gaue authoritie to his enemy *Frederick* King of *Sicilia*, to make a conquest thereof for his sonne, and sonne in law, which should be, to the Emperour: which sentence, as soone as Pope *Clement* vnderstood, he presently protested the

The Turriones
driven out of
Milan.

The Emperour
crowned in
Rome.

Florence be-
sieged.

The Emperour
summoned the
king of Naples
to appear be-
fore him in Pisa.

Robert king of
Naples condemn-
ed by the Em-
perour.

fame to be of no effect, alleging that the Emperor neither could, or had any authoritie to commend King ROBERT; for that kingdom was neither subject nor feudatorie to any but to the Church of Rome; as appeareth in the Clementines, in the chapter, *Papalis de Sententia & re iudicia*, and made other protestations contain'd in that chapter. With what leuitie the Pope did it, and with what impudencie he doth make other Kingdomes of the christian world subject to the Romane Hierarchie, the forme of the decree doth shew.

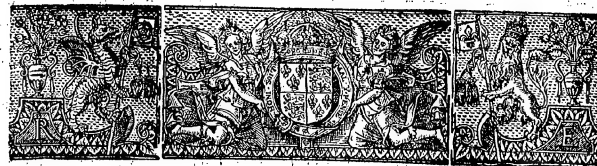
The Emperor departing from *Arezzo*, with a resolution to haue besieged *Sienna*, imagining that the Florentines seeing themselves on euery side oppressed, would haue come to some composition: and being by the way aduertised; that in *Naples* and in other parts of that kingdom after the publication of his Sentence pronounced against the King, were some Commotions and Insurrections against him: he thereupon with a desire to haue been reuenged of king ROBERT, and to haue made a conquest of that kingdom, resolved to goe thither with all his whole power; and coming within three miles of *Sienna*, he lodged his Army in a place called *Monte aperto*, where feeling himself ill at ease; (by the aduice of his Physicians) he went thence to the Bathes of *Macerata*, and then (feeling no amendment) went to *Buonconuento*, directing his journey towards *Naples*, whercon he had ferted his thoughts: all which, together with his other designs were made frustrate by his death, which thorough his infirmities overtook him in the same place; which happened upon the day of the Assumption of our Lady, he having the same day receiued the holie Sacrament of our Lords Supper, wherein (as some say) hee was poisoned by a Frier of the Order of S. DOMINICK, called BERNARDIN, and died thereof the same day: which was so wicked and so odious a fact, that a man would thinke that no Christian would haue committed, much lesse a religious man. The same Historians write, that the Pope vnderstanding that a religious man was accused thereof, wrote his Letters and Bulls by which he published him for innocent and not guiltie.

This Emperour died in the yeere of our Lord 1313. in the seuenth yeere of his raigne. Most authors which write of him, say, that he was a louer of iustice and equity, of a pleasing conuer- sation, amiable, valiant, expert in the wars, of an honest life, a deuout Christian and one that feared God: yet BLONDVS taxeth him of indifferencie, and couetousnes. He had by his wife the Emperesse one son and three daughters; his sonnes name was JOHN, whom he had already made King of *Bohemia*, and was likewise by inheritance from his father, Duke of *Lutzelburgh*. The eldest of his daughters called BEATRICE was married to CHARLES King of *Hungary*, brother to ROBERT King of *Naples*, who within one yeere died in childbed: the second was MARY, and he was married to CHARLES King of *France*, who also died in childbed: the third was married to RODOLPH Count Palatine of the *Rhine*. His body was carried to *Pisa*, and there with great lamentation solemnly entombed. The Emperor being dead there ensued a great alteration in all *Italy*, his Army was disperfed and came to nothing: and great and cruel wars ensued between the Florentines and *Pisians*.

There is so little written of the Emperors of *Constantinople* in these times, that it is hard to accord one History with another: what I can gather out of the authors is, that the Emperour ANDRONICVS, of whom we haue before made mention, by reason of his great age, made his sonne MICHAEL his companion in the Empire, who presently dyed, and left one sonne called ANDRONICVS, after the name of his Grand-father, who rebelling against the olde ANDRONICVS after six yeeres warre bereaued him of the Empire, causing him his life, and the Title of Emperor. This ANDRONICVS was called the yonger, and was a great warrior, and very valiant. He that will know more of this Emperour, let him read GEORGE MERULA in his seuenth and eighth books of the History of *Adrian*, and LEONARD AR- ETIN in his fourth book of his History of *Florence*.



THE



THE LIFE OF LEVVES, THE FIFT OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND SEVENTH

Roman Emperour; And of his Competitor,

FREDERICK.

THE ARGVMENT.

HENRY being dead, and much time spent before the Princes electors did meete, in the end they were diuided, and chose two Emperours, and each endeauoured to defend and maintaine his party by Armes. They both were Crowned, and all Germany was diuided into two factions; Frederick was fauoured by the Pope yet he would not confirme any of them. This diuision increased the troubles in Italy, wherein were long and cruell warres, and no lesse in Germany between the two Emperours, which fought a battail continuing 12 houres; at the end whereof LEVVES was Vittor and Frederick taken prisoner. LEVVES being sole Emperour he warred against the Pope, who excommunicated him: so that he was constrained to set Frederick at liberty; who together with his brother Leopold dyed shortly after. So as he remained without any rival, and without suspicion not without griefe, for that he was constrained to come into Italy, called thither by those of his faction, where ensuing many innovations, by reason of the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins. After many accidents hee came to Rome, where he was crowned by Stephen Colonna, hauing an intent to haue gone to Naples against his enemy Robert. Upon certain occasions he made a new Pope in Rome by whom he was absolved: which the other Pope in France vnderstanding, excommunicated him againe with greater vehemency, and the new Pope after the returne of the Emperour into Germany fell into the old Papes hand, and this Emperour could neuer agree with the Pope, neither could he be absolved from the Papes curse, so much were they incensed against him. And so the Electors fearing the Papes fulmination chose another Emperour, which was the occasion that Germany was again diuided. So as this Emperours raigne was in the beginning and ending after one manner: and he in these troubles, overcome with griefe, dyed suddenly, when hee had reigned in company and alone thirty three yeeres.



AFTER the decease of the Emperour HENRY (who died in *Buonconuento* and was buried in *Pisa*) the Princes of Germany which were with him, returned home with some part of his Army, for the most of his souldiers remained in *Italy* to get pay and entertainment in the warres, which were already begun, and as it seemed would neuer haue been ended; the rest were disperfed into sundry parts. But it was one whole yeer after his decease before the electors chose him any successor, by reason that it was long before they met, and also for that they could not agree in their election; so as (the Empire being without an head) there was in all things a great confusion, and the worst of all was, that in all their treaties and negotiations, they could neuer agree (as reason required) but were still diuided: at length meeting, it seemeth most of them made choice of FREDERICK Duke of *Austria*, for HENRY Archb.

Bbb 4

of

of *Colein*. *ALBERT* duke of *Saxony*, and *VALDEMAR* Marq. of *Brandenburgh*, though absent, by his Agent, took his part; all which were his consins-germans, his fathers sisters sonnes and Nephews to the Emperour *RODOLPH*, and *RODOLPH* Duke of *Baviere* and Count Palatine of *Rhine*, had promised him his voice: but *JOHN* King of *Bohemia*, *PETER* Archbishop of *Metz*, and *BALDVIN* Archbishop of *Treuire*, were so contrary vnto him, that thinking to get the voyce of *RODOLPH* Duke of *Baviere* & Count Palatine on their side (procuring also the voice of the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* deputy to that effect) they resolved by all means possible to make *LEVVS* Duke of *Bavaria*, Emperour: and eyther party was so obstinate in their resolution, that making their election with the accustomed solemnities, upon *SVNS* day, which was in the year of our Lord 1314, in steed of one Emperour, they chose 2. The K. of *Bohemia*, the Archb. of *Treuire* & of *Metz*, & *NICHOLAS de Boco* (who was deputy for the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*) chose *LEVVS* Duke of *Baviere*: And the Archbishop of *Colein*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and *RODOLPH* Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Baviere*, to hold his word (notwithstanding that *LEVVS* was his owne Brother) chose *FREDERICK* of *Austria*, and so there was a diuision in the election; and either party maintained that he whom they had chosen, was and ought to be Emperour. *LEVVS* his party alleged that he was chosen by most voices, for of ieven he had foure. *FREDERICK* and his friends pretended that the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* proctor had falsified his authority, who bringing in writing the hand of the Marquess for *FREDERICK*, raised it out, and wrote *LEVVS* in the place; wherefore hee was the man that was chosen: So as all *Germany*, the Princes and Cities, was diuided into two factions, the one holding for the one party, and the other for the other: and from contrary of opinions, they came to blowes, and the warre continued betwene them for the space of eight or nine yeers, vntill it ended in such manner as hereafter you shall heare.

LEVVS departing from *Frankford* with the aide of those which tooke his part; went to the City of *Aken*, where he was crowned by the Archbishop of *Colein*: but for as much as *FREDERICK* could not get into it, (which was the right place) he was crowned in another Citie. The solemnity of the Coronations being ended, they could not send to the Pope for that the Sea had been voyde about two yeeres, through the death of *CLEMENT* the Fifth, but eyther of them sent to the Princes, Cities, and Potentates, signifying by their Letters and messengers, the equity of their causes, and to iustifie their election. And some being perswaded by the one party and others by the other, the most part of the Cities of the lower *Germany* as farre as *Colein*, held for *LEVVS*; and so did (in a manner) all *Sueuia*, excepting the City of *Pime*, and some Townes which were of the contrary faction: and in high *Germany* and in *Switzerland*, almost all the Cities held *FREDERICK* for Emperour; and either of the Princes Electors took his part whom they had chosen, and so they were diuided: yet the greatest part fauored *LEVVS* more then *FREDERICK*; but his brethren *ALBERT* and *LEOPOLD* did so assist him, that leuying an Army and taking the field, he besieged *Smia* in *Sueuia*, and brought it to such extremitie that the inhabitants sent to *LEVVS* for reliefe, who raised his whole power, and with the aide of the King of *Bohemia*, and the Archbishop of *Treuire*, came to free the City: *FREDERICK* being aduertised of his comming, went to meete him, and neer to the Riuer of *Nechar*, ioyned battail, where both the Emperours fought in their owne persons: and the battaile was so furious that it lasted the greatest part of the day, so as the darke night parted them without any appearance of victory; yet *HARRICVS* MVEIVS saith, that *LEVVS* lost more men then *FREDERICK*: and so *FREDERICK* returning to the siege which he had begun, *LEVVS* went to the City of *Strausburgh* which held for *FREDERICK*, and was recieued into it by means of the great priuiledges and exemptions which he gaue and promised them; which *FREDERICK*'s brother *LEOPOLD* vnderstanding, hee raised a great power of his subiects and friends, and came to make warre against such as held for *LEVVS*, and encamped himselfe before *Spire*, whereof as soone as *LEVVS* was certified, he departed from *Strausburgh* and with his greatest forces went to seeke *LEOPOLD*, with a desire to haue fought with him before he ioyned with his brother; but *FREDERICK* made such speed that he ioyned with *LEOPOLD* before they could meete: Whereupon *LEVVS* not daring to fight with them both together retired, with some losse both of his people and reputation, resolving to make warre after another manner without hazarding any battaile, and so tooke his way into *Baviere*, to warre against his owne brother, for that he hauing chosen *FREDERICK* took his part, who, being expelled *Germany*, fled into *England*, where after some

yeers

yeers he died in banishment. His wife *MARGARET*, daughter to the Emperour *ALBERT*, remained in *Austria* with her sons, where she also died. Soon after, *LEVVS* called home his brothers sons, and restored vnto them *Heidelberg* with some other Townes: so as, according to the custome in ciuill discords, the beginning of the warre was the expulsion of his Brother.

This hapned in the year of our Lord 1310: and in the same year Pope *IOHN* the thirte and twentieth was chosen at *Lions* in *France*, after two yeers and oddemonths: that the seat had been void, who, presently coming to *Auinion*, fauoured the party of *FREDERICK* of *Austria*; but for that time he confirmed neither. The warre betwene these two Emperours (notwithstanding that in the space of foure or fve yeers the one fought not to giue the other battell) was so cruell and generally through all the Countrey, and betwene the Cities and some Princes, as the like had not been seen, whereof ensued many violencies and robberies by the high-ways: insomuch that for redresse thereof, the Cities of *Strausburgh*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Munich*, and others, made a league, and agreed to raise certain companies of foot and horse to guard and assure the waies and passages for merchants and trauellers, whither soeuer they went. And so was *Germany* afflicted with combustions and misery, without any battell or exploit of Armes worth the writing betwene the two Emperours, vntill the year 1323; in which time what hapned in *Italy*, from the time of the Emperour *HENRY* the Seuenth vntill then, we will briefly relate; especially in *Lombardy*, being a matter concerning the Empire.

When the Emperour *HENRY* died, the Viscounts (from whom descended the Dukes of *Milan*) were so absolute Lords thereof, that they being no longer content with that City, *MATHEVV* Viscount, *GALBAZZO* and the rest, took *Pavia* and other cities; which they might easily effect, hauing the aid of the Germanes, which had been left there by the Emperour; they also taking part with the Emperour *LEVVS*: and as the Empire was diuided and in strife, *LEVVS*, to haue of his side so puissant a people and family, sent him Ambassadors and verie kinde and friendly Letters. But Pope *IOHN* being of the contrary faction, as soon as he was chosen, perswaded *FREDERICK* to send his brother *HENRY* into *Italy*; who, in hope that the Pope would haue confirmed his election, did so: But his going was to small effect, for hee came but neer to the City of *Pavia*, and from thence returned: for, as the Imperialists euer maintained the faction of the Gibelins, and the Pope the Guelphs; so he, for that he could not hold with both parties, returned into *Austria*: by reason whereof, the Gibelins preuailed in *Lombardy* against the Pope, and against King *ROBERT* of *Naples*, who were of the contrarie faction; insomuch that *MATHEVV* Viscount of *Milan*, being of the Gibelins, with the aid of *CANNIS* *SCALIGER*, Gouernor of *Verona*, purposed to haue taken *Genoa*, vnder colour to haue restored the *SPINOLAS* and the *DORIA*s, who were banished thence for that they were Gibelins (the Guelphs being of greatest power in that City) and sent his sonne *MARK* Viscount thither with an Army, who besieged the City; and aid coming to either side, the war was very sharp, and the siege was one of the most cruell that hath been seen; insomuch that the Genois, to obtain aid and succour, became subiect to the King of *Naples* for ten yeers. Before and after which siege there was cruell warre betwene the Pisans and the Florentines; the King of *Naples* assisting the Florentines; and other Princes and Cities, the Pisans: a matter too long to be related.

The power of the Viscounts daily increasing in *Lombardy*, the Pope, who was their enemy, sought a means to draw the French King to send his nephew *PHILIP* with an Army into *Italy*; which he did: and coming into *Lombardy*, many things hapned which I haue no time to relate; but the conclusion is, that he returned again into *France*, without doing any thing worthy memory. The siege of *Genoa* continuing, *MATHEVV* Viscount besieged *Berelli*, and took it, expelling the Turrones, who were his antient enemies: so as at this time the Viscounts were Lords and in possession of the Cities of *Milan*, *Pavia*, *Placencia*, *Lodi*, *Cremoina*, *Bergamo*, *Nobara*, *Berelli*, *Terdona* and *Alexandria*, besides others which were his confederates; as, *Luca*; and *CASIRVCHO* the Gouerner thereof, the Cities of *Pisa* and *Arezzo*, and the Marquess of *Ferrara*, a City belonging to the Church; and *SCALIGER* of *Verona*: against whom *ROBERT* King of *Naples*, the Florentines, the Pope, and all those which were of the faction of the Guelphs, waged warre. The siege of *Genoa* continued fve yeers, wherein many accidents befell both by sea and land; whither the King of *Naples* and the Pope sent three score gallies to the relief thereof: and in the end the City was not taken, but the siege was raised; and many matters befell which I cannot write, for that I am to return to my history of *LEVVS* and *FREDERICK*;

RICK;

Lewes Duke
of Baviere, and
Frederick Duke
of Austria both
chosen Emperours
by the Electors.

A battell be-
tween Frede-
rick & Lewes

rick; both which were called, and pretended to be Emperors.

The eighth year being now expired since theſe two made warre; and *FREDERICK* pretending to make a conquest of the Country of *Baviera*, whereof the Emperor *LEVVES* was called Duke, and was in poſſeſſion (as Protector to his nephew, through the death of his brother *RODOLPH*) he levied 200 armed pikes, and a great number of other footmen which were his ſubjects, and of the King of *Hungary*, and other his friends: and therewith (being accompanied with his brother *HENRY*, and other Princes and great men, daily expecting the coming of his brother *LEOPOLD* our of *Suevia* to ioyne with him, with eight hundred men at Arms, and a great number of foot) he departed from *Austria*, and entered *Baviera*, wherein hee took Towns and Castles.

Being there for a time maſter of the field, his enemy *LEVVES* in the mean time was not idle; but of his owne forces, the Kings of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Treuer*, and other of his friends which being abſent ſent their aid, he levied an Army containing about thirty thouſand foot, and about two thouſand men at Arms. With theſe forces he went to ſeek his enemy, with a reſolution to give him battell before that his brother *LEOPOLD* ſhould ioyne with him, which *FREDERICK* purpoſed to have deferred untill his brothers coming: but *LEVVES* came ſooner him, and gave him ſo many occaſions, that, contrary to the opinion of moſt of his friends, he reſolved to hazard a battell, and ſo vpon a morning, in the moneth of September, in the year of our Lord 1233, each of theſe competitors marſhalling his ſquadrons, and both the one and the other aſſuring himſelf that in the victory conſiſted the poſſeſſion of the Empire, with equal power and courage moſt valiantly beginning the fight, they maintained the ſame with great fury untill it was dark night; that Auctor which ſeteth down leaſt time, ſaith, that the battell laſted twelve houres: and in the end *LEVVES* hauing the victory, *FREDERICK* and his brother *HENRY* valiantly fighting were taken priſoners, and many others of great account were taken and ſlain.

It is written, that in this battell were ſlain foure thouſand horſemen, and ſo great a multitude of foot, that they number them not: ſo as the victors received no leſſe loſſe than the vanquiſhed. After this notable victory, the moſt of the Cities and Princes which held with *FREDERICK* (conforming themſelves with the time) yeilded obedience to *LEVVES*: and ſo he remained ſole Emperor, whom all men imagined would haue put *FREDERICK* to death; but he, receiving him to mercy, ſent him priſoner to the Caſtle of *Triſſin*. *FREDERICK*'s brother *LEOPOLD* (who as I ſaid came to ioyne with him) vnderſtanding that his brother was overthrowne and taken, was wonderfully grieved, and the more, when he knew that if he had forborne to fight untill his coming, he might haue obtained the victory. This paſſion continuing in him, hee neuer left to moleſt the Emperor *LEVVES* during his life; fiſt procuring his brothers liberty, and afterwards in reuenge to execute the wrath and diſpleaſure which he had conceived.

In this manner *LEVVES*, by the overthrowne and imprifonment of his enemy *FREDERICK*, remained ſole Emperor: but he was not therefore free from troubles and warres; for, as he was choſen in diſcord and controuerſie, ſo his Raig (though of long continuance) was euer vnquiet and full of croſſes and troubles: wherefore the hiſtory of his time will be longer than ordinarily of others. When he had obtained this victory, he ſent an Ambaſſador to Pope *JOHN* the 23 (who then lay in *Auinion*) and deſiring him to confirm his election, yeilded apparent reaſon for the ſame. Pope *JOHN*, who had euer been his aduerſary, would not grant his requeſt, whereof *FREDERICK*'s brother *LEOPOLD* was the principal occaſion, who leauiſg his eſtate of *Austria* to his brothers *OTTO* and *ALBERT*, came into *France* to the Pope to incenſe him againſt the Emperor *LEVVES*, and to intreat him to command him to reſigne the Empire, and to releaſe his brother: and thence he went to the French King to procure the like; in both which places hee found good entertainment and fauour: and they ſent their Letters and Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, requeſting and requiring him to releaſe *FREDERICK*, and preſently to ſet him at liberty: but he, making his excuſes, would not perform what they requeired; and knowing that the Pope was his enemy, he wrote his Letters of fauor, and ſent authority to *MATHEW* Viſcount, and to his ſon *GALBAZZO*, Gouerners of *Milan* and of other Cities in *Italy*, to gouern the ſame for him; and he ſent ſouldiers to them, and to others of the Gibelins.

The Pope being hereof aduertized (aſſembling many Biſhops in *Auinion*, together with his Conſistory of Cardinals, by the conſent of the French King, and through *LEOPOLD*'s entreaty,

creaty, which ſolicited the ſame) excommunicated the Emperor, and alledged for his reaſon, that he fauoured ſuch as were enemies to his Church in *Lombardy* and in *Italy*; and therewith aſſigned him the term of three moneths, within which, he renouncing the election which was made of him, ſhould appear before him, to anſwer to what ſhould be objected; and ſhould recall the forces which he had ſent to the Viſcounts in *Italy*, and other enemies to his Church. The Emperor *LEVVES* answered modeſtly, that he had ſworn at his election to maintain iuſtice, and therefore he had aſſiſted *Galace* in a juſt cauſe. Moreover, by the ſame oath hee was bound, that being choſen he ſhould perform the office of an Emperor. Therefore the election was made, that he ſhould be a true defender of iuſtice, and maintainer of peace in all his dominions; the defence whereof was recommended to the Emperor, and euery Power was bound by the word of God to do that which belonged to his office. Neither was the power to carry the ſword, giuen by the Pope, but by God: wherefore he maintained, that hee neither could nor would renounce the Empire which was giuen him from God; and if his anſwer would not ſaſiſie the Pope, he would appeal to a lawfull Councell: and when he publiſhed his reaſons and excuſes through all *Italy*, where at that time were moſt cruell warres made by the Popes Legates and Captains, and the King of *Naples*, againſt the Viſcounts, the Piſans, the Lucois, and other Cities and Princes Gibelins, whom the Emperor *LEVVES* fauoured and aſſiſted; whereof *GEORGE MARYLA*, *LEONARD ARSTIN*, *ANTHONY* and *MADON D'ARVAL*, haue written at large.

The hatred between the Emperor and the Pope ſo much increaſed through the inſtigatiſon of *LEOPOLD* of *Austria*, for that he would not releaſe his brother *FREDERICK*, that the Pope, meeting the French King, conſulted with him how he might depoſe the Emperor; and giue the Empire to the King of *France*: but the Emperor *LEVVES* was of ſo great power in *Germany*, that this parley took ſmall effect; neuertheleſſe, to pacifie *LEOPOLD*, and *FREDERICK*'s other kiſmen and friends (taking *FREDERICK*'s oath, and ſuch other ſecuraty as he could giue him, that he would no more take vpon him the name of Emperor, neither praſſe or procure the ſame) he releaſed him out of priſon, and ſuffered him to go at liberty into his Country of *Austria*, where heaſter for a ſmall ſpace liued in peace and ſorrow. Some write, that after three years imprifonment he was releaſed vpon theſe conditions, that it ſhould be lawfull for him to bear the name of Emperor while he liued, but not to ſuſtain any authority or iuriſdiction. *HENRY* his brother, who was taken priſoner with him, freed himſelf by the ſloring of certain Towns and Caſtles in *Moravia*, which the Austrians had in this warre taken from the Bohemians; and *LEOPOLD*, notwithstanding that he ſaw his brother at liberty, neuer deſiſted from moleſting *LEVVES*, but yet could doo little for the ſmall time hee liued; and both of them dying without iſſue to ſucceed them, with their death the controuerſie ceaſed.

LEVVES being freed from this quarrell with *FREDERICK* and *LEOPOLD*, and Letters coming daily to him from the Gibelins which took his part in *Italy* (ſoliciting him to come thither) and from the City of *Rome* it ſelf, hee with a deſire to rule and command, and to be crowned there, reſolved to go: wherefore, cauſing a Diet to be held in *Spire*, he gaue the Princes of *Germany* to vnderſtand of his reſolution, who, moued with his reaſons, conſented to his going, and ſome offered to ſerue and accompany him; and all, to aid him with men and money. And loeuſing an Army he departed out of *Germany*, carrying with him his ſecond wife called *MARGARET*, daughter to the Earl of *Holland*, and came to the City of *Tuſcan* (in the year of our Lord 1237, and in the thirteenth of his Raig, reckoning from the beghining of him and *FREDERICK*) where he ſtaied; for thither he had appointed all the Cities which were at his deuotion to ſend their Agents, to treat of what waſt to be done. Thither came Ambaſſadors from *GALBAZZO* Viſcount of *Milan*, and from his brothers, *JOHN*, *MATHEW*, *LEVIN* and *STEVEN* (for their father *MATHEW* was dead) and from the Marquiſſe of *Monferrat*, and from him of *Verona*, and the cities of *Piſa* and *Lucca*, and the reſt within *Lombardy* which were in league with *Milan*, and from many others; who, making great offers to aid and aſſiſt him with men and money, counſelled him preſently to march forwards; and he did ſo, and came direſtly to *Breſcia*, and thence to *Milan*, and there was crowned with the Crown of iron: where he ſtaied about thirty daies after his coronation: And from thence, as ſome ſay, ſending to entreat the Pope to confirm his election, and to abſolute him of his excommunication, hee ſtaied there longer than he thought to haue done, to get money to pay his ſouldiers: by reaſon whereof a greater contribution waſt to be ſeeked in *Milan*, and in other cities of the league, than they will.

A battell between the Emperors Lewis and Frederick, wherein Frederick was overthrowne taken

The Emperor Frederick ſet at liberty by the Emperor Lewis

willingly would have paid : and GALBAS Viscount, sometimes by en treaty, and sometimes by counsel, fought to have avoided the tribute which was to be leuied vpon his country : whereupon the Emperor made him, his sonnes and brothers, to be apprehended, and deposed them from the government of the City ; and, to win the good will of the people, and to shew that he gaue them liberty, he granted that they should chuse among themselves 28 Citizens and one President, which should haue the government thereof. With this bait hee obtained what hee desired, and the tax which he had laid vpon them : which deed (although it is written after sundry manners) was the cause of great alterations ; and that the Emperor was noted of ingratitude and excessive cruelty, so to deal with those who had called him into the country, although it cannot be denied but that they were Tyrants.

Having dispatched his businesse in *Lombardy*, he took his way through *Tuscane* towards *Rome*, by the procurement of CASTRYCHO, who was one of the most valiant Captains of his time, and commanding in *Luca*, maintained the warre against the Florentines, and against CHARLES the sonne of ROBERT King of *Naples*, who with a great garrison defended that City by his fathers direction, to whom it was becom subiect : and he carried with him CALBAZZO Viscount and his brethren, prisoners.

The Emperor, being come to *Luca*, was by CASTRYCHO receiued with very great ioy and solemnity : and from thence desiring to go to *Pisa*, the Pisans were in doubt whether they should receiue him or no ; but in the end he was entertained, and made his abode there about two months. During which time, CHARLES of *Naples* being with great forces in *Florence*, the Emperor refused to hould on his journey without troubling himself with him ; and being in *Pisa*, released GALBAS Viscount of *Milan*, and his sonnes, AZZO and MARK, vpon their oaths ; and at CASTRYCHO his intreaty, whose authority (gotten by his valour in Armes) was then very great : who afterwards were released from all, in such manner as you shall hear. The Emperor going from *Pisa*, accompanied by CASTRYCHO with 1500 horse of his own, went along the sea coast towards *Rome*, purposing (as some write) after his coronation to haue gone against the King of *Naples*, who was his great enemy : whereupon, as soon as the Emperor was come neere to *Rome*, CHARLES departing from *Florence* towards *Naples* to the aid of his father, left an excellent Captain called PHILIP CARNOTSENSE in *Florence* : and within short space after, this CHARLES dying (his father having no more sonnes) left two daughters.

The Emperours coming being knowne in *Rome*, caused great dissension and tumults ; but as the greatest part was willing to receiue him, and the rest to the contrary, in the end he was solemnly receiued : but his coronation, and who crowned him, where, and vpon what day, is diversly written ; which often happens among those which are present, much more among Historiographers : the truth is, that LEVVS was crowned in *Rome* by the hands of STREPHON COLONNA, who at that time was Vicar of *Rome* (an office and government then newly erected) yet LEONARD ARBTIN and ANTHONY say, that his son SARRA COLONNA crowned him, and that he was crowned against the will of the Pope or his Legates, yet with great applause of the people both secular and regular.

It is written, that being in *Rome*, the Emperor would not be crowned before hee had deliuered vnto the Cardinals and Bishops, and then vnto the Senate consisting of many worthy men, the injuries which Pope IOHN the 23 had done him, and had understood that they approved his cause and affection to the Common weale, referring the businesse to them, and promising to obseue whatsoever they should decree. He affirmed, that he did constantly beleue the doctrine of the Catholick Church, and did alwaies with a generall peace : whereto both the clergy and Senate answered, that they held that Pope IOHN the 22 had not done rightly, for that he had made decrees in to great a businesse without a Synod, or knowledge of the cause, and had followed them with excommunications, and therefore (knowing he was free from all false opinions) they would ioyne with him.

LEVVS being crowned, together with his Emperesse, he was called Emperor and Sempiternus, and the newes being dispersed ouer *Italy*, there repaired to him many chief men of the Gibelins : and he being very puissant, and accompanied by the valiant CASTRYCHO (of whom next to the Emperor was made chiefe account) to iustifie his coronation and his other actions in the iudgement of the people, maintaining that Pope IOHN the three and twentieth, who then was in *Arimino*, neither was, neither ought to be held for Pope, hee of his owne authority created one PIERRE de *Germania*, a Franciscane Friar, Pope ; which PIERRE (as was written PAVLIN) had been a married man, and in his wifes time took that habite : and he

The Emperor
Leues the Fifth
crowned in
Rome.

hee, accepting the Papacy, was called NICHOLAS, and made Cardinals and Bishops, and held a pontificall Court ; and the Emperor gaue him the obedience and honour, as to a Pope ; and being absolved of his excommunication, was confirmed in his Empire, and had else what he would desire : which was done against the will of many Priests & other regular persons, who therefore left *Rome* ; yet there were others which, approving the same, took part of the benefit.

When these newes were brought to Pope IOHN, he aggravating his censures and excommunications, proclaimed him for no Emperor, but a Tyrant and an Vsurper of the Empire. The Emperor being in *Rome*, the Emperesse bare him a sonne, called LEODOVICVS ROMANVS ; and making preparation to go in person against the King of *Naples*, hee practised with FRABERTICK King of *Sicilia* to do the like : but, staying longer in *Rome* than was expedient, it hapned that the Captain whom CHARLES of *Naples* had left with the garrison in *Florence*, together with the Florentines, surprised the City of *Pistoia*, which was at CASTRYCHO his deuotion, and in league with *Pisa* and *Luca* : whereof when CASTRYCHO (being then with the Emperor in *Rome*) was aduertised, he for feare to lose the rest, presently departed, and coming thither, found great resistance ; but in the end hee valiantly recovered the City. CASTRYCHO his departure from the Emperor made him so to alter his resolution, that, giuing ouer the enterprise of *Naples*, he departed with his Pope from *Rome* (wherein he left the best order that he could for his purpose, first establishing two Gouerners, one of the family of the Viscons, and the other of the Colonnois, which were called the Emperors Vicars) and then hee took his way towards *Florence* ; where when it was knowne that he was coming, all men were of opinion that he would haue taken that City by force, holding it not possible to bee defended, since that CASTRYCHO was in his seruice, against whom alone the Florentines could hardly make their party good : but it pleased God to dispose thereof after another manner ; for, CASTRYCHO (in whom he reposed his chiefe trust) died, and his death caused so great an alteration, that the Emperor by his death, and through the losse of many of his people, and also for that others mutined, resolved to return into *Germanie*, first placing his Lieutenants in *Pistoia* and in *Luca*, out of which he put the sonnes and kinsfolks of CASTRYCHO : such are the rewards which ingratefull Princes vse to bestowe vpon the children of those which haue done them good and faithful seruice. At the same time also died in *Pisa*, GALBAS Viscount (tyrant of *Milan*) deprived of that dominion ; and the Emperor for a great summe of money, gaue leaue to his sonne AZZO to return to *Milan*, which he promised the Emperor towards the payment of his souldiers before his departure, and left his brother MARK in pawn for the same. Coming to *Milan*, he was receiued with great affection into the same place and authority his father held ; and recouered in *Milan* the money promised, and deliuered the same to the Germans, sent by the Emperor ; who, forgetting to come therewith to *Pisa*, returned to their houses.

The Emperor leaving *Pisa*, resolving to continue his journey into *Germany*, left his Pope there behinde him ; who after, by the practice of one BONIFACE of *Pisa*, was taken and brought to *Alimino*, and coming in a priuate habit before the Pope, dyed in his power a prisoner. The Emperor passing through *Lombardy* into *Germany*, AZZO Viscount would not receiue him into the City, nor was the Emperor able to assault it. And so, leaving *Italy*, he left neither the peace nor the good government which he found there : but the City of *Pisa*, and others which had held for him, when he was gone, cast out his Lieutenants and Gouerners ; and the former tyrants therein, took mo Towns and Cities, most of which were Gibelins : and those of the house of GONZAGA then made themselves absolute lords of *Manzonia*, which they hold till this day.

It seems that the long continuance of their possession hath made their title iust & lawfull, adding thereto the confirmations made afterwards by Emperors & Popes after sundry sorts : and some Captains also had tyrannized ; as, GALEOTTO MALATESTA in *Arimino* ; MANFREDO PIO in *Carpi* ; RICHARD MANFREDI in *Fanencia*, and others in many other places. But for all this, the factions of the Guelphs and Gibelins was so rooted in *Italy*, that all the Gibelins which took his part presently solicited the Emperor for his speedy return : for, by his absence, the Guelphs, with the aid of the Florentines, the King of *Naples* and the Pope, warred vpon them : but the Emperor, being otherwise busied in *Germany*, could not return, though hee desired the same. But IOHN King of *Bohemia* by his direction leuied an Army and came into *Italy* ; who past many adventures which for breuitie I omit : in fine, he thinking to please both parties, was called *Italies* peace-maker : and hee procuring many parties with the Popes Legates, thereby displeased both the one and other party, as it ordinarily happens to those who seek to pacifie two contrary factions, and fell into suspition with the Emperour, but much more with

The Pope
communicated
the Emperor.

the Lords of *Italy*: whereupon, *Azzo* Viscount Lord of *Milan*, *MASTINO de la Scala*, Lord of *Verona*, *PHILIP GONZAGA* Marquisse of *Mantua*, *VEBERTINO di Carrara* Lord of *Padoa*, the Marquisse of *Ferrara*, and some others, as *ROBERT* King of *Naples*, and the *Florentines* which vntill then had been their enemies, joyned together in a league and confederacy, promising that they would protect and defend the one the other against the whole world: for the which not only the Emperor, but the Pope also was very much discontented; and there ensued great changes & alterations in all matters and affairs in *Italy*, which I haue now time to relate.

The Emperor seeing himself excommunicate, and that the Pope desisted not from proceeding against him, perswaded all men that he was vniuſally accused; and fearing some alteration, with fair words, large gifts, and good entertainment, satisfied the Lords and Princes of *Germany*, seeking otherwise to be absolved, and some means of reconciliation, which was a matter almost impossible to be effected: for, the King of *France*, in whose country and (as we may say) power the Pope and his Cardinals then were, notwithstanding that the Pope would, yet he would not consent thereto; and so the matter continued till the death of Pope *IOHN*, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand, three hundred, thirty and foure, hauing been Pope 19 years and foure months: at which time the States of *Carinthia* and *Tirol* came to be vnitied to the house of *Austria*.

Matters being in such confusion as we haue declared, and Pope *IOHN* being dead, the Cardinal of *Saint Prisca*, whose name was *IACOB*, born in *Tholouse* in *France*, was chosen Pope; who was a Monk of the Order of *CISTRAY*, and was called *BENEDICT* the Twelfth. Being installed, he ratified and renewed the Sentence pronounced by his Predecessor against the Emperor; which he did so speedily, that it was thought to haue been done through the instigation of the French King: but within few daies after, the King desiring the Pope to make him his Vicar or Lieutenant General in *Italy*, and to giue him the tenth part of the Church revenues and first fruits throughout all Christendom (therewith to make a conquest of *Ierusalem*) he so much troubled the Pope with that request, that he made shew to be much discontented therewith; and began in secret to giue ear to the Emperors party: whereof he being aduertised, sent him a solemn Ambassage, praying and intreating him to absolve him, and to approve his election; whereto the Pope made a pleasing answer, and the matter was at the point to haue been concluded: but the Kings of *France* and of *Naples* (enemies to the Emperor) so terrified the Pope and his Cardinals, that he durst not perform it; so as the Emperors Ambassadors returned with good words of no effect: and the like hapned to the Ambassadors sent by the Princes and Cities of the Empire, the next year following. Whereupon, forasmuch as at that time there were great warres between *EDWARD* King of *England*, and *PHILIP* the French king, about the succession and right to the Crown of *France*, the Emperor entred into league with the King of *England*; so as there was great trouble and dissension betwixt the one & other party: but in the end the French King, seeking the Emperors friendship, promised to cause the Pope to absolve him, to the end that he should stand his friend; so as the Emperor, through the great desire he had to be confirmed in the Empire by the Pope, came to a composition with him. With this confidence in the French King, the Emperor sent his Ambassadors into *France*, the which, together with the Kings Ambassadors, went to *Auinion* to treat of the matter: but the Pope with diuerſe reasons so prolonged the conclusion, that it plainly appeared that it would take no good effect; which made the Emperor to suspect the King: for, it was held for certain, that the Pope would therein haue satisfied the King, as in many other matters he had done, even against his owne will; which was so euer as long as the Court of *Rome* remained in *France*, and is the reason why the Germane Historians, treating of the Emperors affairs, say, that the King of *France* made shew to desire that which he would not haue, and the Pope to haue that which he desired not.

The Emperor despairing to come to any agreement with the Pope, seeing that his Ambassadors returned without any such end or conclusion as he expected, returned to his former rigour: and assembling a generall Diet or Councell, he sought out learned men to pen his resolution; and finding such as were for his purpose (as Princes neuer want) after many matters treated of, he seeking to get the good will of the Princes, caused an injunction to be dispatched, wherein he affirmed the Sentence pronounced against him by Pope *IOHN* to be vniuſal and of none effect, and that his excommunication did no way binde him: wherefore he commanded, vpon great penalties, that no man should obey his interdictions and censures in that be-

behalf, alleaging other matters contained in the said injunction, which the Popes friends would not should be revealed in any publicke history: which injunction (being published, and commanded to be obserued) caused great alterations in *Germany*, especially amongst the Clergy; some holding with the Emperor, others with the Pope. But *DANTZ*, a man at that time, of a most excellent wit and profoundly learned, wrote a Book called *The Monarchy*, wherein hee seemed to fauour the Emperor; for which he was afterwards condemned, and his Book held for heresie: and other great men wrote Books and Treatises defending the Popes supreme authority, alleaging the same to be aboue all principalities and powers; which (besides other reasons) they sought to proue by histories: as, how that Pope *ADRIAN* translated the Easterne Empire into the West, in the person of *CHARLES* the Great; and after, in proſeſſe of time, the Popes removed the same out of *France* into *Germany*, in the person of *OTH* the First; and how that many Emperors were excommunicated by them, yea and deſtroyed of their Empires; and how that the manner and authority to chuse them, was giuen by the Popes, and from them was deriued the power and authority of the Princes Electors; and that the Emperors were confirmed and crowned by the Popes. Yet there wanted not some which defended the Emperors cause; and so the Popes curses and excommunications were contemned and rejected; but hee knowing that the Emperor had published the said Letter against him, renewed the same; and imploring his whole power, alleaged the Empire to be void, and that the government thereof belonged vnto him vntill that a new Emperor were chosen, according to the declaration made by *CLEMENT* the Fifth in the Councell of *Vienne*. And vnderſtanding that the Emperor purposed to come into *Italy*, he did one thing which then was held for a point of wisdom, but experience teacheth, that it was very prejudiciall to his estate; which was, that he made those Tyrants or Princes which in *Italy* held the Towns of the Empire, his Vicars or Lieutenants in the same Towns they held; to the end they should be resolute enemies to the Emperor; and, commanding that they should neither receiue or obey the Emperor, gaue them power and authority to defend and maintain the same, as Lieutenants to the Church: which were, *LYCHINO* Viscount, Tyrant or Gouerner of *Milan*, and other Cities; *MASTINO SCALA* in *Verona* and *Vicenza*; *PHILIP GONZAGA* in *Mantua* and *Reggio*; *ALBERTINO di Carrara* in *Padoa* & other places; *ORIZO da Este* in *Ferrara* and *Modena*; and forasmuch as these were the Churchlands, he enjoined them to pay him yearly ten thousand Ducats of gold; with which tide they were the more strongly possessed of those estates.

This contention continuing between the Emperor and the Pope, there failed not some who vsurped the Popes Towns: to which, or to the most part of them, in requital of what the Pope had done to him, and to binde them to do him the better seruice, and the more to incense them against the Pope, the Emperor gaue and sent titles and charters, making them Lieutenants for the Empire in the cities and lands appertaining to the Church of *Rome*: which they accepted and held, and the of-spring of many of them haue continued therein vntill this day. Amongst which was *GALEOTTO MALATESTA* in *Armino*; *ANTHONY FERRARANO* in the City of *Perlin*; *GENTIL VARANO* in *Camerino*; *GUIDO POLENTA* in *Rauenna*; *IOHN MANFREDO* in *Fauencia*; *ISMADETO* in *Sansouero*; and *NICHOLAS BOSCARO* in *Esso*: and in like manner others had the government of, and continued by succession in, other Towns and Cities.

These matters passing in this manner in *Germany* and *Italy*, Pope *BENEDICT* being dead (who had held that sea the space of seven years and three months) in his place was chosen in *Auinion*, in the moneth of May, in the year of our Lord 1342, Pope *CLEMENT* the Sixth, in whose time were great alterations as well in the Cities of *Lombardy* as of *Tuscane*. The Emperor sought to come to some composition with the new Pope (as the Germane Authors write) but there was no peace to be expected: for, the Pope alleaged, that the Emperor sined not for peace in such humble and submissiue manner as he ought to haue done. But *CYEPINTAN*, *NAVELERVS* and *MVCIVS* write, that by means of the French King, who failed to be good mediator between them, the Emperor sent his Agents to Pope *CLEMENT* with full authority, to accept of any condition of peace that he would propound vnto them: to which the Pope gaue a certain note in writing, wherein they in the name of the Emperor were enjoined to confess the Emperor to haue erred, and to haue been a schismatick, and disobedient to the Church; and moreover, that the Emperor should presently renounce his right to the Empire, together with the possession thereof; and that he should not intermeddle therein without the Popes permission; and that the Emperors person, together with his sonnes, should be at the

The Emperor again excommunicated, and deposed by the Popes confutes.

The intolerable pride of Pope Clement the Sixth.

Popes disposing: all which Articles the Emperors Ambassadors accepted and granted in his name; whereat the Pope wondred.

These rigorous and terrible Articles and conditions being brought to the Emperor, he holding them for vnjust and intolerable, sent the copy of them to the Princes and Cities of the Empire; and therewith summoned a generall Diet or Parliament to bee held in *Frankford*, where with a graue speech he complained of the Pope, and shewed what his Ambassadors without his knowledge or consent had yielded vnto; alleaging these demands to be made but onely to ruinate the state of the Empire, with other matters which hee thought might cause greater indignation against the Pope, and moue the Princes the more to fauor his proceedings. And his words wrought such effect, and the Popes demands seemed so dishonest and intolerable, that they adiudging the same to be reiected and not to be allowed, made great offers to the Emperor for the defense of his person and estate: yet some were of a contrary opinion, who affirmed that the Pope ought to be obeyed, and that the matter ought to be referred to him, as it was sworn and promised. Hee which held this opinion, was *IOHN* King of *Bohemia*, and his sonne *CHARLES*, who were discontent with the Emperour for some other causes: but the Councell refused to send Ambassadors to Pope *CLEMENT*, to shew him that the conditions ought not bee performed, and so Ambassadors went: what ensued wee will soon tell you; which was, that the Pope holding himselfe for deluded, was so enraged, that hee againe proceeding against the Emperor, sent to all parts copies of the fulminations and censures given by Pope *IOHN*, with a relation of his offenses, including the same within the compass of heresie; and also that he had chosen and installed another Pope, and that he was not according to due order chosen Emperor, but by deceit and bribery; and that he neuer was Emperor, neither ought to be so called; and that he gaue Bishopricks and Prelacies at his pleasure, placing such as pleased him, and displacing such as were preferred by the Pope; and that he making marriages, dispensed like a Pope with such as were married within prohibited degrees of consanguinity, as he had done by his sonne *LEVVES* and the Countesse of *Tirol*, being allied vnto her within an vnlawfull degree; and the hauing an husband aliue, which was the sonne of the King of *Bohemia*: for which cause the Pope, sending his generall edicts against him, enioyned the Electors, vpon pain of excommunication, to meet and chuse a new Emperor; excommunicating all such as followed the Emperor *LEVVES*, or obeyed him. So as the Popes edicts, and the Emperors contradictions caused many infolencies and combustions in *Italy* and *Germany*. As the King of *Bohemia* and his sonne were his aduersaries, so they procuring the good will of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of the Archbishop of *Colen*, by bribes and large promises, fought to procure a meeting, and so to elect and chuse an Emperour. At the same time there were two which pretended to be Archbishops of *Mentz*, the one called *HENRY de Viern* (whom the Pope condemned and depriued, for that he defended the Emperors cause) the other was by name called *GERRASS* of *Nassaw*, whom the Pope had appointed to enioy the others place.

This *GERRASS*, to shew his authority, and to accomplish the Popes commandement, summoned the Princes Electors to meet in the City of *Rens*, in the year 1346: where met the Duke of *Saxony*, the King of *Bohemia*, the Archbishops of *Mentz*, *Treuer*, and *Colen*: and so by reason of the Popes decree, alleging the Empire to be void, they chose the King of *Bohemia*'s sonne *CHARLES* for Emperour; *LEVVES* being then in *Bavie*, busie in leuying forces to stay the same. The new elect *CHARLES* would presently haue gone to haue been crowned in *Aken*, but could not: for, that City held for the Emperour *LEVVES*, and was sufficiently fortified, Pope *CLEMENT* being aduertised of the election of *CHARLES* (as a thing done by his commandement, and against *LEVVES*) presently confirmed and approued the same, and procured the French King to aid and assist him, which he promised to do with all his power: but in the mean time befell a strange accident which marred all; which was that shortly after, *EDWARD* the Third, King of *England*, came into *France* with a mighty Army: and *PHILIP* the French King raised his whole power to fight with him; whereof the King of *Bohemia* and his son *CHARLES* (newly chosen Emperour) hauing intelligence, they with more haste than good speed with all their forces came in person to his aid, the more to binde him to perform his promise to them against the Emperour: and they ioyning in battell against the English (which, as all Writers affirm, was very cruell and bloody, and continued fully six hours) the King of *England* in the end had the victory, and many great Personages of the vanquished were slaine. Amongst which was *IOHN* King of *Bohemia*; and the French King, and the new elect

elect Emperour *CHARLES* escaped by flight. Through the losse of this battaile, the French King had so much to do to defend his owne countrey, that he could yeeld *CHARLES* no reliefe or succor at all against the Emperour *LEVVES*, which made his case the more doubtfull; but as he had the Popes fauor and the fauor of those which chose him, so was *Germany* diuided; some holding with him, others with the Emperour *LEVVES*: so as *LEVVES* his raigne ended as it began, with competencies and factions. But yet he forgot not to raise forces and to seek aid and friends, which with his life lasted but a while: but before we declare his end, I will briefly relate a strange accident that hapned in the city of *Rome*, which shall neither be impertinent, nor vnworthy to be related, which was this.

Rome at that time being gouerned in the Popes absence by two Senators, as the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants; one of which was of the family of the Colonnois, the other of the *Visins*; a certain man born in *Rome* of meane parentage, whose name was *NICHOLAS RANZO*, who being of a great courage and high minde, yet of no greater calling then a Notary publike, in such manner wonne the good will of the people, which repaired vnto him, that he perswaded them to recover the ancient liberty of *Rome*, which (as a man well read in Histories) he laid open vnto them, and was not ashamed to tell them that it was requisite, for the good of the common-wealth, to alter the manner of the gouernment, and to reforme and reduce the same to the ancient estate, rule and order: for seeing *Rome* was a free City and Lady of the whole world, they ought and were bound in duty to recouer her liberty. To these speeches together with many other to the like effect, the common people (as light of beliefe, and desirous of nouelties) willingly gaue eare; and he found such fauor and good liking amongst them, as gathering a head, he seized on the Capitoll, and without that any man durst make head against him, he depouled the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants from the gouernment, and intituling himself *NICHOLAS SEVERVS* (the fauourable Tribune of peace, liberty and iustice, the noble redeemer and restorer of the sacred Roman common-wealth) he made and ordained Senators, and settled the gouernment of *Rome* in such manner as it was in the time of the ancient Romanes, with so great obedience in all men, as if he had come from heauen for the same purpose. And he presently established such peace and iustice in the City, and made the same to be obserued in such manner, as the like had not been seen in *Rome* in 500 yeeres before.

The same whereof was presently spread into many parts, and all the Towns neere to *Rome* became obedient vnto him, and so did many other that were farre off: and all the tyrants and Princes hearing of so strange an accident, and of the title, and the enterprize which this man vndertook, sent Ambassadors to him, and making great offers, sought his fauor and friendship. And the matter was so carried in the beginning, as it seemed that in short space *Rome* would againe haue become Lady of a great part of the world. And as the report of such accidents is euer greater then the effect, so these news being carried out of *Italy*, such feare was generally that many altered their resolutions: And this *NICHOLAS* as a proud vaine man (nothing considering that vpon so weak and feeble a foundation he could not possibly build any great edifice) making *Rome* to be the head and Lady of all the World, he wrote his Letters with the aforesaid proud titles, to the Pope, requiring him to make his residence in *Rome*; and to the Emperour *LEVVES* and his competitor *CHARLES*, commanding them within a certaine prefixed time to make their appearance before him and the Roman Senate; and to shewe by what Title they held the Empire: The like hee wrote to the Princes Electors and to other Princes.

These Letters being seen and read (notwithstanding that they were held for vaine and frivolous) did put the Pope in a great perplexitie, feeling that *Rome* and the territory thereof in his time was vsurped. But this vanity continued not about seuen or eight moneths: for as it was grounded but vpon the fauor of the common people, so it soone waxing cold, and they repenting of what they had done, began to murmur and so to forsake him: whereupon he foreseeing his fall, departed from *Rome*, and went to *CHARLES*, the Emperors competitor: thinking to haue found fauor, and to haue made some league with him; but he caused him to be apprehended, and sent him to *Aninion* to the Pope, who commanded him to be detained prisoner: what end he had we will tell you, which truly is a pleasaunt discourse, as you shall see in the end, and so haue all the vanities of the world, although some last longer then others. What I haue spoken is written by *BELONDVS*, *PLATINVS*, *NAVIGERVS*, and all the Historiographers. *PETERARCHA*, in some of his Epistles affirmeth, that all the time that this man commanded, there was such peace and quietness, and iustice was so duly executed in *Rome* and in part of *Italy*, that

that it seemed the Golden-age was come againe: wherupon hee made that excellent Sonnet which beginneth,

Spirto gentil che quella membra reggi.

But now to returne to our History: *Germany* being thus diuided, some holding for the Emperour *LEVVES*, and others for the new chosen *CHARLES*, who was already King of *Bohemia*, this controuersie betweene these two was ended, through the sudden death of *LEVVES*, which happened vpon the seuen and twentieth day of September, in the yeere of our Lord 1347, in this manner: He riding that day ouer the fields on hunting, was taken with so cruell an Apoplexie, that he fell from his horse and died suddenly, when he had reigned 33 yeeres, the first time in contention and competency with *FREDERICK*, who was called Emperour: it was also suspected that he was poysoned by the widow of *ALBERT* of *Austria*, with whom he had been familiar. This Emperour hauing bin twice married, had six sonnnes, and one daughter, which from their father inherited sundry Lordships and estates. At this time the *Geno-waics* and the *Venccians* made most cruell warre one against another; the like did the *English* and the *French*. The Kings of *Spain* wholly applied themselves to warre against the *Moore*s.

In *Constantinople* reigned *IOHN PALEOLOGVS*, called *CALOZOANNES*, son of *ANDRONICVS* the younger, who had much to doe with *CATACZENVS* (whom his father left for his tutor) about the Empire; sometime the one preuailling, and sometimes the other: by reason whereof they both are accounted Emperours; but in the end *CALOZOANNES PALEOLOGVS* was sole Emperour, as hereafter shall be declared.



THE LIFE OF CHARLES, THE FOURTH OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND EIGHTTH RO- MAN EMPEROR.

(N^o X)

THE ARGUMENT.



Charles having no Competitor, went to subdue those Countreies which held with *Lewes*. Many were of opinion that the Empire was voyde wherfore some of the Electours met at *Frankford*, and chose successively two Emperours; which would not accept thereof. In the time of this Charles, was that memorable pestilence through all *Europe*; in Anno Domini, 1348, and the slaughter of an infinite number of *Iewes*. Afterwards the Electours chose one *Gunther* for Emperour, who coming against Charles dyed before any battaile. Charles having made an accord with the Electours which were his enemies, was freed from all his competitors; and came afterwards into *Italy* to be crowned where he behauid himselfe with such humanitie, as there was no Lord or Common-wealth that did not acknowledge him for their Emperour: and contented to pay his Souldiers, he giving

priviledges to sundrie Cities in *Italy*; hee returned into *Germany*: wherein he maintaining peace and iustice, hee freed to make his eldest sonne *Wencellaus* King of the *Romanes*, which he obtained for money. After all these things failing like hee dyed, when he had valiantly raigned two and thirty yeeres.



Then the Emperour *LEVVES* died; his Competitor *CHARLES* (who in his lifetime was called Emperour) was in his kingdome of *Bohemia*; and as soone as he was certified of his death, with the greatest power he could raise left his kingdome, to make himselfe Lord of such townes as held for the deceased Emperour *LEVVES*: and comming to *Ratisbone* he was therewithout any contradiction received as Emperour; and thence went to *Nuremberg*, and had there the like reception; and generally in all the other cities whither he came; for he released all the actions which he had against them, and promised to procure the Pope to absolve all those which had continued in the service of *LEVVES*: but he afterwards

comming to *Basil*, they would not receive him, except he first obtained for them the Popes pardon, and a release from all the curses pronounced against their citie, for that it held for the late Emperour: and while as they treated hereof, there came a Legate from the Pope, who hearing that *LEVVES* was dead, sent him to *CHARLES* with authoritie to absolve them and all the rest. And although that in this citie and in others theie was great contention, about the oth and the forme of the confession which the Pope had commanded to be made before they should be absolved; yet in the end absolution was given, and the Emperour with great solempnie was received into the citie, and into some other places. And notwithstanding that in the beginning he had so good successe with some cities and Princces; yet with many of the rest he sped not so well: for those which had continued firme and loyall to the Emperour *LEVVES*, and had been enemies and made warre against *CHARLES*, would not accept him for Emperour; but holding the Empire voyde, pretended anew election to be made, especially those Electours which contented not to his election; which were *HENRY* Archbishop of *Mentz*, (whom the Pope had depriued, and in his place set *GERLASS* of *Mussaw*) *LEVVES* Marquels of *Brandenburg*, *ROBERT* Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Baviera*; al which pretended that *CHARLES* his election was neither lawfull, nor of any validtie, for that it was not made in *Frankford*; and also for that the estates were not assembled by the Count Palatine, neither were they present, or sent their Agents or Proctors: all which things (they said) were requisite in a lawfull election: and *HENRY* the new Duke of *Saxony* and some cities ioyning with them, alleged also that those which chose him were corrupted with money by *CHARLES* and his father *IOHN* King of *Bohemia*; and also that he was not crowned in *Aken* as hee ought to have been. For which causes (although in my opinion the greatest was the spleen and hatred which they bare him) in the beginning of the yeere 1348, the aforesaid Princces met in the citie of *Frankford* (notwithstanding that *CHARLES* used all his power and policie to haue prevented the same) where declaring the Empire to be voyde (the Bishops of *Colem*, *Treuer* and the other Bishop of *Mentz* being absent) by the common consent of those which were present, they chose the king of *England* (for that he was descended from the Germane blood) for Emperour; to whom they presently sent their Ambassadors to the same effect: but after that hee had well considered of the matter, refusing their offer, he sent to them, desiring to be held excused: And they seeing themselves frustrate of their hope, chose *FREDERICK* Marquess of *Misia*, who was a man of great judgement and very valiant; who standing in doubt whether he should accept it or no, and considering well thereof (for *CHARLES* being thereof aduertised, to the end that hee should not accept this election, sent him a great summe of gold and silver; and therewith gaue him to vnderstand of the inconueniences that would ensue) made the like answer as did the King of *England*: so as for that time without agreeing vpon any other, these Princces still continuing disobedient to the Emperour *CHARLES*, departed from *Frankford* not choosing any Emperour at all.

The chiefest cause of their departure was the plague in that country, which in that time was so great and so vniuersall through all parts of *Europe*, that the like thereof before that time had neuer beene seene nor heard of: for Historiographers affirme that it continued about one whole

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yeere,

Edward III
King of Eng-
land being
chosen, refused
to be Emperour.

Generally plague
through all
Europe.

yeere, beginning in the year one thousand three hundred forty eight, and ending in *Ann.* 1350, which raged in such extreme manner that where it did least harme, the tenth person escaped not.

BLONDVS saith, that he heard his grandfather GASPARD BLONDVS affirme with an oath, that many townes in *Italy* were therewith so dispeopled, that not any one remained therein alive. During the time of this calamity, there was a general peace, so as not any could or durst make warre against other, except a little which was made against the Synagogues of the Jewes: for the common people took a conceit, and it was firmly beleevued, that the Jewes had poisoned the waters, and caused this plague; whereupon (the Princes and governors being no way able to prevent the same) the Jewes were every where torne in peeces, and an infinite number of them were by the Christians sacked and robbed, in *France, Italie, Germany and Spaine*. At this time also the French King gat the Countrey of *Daulphine*, and the City of *Vienne* the head thereof; which doe now belong to the Princes of *France*; which was given him by HENRY, Daulphin of *Vienne*, having no heire to succede him; vpon condition that the eldest sonne of *France* should be called Daulphine of Viennois.

In the yeere 1350, our Lord mitigating his ire, and the plague ceasing, Pope CLEMENT this yeere by the consent of his Cardinals ordained that the Iubile which Pope BONIFACE the 8. had granted to be held in *Rome* every hundredth yeere, should be held that yeere; and therefore every fiftieth yeere, considering the shortnes of mans life; so as an infinite number of people repaired to *Rome* to the Iubile. After the danger of the plague was past, men presently being free from the feare thereof, returned to their wars and deffension; principally the aforementioned foure Princes Electors, HENRY Archbishop of *Mainz*, LEUVIS Marques of *Brandenburgh*, RODOLPH Duke of *Baviere* and Count Palatine of *Rhine*, and HENRY Duke of *Saxony*: all which rebelled against the Emperor CHARLES, and stood vpon their guard; and the one aiding and assisting the other, they againe met at *Frankford*, and after many consultations, chose GUNTHER Earle of *Swarzenburgh*, who was an excellent and very valiant man of war. This man with the aid of those that chose him, and of his friends and kinsfolks, with a great number of very good men of warre, came to *Frankford*, where attending his enemies coming, he kept the field the space of fixe weekes (for so they write was then the manner of the new chosen Emperors). That time being expired, he was receiued into the city, and sworn and obeyed for Emperor. And notwithstanding that the Emperor CHARLES had leuyed a very great power, yet being unwilling to hazard his whole fortune in one battaile, he would not fight with GUNTHER: but all the Princes of his faction, meeting in the City of *Spire*, it was concluded that he should employ his whole power to make head against GUNTHER, and by force of Armes defeat him.

With this resolution the Emperor CHARLES with his Army took his way towards *Mentz*, and the one drawing neere the other, the war began between them, which men thought would haue proved very terrible and cruell: but through the death of GUNTHER, peace ensued: before which time some write it was concluded; for as soone as GUNTHER fell sick, some vnpassionate Princes sought to reconcile them: the conditions of the peace were, that GUNTHER should renounce the Empire to CHARLES, and that CHARLES should give him two walled Cities in *Turinge*, together with their confines: But in the time of this treaty (as most writers affirme) GUNTHER died, poisoned by his Physicians who being to give him a purging potion, and taking but the assay of it, died together with GUNTHER the next morning; which made men to thinke, that without the knowledge of the poore Physician, poison was put into the decoction; so as GUNTHER dying in the time of the peace, CHARLES remained sole Emperour, and in good sort compounded with those which were his aduersaries, who being weary of choosing Emperors, the controuersy ended, to the contentment of all men. And for as much as the plague was in *Aken*, he was with great solemnity crowned in another city; and going afterwards in his progresse, he visited many Cities, to which he gave sundry priuileges.

In time of this prosperity he had a sonne whose name was, WENCESLAVS, of whom we shall haue cause to speake hereafter: and he applying himself with great care to maintain peace and justice, there yet rested for him to goe to be crowned in *Italy*, whereof Pope CLEMENT the sixt was very desirous: but in his time it could not be, for he died within few daies after. At this time the Viscounts hauing made themselves Lords of *Milan*, were of great power in many other Cities, the chiefeft of which was JOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, a man feared through

through all *Italy*; who by the Popes permission vnder the title of his Vicar, or Lieutenant, made himself Lord of *Bologna*, for which he was to pay yearly 12000 ducats of gold. Pope CLEMENT being dead, INNOCENT the sixt was chosen; This Pope sent for Legate into *Italy* the valiant Cardinal GILES, a Spaniard borne, who was called DON GIL CARILLO ALBORNOZ, who by his great witt and valour, comming twice into *Italy* recovered all the Cities and lands of the Church which had been vsurped by tyrants: in the beginning of whose Papacie was fought the memorable battaile by sea betweene threefoore galleys of the Genowaies, vnder the command of PAGAMO DORTA; and fourefoore of the Venecians, the Kings of *Aragon*, and the Emperours of *Constantinople*, who were in league together against them; which battaile was fought in the streight of *Constantinople*, and lasted from the break of day vntill the euening, in which the Genowaies had the victory, but with losse of many of their people: and the yeere following which was in the yeere 1354, the Venecians and Catalonians repairing their fleet, againe fought with the Genowaies, neere to the Ile of *Corsica*, wherein the Genowaies were so pitifully ouerthrowne and with so great losse, that one and fortie of their galleys, with all the men in them, were sunke in the sea; by means of which ouerthrow their power was so much weakened, that they became subiect to JOHN Viscount Archbishop of *Milan*, vpon condition that he should protect them; yet there ensuing other alterations, they afterwards committed themselves to the protection of the French King.

At this time also was atreacy betweene the Emperour and the Pope, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*, he making preparation for the same. There befell in *Rome* also another great accident, although not so much spoken of as that of NICHOLAS RENZO who would haue raised *Rome* to her ancient state and dignitie, and was called the Enfranchiser of *Rome*: which was, that another Notary called FRANCIS VARONCELLO, imitating the said NICHOLAS, incensed the people, and with the same title of Roman Tribune, depose the two Senatours, JOHN VRSINO, and PETER de *Colonna*, who governed as the Popes Vicars: whereof the Pope being aduertised, and fearing that the matter would haue growne of importance, to auoid a further inconuenience, he thought it best to release NICHOLAS RENZO, whom his predecessor CLEMENT had left in prison; and thinking (as we say) to driue out one naille with another, sent him to *Rome* against FRANCIS, who vfed such meanes, through the helpe of the Romane Nobilitie, that by force hee expelled FRANCIS VARONCELLO out of the Capitoll and slew him in fight: but after this victory, the said NICHOLAS with a desire to vsurpe, persequing the Connoisall fell at variance with the principal men of *Rome*, and in the end was slaine; and so *Rome* was deliuered from both the one and the other: and then one GUIDO IORDAN (by the Popes consent) was made Governor, and afterwards there were two.

While these matters were in hand, it was agreed between the Pope and the Emperour (as write the Italian authors) that as soon as the Emperour should be crowned in *Rome* by Cardinals, without making any longer stay, he should returne into *Germany*. The Emperour and Empresse accompanied with many Princes and a great Army, in the yeere 1355 came into *Italy*, with intent onely to be crowned, and to fauour and further the Popes proceedings, which hee did accordingly, which made his iourney easie: for being come into *Italy* and leene to vie no violence, or to oppress any man, neither to deprime or dispossesse any man of his goods or lands, he was very honorably receiued by the Lords of *Carrara* in *Padua*, and afterwards by the GONZAGAS in *Montua*, and by those of the house of ESTE in *Ferrara*; and by the Viscounts in *Milan*, and by the most of the Lords of *Italy*, which did him homage, and acknowledged him for their Emperour; and he left them in their lands and estates: and comming to the city of *Milan* he was crown'd there with the Iron Crown; and from *Milan* went to *Pisa*; whither came Commissioners to him from *Florence*; and from many other cities, who acknowledging him for their Emperour, and suing for peace and his fauour, furnished him with money for the payment of his souldiers; and so departing from *Pisa*, he went peaceably to *Rome*, where they attended his comming, and was solemnly receiued by the Cardinals Legats which came to crowne him, together with the Senators, the Popes Vicars, and with all the Clergy and Romane people: and on Easter day, which was the morrow after his comming, hee together with his wife the Empresse, was after the accustomed manner by the aforelaid Cardinals crowned with great pompe. His coronation being ended, as he came in peace and quietly, without offending or giuing any man, so he departed from *Rome*, contenting himselfe with their seruice and the money which they had giuen him, which (some write) amounted to a very great summe; and

A small battaile between the Genowaies and the Venecians.

The Emperour Charles came into Italy.

Gunter Earle of Swarzenburgh chosen Emperor against Charles King of Bohemia.

so he returned into his countrie, more peaceably and with lesse tumult, then ever any Emperour that came into *Italy* before him had done. Being in *Italy* he favoured *Don Giles* Cardinal of *Albornoz* who recovered the patrimonie of the Church.

The golden
Bull made by
Charles,

At this time King *John of France* being in a battaile taken prisoner by the King of *England*; after foure yeeres imprisonment, was vpon certaine conditions of peace set at liberty. This King had by inheritance the Duchie and Countie of *Burgundy*, which after his decesse he gave to his second sonne *Philip*, whose offspring enjoyed the same; from whom lineally descended the Emperour *Charles the Fifth*, by his grandmother, who was Lady of that estate. What ensued after the Emperours returne into *Germany* is briefly and confusedly written, and the *Annales of Germany* treat of some matters of small importance, and that very preposterously; wherefore I will write onely what shall seeme most agreeable, vntill we come to the end of his life. First, this Prince is commended for his wit and humanitie, and to haue been discrete and iust in administering iustice, and to haue been learned in the tongues, and wel seene in history, and indifferently well in other Arts and Sciences, whereof he made no small benefit in his actions. *CARION* writes, that after the Emperours returne out of *Italy*, he called a famous assembly of Princes in the Cities of *Mentis*; where the matter being wisely discuss with the cheefe orders of the Empire, for the contracting into one, and reducing into order, the antique and moderne institutions concerning the Maiestic and honor of the Empire, and of euery one in particular, he made a law which is famous by the name of the golden Bull, comprehending certain orders to be obserued in the Emperours election, and prouiding for the power, authority, and dignitie of all orders: which worke of his was very commendable, for that hath been a firme bond of publike peace. By this law he did strengthen the Maiestic of the Empire, and did cut off all occasions of dissension in the election; by this he did so bind the Emperour and Princes, as no man durst attempt any thing to the preiudice of the Common-wealth or Emperour. And as he was much affected to his countrey of *Bohemia*, so (as Pope *Pivs Quintus* and other authors write) in *Prage* he erected sundry stately edifices; and made the Church and Archbishopricke of that citie a Metropolitan, exempting it from the Church of *Mentis*, and erected an Vniuersitie in that citie, wherein Arts and Sciences were read; and all his whole life time he had so great a care to adorne that citie and kingdome, that the rest of *Germany* murmured against him for it, and so doe the Historiographers which write thereof. In those daies some sedition and tumults arose in the citie of *Nurembergh*, which in the end he pacified, although with some difficultie. It happened also that *Edward* Earle of *Wittenbergh* made an Insurrection against this Emperour, and had a great Army and many followers; but all was pacified, and *Charles* reigned peaceably. In the yeere following, which was in the yeere 1362, died Pope *Innocent the Sixt*, and in his place was chosen Cardinal *William of S. Victor*, a Monke of *S. Bennet's* order, and was called *Urban the Fifth*.

This Pope hauing resolved to come into *Italy*, the better to secure and settle his estate he sent to entreate the Emperour to doe the like; which he chiefly did, for feare of the Viscounti Lords of *Adilan*, and of the greatest part of *Lombardy*, which the Emperour at his entreatie performed: at which his coming I finde it not written that he came by *Milan*, for that *Barnaby* and *Galeas* Visconti were not his friends; but he took his waie by *Pados*, and from *Pados* to *Bohemia*, and thence to *Pisa*, and so to *Rome*, where he found the Pope: what they did there, I finde not written, either through negligence or for that it little imported; one thing *Blondy*, *Platina*, and others report, that it was vnknewe what was become of the heads of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, and that the Pope and the Emperour made great search for them, and at last found them and set them where they stand (as they say) this day. After this, the Emperour hauing been but three moneths in *Italy*, returned into *Germany*; and after his departure the Pope went to *Marfelles* in *Provence* in *France*, and thence to *Auinion* where he died; after whose decesse *Patrice de Belfort* Cardinal of *S. Mary* the new was chosen, and called *Gregory the Eleueenth*.

The Emperour in the same yeere summoned a Diet to be held in the citie of *Frankford*, where after many practices, he entreated the Princes Electors to make his sonne *Wenceslaus*, King of the *Romanes*, and his successor; which was not onely solicited by entreatie, but by great gifts and large promises; which were so excessiue, that (as *Pivs Quintus* writteth) he promised an hundred thousand Ducats to euery Elector: and as the summe was greater then he was able to pay, he gaue in, pawne for the same many townes and lands of the Empire, which they hold vntill this day. This they write to be the cause of the weakening of the Emperours power

power which were his successors; which *Albert Crantz* also confirmeth in his History of *Saxony*, alleging that this Emperour morgaged sixteen Imperiall townes in *Suenia* to the neighbour Princes, which, together with the imbecillity and benefits of his son *Wenceslaus* who succeeded him in the Empire, so decayed and weakened the power of the Emperours in *Germany*, that they neuer recovered their former vigour: this was imputed to haue been a great oversight in so wise a Prince, notwithstanding that in all his other actions he gouerned with great policy and wisdom. Yet many imperiall cities, through sundry accidents which happened, without his commandement or leaue, made war vpon the Earle of *Wittenbergh*, which war continued many daies, and many were slain of either party: wherewith the Emperour being much displeased, and fauoring and assisting the Earle, he besieged the city of *Vime*, where he punished some for examples sake.

In this meane time, some cities in *Italy* belonging to the Church of *Rome*, discontent with the government of the Popes Vicars or Lieutenants, rebelled against him: Whereupon, the Pope knowing the great preiudice which his Church recieued through his absence, resolved to returne with his court to *Rome*: for which purpose (vnder another pretext) in the yeere one thousand three hundred seuentie six, he caused certain gallies to be rigged and armed in the river *Rodanus*, wherein embarking himselfe he sailed into *Italie*: and so the Papall court after it had continued in *France* the space of threecore and ten yeeres and somewhat more, and the most part of that time in the city of *Auinion*, returned to *Rome*.

The Emperour hauing reigned now 32 yeeres, and being busie in pacifying the cities in *Germany* which warred against the Earle of *Wittenbergh*, was in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand three hundred seuentie eight, taken with an infirmity, whereof he dying, left two sonnes legitimate; the eldest of which was called *Wenceslaus*, who was already King of the *Romanes*, and succeeded his father in the kingdome of *Bohemia* by inheritance, and in the Empire by election: the others name was *Sigmund*, who afterwards by the right of his wife was king of *Hungary*, and in procelle of time came to be Emperour.

Some Authors write of the Emperour *Charles*, that he had been worthy of praise, if he had not more affected *Bohemia* and *France* then the Empire, if he had not been more carefull of his owne private interest then of the publike; and to aduance his posterity, then to enlarge the Empire; if he had not been more greedy of money, then to do what was right and iust, and if he had not both in *Germany* and *Italie*, diminished the dignity and wealth of the Empire, alienating kingdoms and the publike reuenues, selling Immunities, and granting liberties: wherefore the Empire being spoiled of many ornaments, his posterity did not raigne long, but was unfortunate, and in the end fell; but yet he may not be deprivied of his due commendation, for the constitution which he made, which was very beneficiall to the common-wealth.

Touching the Emperours of *Constantinople* (of whom I am bound to make some mention) I finde so great confusion in the Histories of those times, as there was in that Empire; wherein were factions and warres; but in summe, in the time of *Charles the Fourth* in *Germany*, the discord in *Constantinople* between *John Paleologus Caloianus*, and his father in law *John Catacyzenus* (both which were called Emperours) was the cause that *Amrath* King of the *Turks* (having taken all that the Christians held in *Asia*) vnder color to help and succor *Catacyzenus*, passing *Hellespont*, came into *Europe*, and took *Gallipoli*, and other cities in that coast, and afterwards the city of *Adrianople*: and he passing forwards, there came against him *Lazarus* Despot of *Serbia* (which in antique time was called the vpper *Misia*) and *Mark* Despot of *Bulgaria* (which is part of the antique lower *Misia*) and many other Princes; which in a battaile about the yeer of our Lord 1363, being overthrown, *Amrath* became Lord of a great part of the Christians lands in *Europe*, and his sonne *Baiazeth* succeeding him conquered more; and so the Empire of *Constantinople* daily decreased. And afterwards in the time of the Emperour *Wenceslaus*, *Caloianus* being now old, and hauing dispossessed *Catacyzenus*, dying, a son of his called *Manuel Paleologus* succeeded him.

The first coming
of the Turks into
Graecia.



THE LIFE OF WENCESLAVS, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND NINTH RO- MAN EMPEROR.

(*,*)

THE ARGVMENT.

If I seldom hapeth that the sonnes imitate their fathers goodnesse, chiefly among Princes, but Wenceslaus would vnto this rule in himselfe: for being without any contradiction to his father, he pleased to imitate his father in goodnesse, that he left of himselfe as much infamy, as his father did glory: Neither did he pacify the wars which in Germany were kindled in his fathers time, but suffered them to proceede, which was the cause of much misery in that country. In his time began the great schisme which continued forty years. The Turke in his time made great conquests vpon the Christians: and Iohn Galeas made himselfe in his time Lord of Lombardy. The Electors seeing the small care that this Emperor took so becomingly for the defence of Christendome, to set his hand to the good government of the Empire, especially in the affaires of Germany, and that he led a base and a licentious life, deposed him, as unprofitable and of no worth. When he had vnworthily reigned Emperor two and twenty yeers, he afterwards died a private Lord.



Although that the desire to come to an end of this History (being neer thereunto) doth incite me to make haste, yet there are so many matters to be written of, and modern Historiographers haue so copiously set down the same, as I am constrained (euen against my will) to prosecute the remainder more at large; wherein I presume to be held excused, for the pleasure and profit which the Reader shall receive thereby: wherefore to auoide prolixity, I say, that WENCESLAVS King of Bohemia, and eldest sonne to the Emperor CHARLES the Fourth, succeeded his father in the Empire, who proued very vnlike to his father; for he grew to be vicious, and of little worth. It is written of him, that he had nothing in him like vnto a man, but the

forme, and that was crooked and deformed, more like to THESITES then a Prince. He was dull witted, basely inclined, affecting nothing but pleasures, not caring for the Commonweale nor any honesty: A coward and very cruell, Of a lazy body, fit for nothing but the pleasures of gluttony and filthy lusts, if they may be called pleasures: But yet in the beginning, as he was yong, and men were in good hope of him; being chosen in his fathers time King of the Romanes, he was presently without any great contradiction obeyed for Emperor, and was so two and twenty yeers, and in the end lost it, as you shall heare.

His brother SIGISMUND being of more spirit, and fifteen yeers yonger then WENCESLAVS, LEVVS king of Hungary married him to his daughter (who was also by his mother

ther King of Poland) and thereby SIGISMUND came afterwards to be King of Hungary, as we will declare, of whom in the History of WENCESLAVS we shall make especiall mention, for in proceesse of time he came to be Emperour; for by reason of the insufficiency of WENCESLAVS, little is to be written of him: so as of these two and twenty yeeres that he held the name of Emperour, the least that is to be said, is of him; but yet neuertheless passing it vnder his name, we will briefly relate what passed in the countries subiect to the Empire in his time, wherein he should haue borne the greatest sway, if he had not been so base and negligent; for although it seeme little to the purpose, yet it shall be expedient for the knowledge of such matters as follow.

First, for the warre between the cities of Germany, and the Earle of Wittenbergh, which his father before his decease fought to haue extinguished, his sonne had no such care: for in his time it encreased; and Germany from the beginning of his raigne, vntill the end thereof, endured want both of peace and iustice. In his time also hapned a schisme in the Church of Rome; for in the same year that the Emperor CHARLES the Fourth died in Germany, in Rome died Pope GREGORY the eleuenth, who as I said returned the Papall court to Rome; and after his decease the Cardinals assembling themselves in the Conclau to chooe a successor, of which, thirteene were French-men, and foure Italians, whither all the Romane people running, desired them to chooe an Italian, and no French-man; and the French Cardinals vied all meanes to haue had a French-man; and the rest an Italian: And notwithstanding that the greatest number were French, yet disagreeing amongst themselves, one BARTHOLOMEVVS Neapolitan, and Archbishop of Barri was chosen Pope, who tooke for his name VRBANE the sixth. The French Cardinals presently repenting, alleged that what they had done was for feare of the Roman people; whereupon some of them departed from Rome: yet VRBANE notwithstanding was consecrated, and generally obeyed; and those which had absented themselves returned, and so they continued three moneths: which being expired, through some discontentments which they conceiued against him (and as PLATINA writeth, for that he shewed himselfe severe and rigorous against the abuses and pride of the Clergy) eight of the French Cardinals, saying that they left Rome by reason of the heate, went to Fundi, where being fauoured by Queene IOANE of Naples which sold the City of Aninion to the Pope, they pretending and publishing the election of VRBANE to haue been made by violence, that he was no Pope, and that the Sea was void; they amongst themselves in Fundi chose a new Pope and called him CLEMENT the seuenth; whom Queene IOANE and all the kingdom of Naples obeyed and held for Pope; and so began the schisme, which lasted forty yeers. Through the warres and dissension betweene Princes, Christendome was diuided into two factions; for besides Queene IOANE and her kingdome of Naples, the French king fauoured Pope CLEMENT, and perswaded the King of Castile to doe the like. All Italie (excepting Naples) obeyed Pope VRBANE; so did the Emperor WENCESLAVS, Germany England and Portugall; and the one and the other alleged such reasons, and so great and so worthy personages took part with the one and the other, as it made the matter very doubtfull.

This schisme (as I say) continued long, norwithstanding that those which were chosen died, for the Cardinals of either party chose a successor, and held the chaire for void, as hereafter shall appeare. Pope CLEMENT went into France, where with the aide of the French King, and of the Queene of Naples and of Prouence, he held his court in Aninion, and VRBANE remained in Rome; and they two making warre, either of them by all meanes possible sought the others destruction. Pope VRBANE sent his Ambassadors to complaine to the Emperour WENCESLAVS, of what had happened, and to perswade him to come into Italie in fauor of him, against the Queene of Naples, who then was the widow of LEVVS Duke of Tarent, after that she had murdered her first husband: But he giuing them good words took little care for the matter, but yet he and his brother SIGISMUND sent to Pope CLEMENT at Aninion, admonishing him to leaue the name of Pope, and to submit himselfe to Pope VRBANE.

Pope VRBANE finding himself much grieved against Queene IOANE, for that through her assistance the schisme began (that Kingdom being subiect and held of the Church of Rome) sent to treat with CHARLES, Nephew to LEVVS King of Hungary (who as some say) was the sonne of her husband ANDREW King of Naples, whom she had made away) to come into Italie with an Army; promising him (as a schismaticke and disobedient to his Church) to depriue Queene IOANE, and to make him King of Naples, whereto CHARLES and his Vncle

LEUVES King of Hungary willingly gave ear, which LEUVES was father-in-law to SIGISMUND the Emperors brother; who, being very glad thereof, gave him his aid and counsell. CHARLES, when as he was called to the Kingdom of Naples, made warre against the Venetians: for he and his Vncle, the King of Hungary and Poland, favoured the Genowais; between which and the Venetians in those daies were very great and cruell warres, many Princes assisting both the one and the other party: in which war many great exploits were performed, chiefly by sea; sometimes the one party prevailing, and sometimes the other. But at this time the Genowais had the Venetians at such an advantage, that with a mighty fleet of Gallies by sea they besieged the City of Venice, and their partakers and friends made very sharp warre against them by land; so as the City was in danger to have been taken and ruined. We may say, this was the most cruell warre that vntill that time euer was seen in the world: for, therein was artillery first of all used by the Venetians; which was about the year of our Lord one thousand three hundred, eighty two, or a little while after. The invention of this pestilent scourge of mankind was attributed to the Germans: some say that a Monk, who was a great Philosopher, found out the same; not to that purpose to have killed and slain men therewith, but with a desire to have experimented the quality and naturall force of things. Others are of opinion, that it was one PATER, a great Magician; but it importeth little to knowe who it was; for, besides the ordinary Historiographers which I follow in this place, ther be many others write thereof.

Venice escaping from being taken in this warre, and many other matters succeeding, the Duke of Savoy treated, and set downe articles of peace between those two Common-wealths, which peace was concluded. So as to return to my discourse, CHARLES being called to the kingdom of Naples, he went into Hungary: where being furnished with men and other favors by his Vncle King LEUVES, and the Emperor WENCESLAWS, he came into Italy, and to be briefe (leaving what befell him upon the way) he went to Rome, and was very honorably received by the Pope, and thence took his way towards the kingdom of Naples; and coming to blowes with Queen IOANS Army, he overthrew and scattered the same; and then marching to the City of Naples took it: and the Queene retiring to Caserta was therein besieged, and so CHARLES in short space made himselfe Lord of the whole kingdom, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand, three hundred, eighty two. Queen IOAN, being besieged, sent to the French King, to her Countrey of Provence, and to Pope CLEMENT, for relief; and forasmuch as she had no issue, she adopted LEUVES Duke of Anjou, Vncle to the French King, for her heir: which LEUVES, with a puissant Army of French-men, and with all the favour that Pope CLEMENT and the Countrey of Provence could yeeld him, went to relieve her; which was so great, that what is written thereof seems incredible: for they write, that he came with above thirty thousand horse. Being come into the Territory of Bologna in Italie, warreing vpon such as were his aduersaries, and giving it out that he came to set Queen IOAN at liberty, to supplant Pope VRBAN, and to place Pope CLEMENT (of which, both the one & the other in any mans iudgment was easie to haue bin done) in the midst of his iourney (which was very long by reason of the great number of people which came with him, and being hindered by King CHARLES of Naples, and Pope VRBAN) hee was taken with so vehement sickness, that within very fewe dayes it decried him of life; and his Army, without a Leader being divided and disperd, returned to their Countrey: and so was King CHARLES freed from this fear; who, hauing by sundry practices gotten Queen IOAN into his power, commanded her secretly to be drowned: and so she dying, suffered punishment for the death of her husband; and CHARLES remained King and absolute Lord of Naples, with whom the Pope fell at variance, and other matters followed.

While these things passed in Italy, there was neither peace nor quietnes in Germany, through the negligence and little care of the Emperor WENCESLAWS; who, making his abode in his Kingdom of Bohemia, gave himself wholly over to his pleasure. About this time died the Earl of Blanders; and PHILIP Duke of Burgundy, son to King JOHN of France, inheriting his estate, the houses of Blanders and Burgundy were united. It hapned at that time also, which was in the year of our Lord one thousand, three hundred, eighty three, that LEUVES King of Hungary and Poland dying, left only two daughters; of which, one who was called MARY was married to the Emperors brother SIGISMUND, who by her inherited the Kingdom of Hungary; and the other was married to the Duke of Austria, with the title of the Kingdom of Poland.

King

King LEUVES being dead, and SIGISMUND being but fifteen yeers old, after that he and his wife were crowned, his mother in law Queene ISABEL had the government of the kingdom: who following the counsell of the Earle of Gara (a favorite of hers) gouerned with such rigor and severity, that the greatest part of the subjects murmuring against her, rose and rebelled; and as SIGISMUND was but a childe, and she a woman, and the Emperor vnable to relieve them, the rebellion could not be pacified: whereupon the principall men of that kingdom, sent for CHARLES king of Naples, alleging that the inheritance of the kingdom of Hungary appertained vnto him, and to no other; for that he was a man, and neere of blood vnto King LEUVES deceased. King CHARLES thirsting after another kingdom, and hoping of the like good successe in Hungary as he had in Naples, accepted the offer; and making preparation for his iourney, leaving the gouernment of Naples to his wife, with the greatest provision of men and money that he could make (for that he would not compass Italy about) sailed along by the Adriatick Sea (now called the Gulph of Venice) and landing at a place in Slavonia, subiect to the kingdom of Hungary, was there so well received, and in like manner by all those of that kingdom, that the young King SIGISMUND, doubting of the power of his friends which held with him, leaving his wife and his mother in law the widow Queen in Hungary, fled to his brother the Emperor, who then was in Bohemia; and the Queene mother being a subtle woman, sent a messenger to welcome king CHARLES into the countrey, and to tell him that she resposing her trust in his goodness, would yeeld her selfe and her daughter in his power, for that she assured her selfe his coming to be for the good of that Kingdom. King CHARLES gaue such credit to her speeches, that he came to the place where she was; and holding himselfe for absolute Lord, and taking vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom, was not so careful for the safety of his person, as reason required: for one day coming to the Queens lodging, he was there by the Queens direction and some of her favorites traitorously slaine by the hands of one BLASE DE FORBAC: so as this King, not contented with the kingdom of Naples, came to lose his life for the kingdom of Hungary: and the two Queens, mother and daughter hauing made away their enemy, wrote to the Emperor, to send his brother SIGISMUND into that Kingdom; and they in the meane time had the gouernment; for as it seemeth, there was then no open contradiction.

The Queene being more confident then she ought to have been considering what she had done, went from the place where she made her abode, to goe in progresse into the countrey, carrying her daughter with her; and passing one day carelesly with a small guard; a great Lord of Hungary, called JOHN BAN DE HORNBACH (who had been of the aduerser party) meeting her vpon the way, apprehended the two Queens, mother and daughter, and so many as were with them; and there in her presence slew BLASE FORBAC, who murdered King CHARLES; and made the old Queene and others of her company to be drowned in a lake of water which was thereby; and hauing thus cruelly reneged the death of king CHARLES, he carried the sorrowfull young Queene MARY prisoner to a Castle. When King SIGISMUND was certified of this great and strange disaster, moued with iust sorrow for his mother in law and his wife; with the aide of his brother the Emperor, he entred Hungary, where, by the most part hee was received and obeyed; moued thereto with compassion to see his wife imprisoned: which when JOHN HORNBACH, the cruell reuenger of King CHARLES his death vnderstood, repenting of what he had done, or fearing to be brought to ruine for the same, he so practised with the Queene, whom he held prisoner, that she promised and swore to obtaine his pardon of her husband, whereupon she being set at liberty went presently to Buda, where her husband was; and there they both were again crowned, and received for King and Queene, which happened in the year of our Lord, one thousand three hundred eighty and six. But SIGISMUND notwithstanding his wiles oathes and promises, in such manner persecuted JOHN DE HORNBACH, that after many conflicts hauing gotten him into his power, he commanded him to be slain: and so he remained King of Hungary, wherein he reigned many yeers after the changes of fortune before recited, in that Kingdom, and in Naples; such as if they haue been read with attention, are as strange as most that haue passed in the world; yet afterwards ensued other as great or greater, as shall appeare.

SIGISMUND hauing brought that kingdom to subiection, and thoroughly settled himselfe therein; in reuenge of matters past, he at a Parliament held at Buda (as writeth PIUS QVINVS, who before was called AENEAS SYLVIVS) who beheaded two and thirty of the chiefe Lords of that Kingdom, who had beene his enemies and made warre against

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him;

Artillery first
used in the
warre.

The death of
Leues Duke
of Anjou.

Ioan queen of
Naples drowned.

The raising of
the Countrey of
Blanders to the
duchy of Bur-
gundy.

K Charles of
Naples murdered
in Hungary.

The Queene of
Hungary drown-
ed.

him: which truly was cruell and seuer justice, notwithstanding that they had deserved it: for which cause, the kinsfolke and friends of those which were executed did euer after so much hate him, that they brought him into many difficulties and extremities; for it is a farre more safe course to pardon, and to vse moderate iustice, with clemency: then to extend the rigor and extremity of the laws. In the kingdom of *Naples* reigned *LADISLAVS* son to king *CHARLES*, although not without trouble by those which held for *LEVVS* Duke of *Aniun* (sonne to that *LEVVS* which died in that action as is before declared) who challenged the kingdom of *Naples*, and Queen *IOANNE*'s other dominions.

IOHN GALEAS Viscount, sonne to *GALEAS*, in those daies made himselfe Lord of all *Lombardy*, by putting his Vncle *BARNABY* to death by treason, with whom he had in his fathers time diuided the Countrey, in this manner. *BARNABY* held *Placencia*, *Cremona*, *Parma*, *Lodi*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and other places thereto appertaining: and his Nephew *IOHN* held *Pavia*, *Vercelli*, *Donarra*, *Torona*, and the rest between that and the Alps; the City of *Milan* was for them both, conditionally that they should peaceably gouern the same. But as soueraignty can endure no company or equality: so *IOHN GALEAS*, to make himselfe Lord of the whole, found a meanes in a Castle to seize vpon his Vncle, and father in law, who trusted him as his own sonne, wherein either of poyson or other infirmity he died prisoner: and he made himselfe Lord of *Milan*, and the other cities, notwithstanding that *BARNABY* had one sonne called *ASTROGIO*, and another called *CHARLES* Viscount, who afterwards troubled his kinsman all that he might. But the ambition and power of *IOHN GALEAS* rested not here; for as at that time there were warres between *ANTHONY della Scala* Lord of *Verona* and *Verona*, and *FRANCIS CARRARA*, Lord of *Padoa* and other towns, he in such manner fauored the party of *FRANCIS CARRARA*, that expelling *ANTHONY della Scala*, *GALEAS* took those Townes to himselfe, and possessed the same: and after that he had subuerted the enemy, he bent his Armes against his friend, and besieged *FRANCIS CARRARA* in *Padoa*: and entering it by force, he took the poore old man prisoner; and so for that time made himselfe Lord of those Cities, and was the most mighty and redoubted man in all *Italy*: so as this was the right and title of the first Dukes of *Milan*: yet vntill that time they were not called Dukes, for this *GALEAS* was called Earle of *Verona*, vntill that the Emperor *WENCESLAVS* gaue him the title of Duke, as hereafter we will declare.

The Lords which were thus deposed, left sonnes behinde them, with whom he afterwards had warres, and many accidents happened, which I must of force relate, for the better vnderstanding of my principall intent: but this for the present shall suffice, to bring that to light whereof we purpose to discourse, which is of the raigne of the Emperour *WENCESLAVS*, for that it concerneth the state of the Imperiall townes and lands of the Empire in *Germany*, and *Italy*, whereof the Emperour took not such care as he ought to haue done, and cared not to be crowned in *Rome*, neither to come into *Italy*. And as for *Germany*, hee gouerned it with so little order, that the warres betweene the cities of the Empire, and the Dukes of *Wittenburgh* ceased not; sundrie Princes fauouring both the one and the other partie, and all the rest was out of order: whereupon they began to consult of deposing him from the Empire, which was afterwards effected; and the Bohemians, which were his owne subiects being much discontented with his gouernment, held him for the space of seuentene weekes prisoner; and hee being afterwards vpon certaine conditions released, fell to his old manner of living; at the end whereof, viz. in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, eightie and nine, Pope *VIRANE* the Sixt died in *Rome*, hauing beene so eleuen yeeres, and Cardinal *PETER TONACBLOA* Neapolitane, was by the Romane Cardinals chosen for his succesor, and called *BONIFACE* the ninth: yet in *Aniun*, *CLEMENT* the seuenth was held and obeyed for Pope in all *France*.

This *BONIFACE* vsed such policy, that getting the absolute gouernment of *Rome*, he suppressed the power and liberty of the people; and making officers at his pleasure, fortified the Castle *Saint Angelo* with a garrison, which of long time had lien desert, an habitacle for Goates and other beasts: otherwise he was not greatly commended, for the contention between these two Popes opened the gate to Symony and many other abuses. And Pope *BONIFACE* afterwards sent a Cardinal Legate to crowne *LADISLAVS*, King of *Naples*, sonne to King *CHARLES* who was slaine in *Hungary*: and Pope *CLEMENT* in *Aniun* a little before gaue the same title to *LEVVS* Duke of *Aniun*, son to the other *LEVVS* his fathers riuall; so as many things passed between these two Princes, which I omit: but King

LADIS-

LADISLAVS preuailling in the yeere following Pope *BONIFACE* his election, Pope *CLEMENT* died in *Aniun*: and the Cardinals which followed him, chose one *PETER de Luna* a Spaniard to be his succesor, a very excellent learned man, if he could haue been restrained from the ambition to haue bin Pope, who was called *BENEDICT* the thirteenth.

IOHN GALEAS Viscount being of great power, sent the Archbishop of *Milan* for his Ambassadour, to entreate the Emperour to giue him the title of Duke of *Milan*, and to approue his right thereto: which the Emperour without the consent of the Princes of the Empire graunted, more for the desire of the money, which was presented him, then for any right or reason that might induce him thereto: and all things happened to *IOHN GALEAS* so well according to his desire, that he came to be one of the most puissant and redoubted Princes in Christendome.

The schisme betweene the two Popes, and the warres in *Italy* and *Germany* in those daies, together with the Emperours balencis and insufficiencie, were the cause why the Emperour and Empire of *Constantinople* could not be relieved or succoured, which at that time were mightily oppressed by *BATZETH* the fourth King of the Turkes; who with a puissant Army comming into *Europe*, ouercame and slew in battaile *MARK DASHOTE* of *Bulgaria*, and ouerran all his country: and within three yeeres after, returning into the prouinces of *Greece*, took and conquered cities and prouinces: and passing forwards marched through all *Walathia*, which in auintient time was called *Dacia*; and so came into *Hungary*, whence he returned with great spoyle, remaining Lord (besides what he held before) of the prouinces of *Macedonia*, of the greatest part of *Thracia*, of *Thessalia*, of the prouince of the auintient *Athens* and other countries; and comming victorious hee besieged the Imperiall citie of *Constantinople*: whereupon *SIGISMUND* King of *Hungary*, with the aide of his brother the Emperour (but with much more and farre better from fundrie other Christian Princes; chiefly from *England*, and *France*, whither he sent to sue for the same, and also from the Emperour of *Constantinople*) came to seeke the great Turke, with 100000 men, whereof twentie thousand were horsemen: whereof *BATZETH* being aduertised, raised his siege from before *Constantinople*, and with three hundred thousand men came to meete him; and the two Armies vpon Michaelmas day in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, three hundred, ninety and seuen, fought a bloody and cruell battaile, wherein the King of *Hungary*, and the other Princes and Nobles which were with him were ouerthrowne, and as it is written a very great slaughter was made of the Christians, through the fault of the French, which charged before their time; and the King of *Hungary*, and the Master of the Order of the Knights of the *Rhodes* escaping by flight, the greatest part of the French were either slaine or taken prisoners. After this victory, *BATZETH* returned to the siege of *Constantinople*: at which time if the great *TAMORLAN* (who was one of the most mighty and most victorious Captains that euer was in the world) had not risen in *Asia*, he had taken the citie, and at that time had wholly subdued the Empire: wherefore hee leaving in *Europe* the best garrisons he could, went to the defense of *Asia*, wherein he was in a battell ouerthrowne and taken, and in *TAMORLAN*'s power died prisoner; which (for that time) brought some rest to Christendome. King *SIGISMUND*, escaping from this unfortunate battell, came vnto *Constantinople*; and from thence sailing vnto the Ile of *Rhodes*, hee came into *Dalmatia* or *Slado-nia*.

In the time of this peregrination, many of his kingdom of *Hungary* publishing him to be either dead or taken prisoner, aduanced the Colours of *LADISLAVS* King of *Naples*, proclaiming him king by the right of his father *CHARLES*, of whom we made mention, and of his death being slaine after his comming into *Hungary*, for which purpose his son was now sent forth: but *SIGISMUND* afterwards appearing, with the aid of the Archbishop of *Strigoniun*, and other his friends, recovered his Kingdome; although that afterwards hee was againe imprisoned, and fell into great troubles; the occasion whereof was the malice and haured which many of his Kingdome bare him, for the cruell execution done in the beginning of his raigne; as then was expressed.

These matters being past, and other which for that they concerne not the history of the Emperours, I ouerpasse: the Princes Electors of the Empire, and the rest, seeing the insufficiencie and little care the Emperour took to suppress and pacifie the warres and controuersies between the cities amongst themselves, and among the Princes; and that he gaue himselfe to his pleasure and vaine delights, by reason whereof hee was little regarded; resolved to meete;

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and

Batzeth King
of the Turkes
came into
Europe.

A battaile be-
tweene the King
of Hungary and
the Turke,
wherewith
the Christians were
ouerthrowne.

The great
Turke ouer-
throwne and
taken by the
mighty Tamorlan.

Summum ius,
summa iniuria



and to depose him, as dangerous, and vnprofitable for the Empire; and to chuse another Emperor; alleging him to be altogether vnfit for the government; that he desired not, neither sought to be crowned; that he had without reason, order, or equitie giuen the title of Duke to JOHN GALBAS the tyrant of *Adrian*, that he had put many men of Sacerdotal order to death, and some prelates; that he was vicious, and no good Christian; that he took no care to resist the Turkes; and finally, that he was a man vnprofitable for the Christian Common-wealth; with many other matters which they laid to his charge; and putting their resolution in effect, they met for that purpose in the citie of *Frankford*, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand, foure hundred, Pope BONIFACE being the chiefest author thereof, who published him for deprived and vnworthy of the Empire, in the 22. yeere of his raigne. During the raigne of this Emperor WENCESLAVS, they began to dispute against the vanitie of the Popes indulgences in the Vniuersity of *Prague* which then flourished. JOHN HUSA Bohemian, who then was very famous for his learning and pietie, did much oppugne them, saying, that they were meer Impostures. He inuighed against the Popes tyrannie, as the chief cause thereof, and blamed the avarice, luxurie and pride of the Clergie, reiecting their vows, impure Celibate superstitions, fictions and all their monasticall life, and whatsoever did not agree with the Analogie of faith. These matters were formerly brought in question in *England* by WICKLIFFE about the yeere of our Lord 1372.

Here is some difference betweene the authors: for some write that ROBERT whom some call RYPERT, Count Palatine of *Rhine* and Duke of *Bauiere*, was chosen in his place, without making mention of IODOCVS Marquess of *Moravia* cousin germane to the Emperor WENCESLAVS (being his fathers brothers sonne) who some say, was chosen before ROBERT, and liued but a little while after: others (which I rather beleue) say that there was controuersie betweene the Electors; some chusing IODOCVS, and others ROBERT, and that IODOCVS dying, the contention ended. Howsoever it was, it is true that IODOCVS liued but six months after this election; and of him nothing is written worthe to be recited. So as (according to all writers) ROBERT by common consent, after the decease of IODOCVS, remained sole Emperor; and his election was ratified by Pope BONIFACE. CARION writes, that IODOCVS soone after his election to the Empire, went to visit WENCESLAVS King of *Bohemia*, his cousin germane; who by bringing him into a priuate Chamber said vnto him: Although I know that it is not for my dignitie that the Electors haue degraded me, yet it is my comfort that our family hath not lost this honour. I willingly and gladly accept you for my successor. And when as IODOCVS amazed with these words kneeled vnto the King, desiring him not to impute any thing vnto him; Feare not saith he, for neither doe I vnwillingly leaue the Empire, neither would I violate the rights of blood and consanguinity, if I had a desire to hold it. Be therefore of good cheere and enioy the Empire which is giuen thee; *Bohemia* is sufficient for me; make vse of the power, Armes and wealth of my Kingdome as thine owne, and so he dismisset his cousin with ioy. CYSPIAN in this place maketh mention of one FREDERICK Duke of *Brunswick*, who (as he saith) was also chosen before ROBERT, and was slaine before that he could be crown'd, through the treason of a certaine Earle, by the counsell and procurement of the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and that ROBERT was chosen afterwards. I know not what authors he Archbishops therein, for I finde it written by him onely. It sufficeth, that ROBERT, whom the Germanes call RYPERT (WENCESLAVS being deposed) remained Emperor: whereof WENCESLAVS made no great account, for in truth hee that took small care to preserve it, it is no maruell though it grieved him little to lose it; for he contented himselfe with his Kingdome of *Bohemia*, which he enioyed a long time after, and gouerned the same so retchlesly, that his brother SIGISMUND King of *Hungary*, by the consent of his subjects took him once, and another time, and they themselves apprehending him, deliuered him to the custody of ALBERT Duke of *Austria*, who held him for a space prisoner in *Vienna*: whence being afterwards released, he returned to his Kingdome, in possession whereof he afterwards liued nineteene yeeres, and died being of the age of seauen and fiftie (as writeth Pope PIUS QVINTVS, otherwise called AENAS SYLVIVS) without leauing either son or daughter to two wiues to which he was married. And he raigning in *Bohemia*, the religion began to spring, whereof hereafter mention shall be made, which was the ground of that which at this day is professed in *Germany*, and in the greatest part of Christendome, which (as irremeth) this King fauoured. This was the end of the Emperor WENCESLAVS his Empire.

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All this while JOHN PALOLOVS raign'd in *Constantinople*, who was also called CALOIOANNES; yet BLONDVS is of opinion, that ANDRONICVS, the sonne of this CALOIOANNES, raign'd at this time; wherein (as I coniecture) he is deceived: for the authors which particularly write the liues of the Greeke Emperors, make no mention of ANDRONICVS in this place, but of JOHN CATACVZBVS, with whom CALOIOANNES contended for the Empire. A little after the depriuing of WENCESLAVS, EMANVEL PALOLOVS succeeding his father CALOIOANNES, the Empire of *Constantinople* decayed & came to ruine; for BAIABETH the great Turke took many prouinces and countries thereof, as we haue already declared: yet it had some rest in those daies, by reason of the calamitie brought vpon the Turkes by the great TAMORLAN; but it continued not long, for TAMORLAN being dead, CALATIN the son of BAIABETH, recovered and reformed the Kingdome and Empire of the Turkes, and againe molested and persecuted the Empire of *Greece*, and the Kings of *Hungary*.



THE LIFE OF ROBERT, ONELY OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND TENTH RO- MANE EMPEROVR.

THE ARGVMENT.

ROBERT, being in the time of Wenceslaus made Emperor, took speedy order to make it knowne to the world, that the dignity was not giuen him for nought, and therefore he caused himselfe to be crowned; and having suppressed the troubles of *Germany*, he went to be crowned in *Italy*, and to protect the *Florentines* against the Duke of *Adrian*, but his coming was no lesse dishonourable than vnprofitable, neither were the *Florentine* warres with the Duke of *Adrian* ended, but through the death of the said Duke, for the Emperor departing without having decided them, or without putting their aduersary in any feare, applied himselfe to the affairs of *Germany*, wherein he was much troubled about the schisme in the Church of *Rome*; and desiring to assemble a Councell, the Popes not consenting thereto, he was a long time in doubt: but in the end, resolving to haue a Councell held in such a place whither both the Popes without suspicion might come, he fell sick and died, in the tenth yeere of his Raigne.



The Emperor WENCESLAVS being in such manner as I said deprived, ROBERT Duke of *Bauiere*, and Count Palatine, was chosen in his place. Hee was a man of quick apprehension, little of stature, but of a great spirit, very careful and studious of the Maiesty of the Empire and of the publique affairs, famous for his integrity and iustice, and well practised in Armes. Coming to Aix to be crowned, they would not receive him into the City, pretending that they were yet bound by their oath to WENCESLAVS: wherefore the new Emperor elect, accompanied by the Electors and some other Princes, went to the City of *Colen*, and there was crowned by the Archbishop thereof; and his election and coronation was confirmed and ratified by Pope BONIFACE: and so through all *Germany* he was

held and obeyed for Emperor, but not with such obedience and reuerence as some of his Predecessors had been: for, the remisse behaviour and little worth of WENCESLAVS, and the

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morgages and sales made by his father CHARLES, had given such liberty and exemptions in the territories of the Empire, that the Empire scarcely retained the authority and reputation in the Imperial countries, and with the Princes of Germany, which ought to have been given it. But as ROBERT was a wife and prudent Prince, and of himself very mighty and of great power, so in the tenne yeers which he reigned, he made a great reformation in all matters, and settled the best order that was possible, aswell in the controversies and warres which were in Germany, as in the execution of iustice and good government.

Italy was then on fier with warre and factions; in the kingdom of Naples LADISLAUS the sonne of CHARLES before named, with the aide of Pope BONIFACE, warred against those which held for LEVVS Duke of Anjou, soone to the other LEVVS who held some Cities and Townes in that kingdom, with the title which he inherited from his father, and from Queene IOANE, being inuaded in that kingdome by CLEMENT 7, who in Aninion was called Pope: And LADISLAUS his power encreasing, hee in the end prevailed.

The most powerfull man in all the rest of Italy, was JOHN GALRAS Viscount Duke of Milan, who (as I said) was an haughty minded man; who not contented to be Duke and Lord of so great estates, and of so many Cities as he was, thought to haue been a King, yea an Emperour and Lord of all Italy; and at that time made cruell warre against the Florentines, who only durst and were able to make head against him, they being assisted by the sonnes of BARNABUS who had been tyrant of Milan; and by the sonnes of those which had bene tyrannes or Gouvernours of Padua, whom hee had depofed, and others which hee had wronged and dispossessed; and by many others which did stand in feare to bee dealt withall in the like manner.

Matters standing in these teames, and the Election and Coronation of the Emperour ROBERT being published, the Florentines sent Ambassadors to entreate and to perswade him (for seeing he was Emperour he was bound thereto) to come into Italy, to free the Country from so cruell and pernicious a tyrant, as was Duke JOHN of Milan (who had vltured so many townes of the Empire, and of the Church) and therewith offered to give him towards his charges the summe of two hundred thousand Florines, whereof one hundred thousand presently in hand, and the rest the first day that he should enter into the Tyrant Dukes country with his Army, wherein they would assist him with the greatest power they were able to make both offsoote and horse. These Ambassadors being arrived in Germany, they were very well entertained by the Emperour, who presently accepting their offer and seruice, promised to come into Italy, aswell for the enterprise of Milan, as to be crowned in Rome: and he therupon presently began to provide all things necessary for his iourney.

The Duke of Milan hauing intelligence hereof, little regarded the deuices and policies which his predecessors had vsed with former Emperours, seeking by their Ambassadors to procure peace with them, and to obtain their grace and fauour, to beare themselves as their vassalls and subiects; but he as a mighty absolute Lord, with great resolution mustered vp his men, and provided armour and Artillery (which then was in vse) and all things else needefull for the warre so that great preparation was made of both sides; and all Italy and Germany were very attentive to see the event of this great action. The Emperour stayed longer then he, of those which expected his coming, thought he would haue done: for hauing resolved to come in the beginning of the yeere 1401, he came to Trium (which is at the entry into Italy) in the end of haruest following, accompanied by the Duke of Austria, the Archbishop of Cologne, and some other Princes, with many Captaines of Germany and Italy. And to performe the conditions made with the Florentines, he came with his Army within sight of Brescia, which held for the Duke of Milan; but the Duke had in that City, and the marches thereof, so many good men of warre to make head against him, that they feared not to offer him bataille; and the Dukes Cauallerie were such excellent good horse-men, that in all skirmishes and encounters wherefoeuer they met, they had the advantage of the Germanes, and slew many of them: and they one day coming to ioyne with their whole forces in a bataille, the Emperour and his Army were ouerthrown, nere to the Lake of Benaco, now called Garda: and being thus broken, hee retired to Trient, where he stood in great doubt and perplexity, to thinke whether he should returne into Germany, or reinforce his Army to returne into Italy; where the Duke of Austria and the Archbishop of Cologne leauing him returned home, wherewith the Emperour was so grieved as he was ready to haue done the like; but perswaded by FRANCIS CARRARA, the sonne of CAR-

RARA

RARA the tyrant of Padua, and by other Italian Captaines: and thinking it a shame for him to returne without further tryall of his fortune, he went with his Army (which he had reinforced) as farre as Triuigi, and thence to Padua; where by meanes of CARRARA he was receiued; whither came to him foure Ambassadors from the Florentines, being of the chiefe of the City: who also sent two Captaines with certain troupes of horse and foote; one of which (as saith BLONDVS) was SFORZA ATENDVLO, who afterwards was an excellent and very famous captain, and was father to that FRANCIS SFORZA which was one of the best captains in the world, and afterwards duke of Milan.

This SFORZA ATENDVLO was borne in a village called Catinola, of meane parentage and very poore. With these Ambassadors ROBERT had long treaties, concluding that the Duke of Milan was of such power, that neither he nor they had forces sufficient to ruine him, or to expell him out of his estate: wherefore he held it best for him to return, and that they should seek new aid and relief; besides this he demanded so great a sum of money for the payment of his souldiers, that it seemed not to be raised.

The Florentines fearing their ruine if the Emperour should abandon them and returne, they left no meanes to detain him: wherefore two of the Ambassadors returned in post to Florence, to conferre with their citizens about this matter; and the other two remained with the Emperour: who for that it was winter, and no fit time to make warre (having a great desire to see that citie) went to Venice, where he was most sumptuously entertained. The Florentines in the meane time hauing heard their Ambassadors, resolving what answer they would make to the Emperour, determined to procure the friendship of the Venecians, and to make a league with them, and with the Pope, and to giue the Emperour great aide of men and money: herewith the Ambassadors returned to Venice, relating to him the resolution of their citizens. The Emperour complained of them to the Venecians, for that they had not given him that money which they had promised: and they excusing themselves, alleged that he came not with such power as was requisite, neither had entred the territorie of Milan. Finally, many treaties and speeches passed, as well with the Emperour as the Duke of Milans Ambassadors, who came thither to defend their cause before the Venecians; the Florentines still insisting to stay the Emperour in Italy; who giuing them sometimes hope, and sometimes making the matter doubtfull, came from Venice to Padua, where he lay all the rest of the winter: and the moneth of Aprill being come, in the yeere of our Lord 1402, in the third yeere of his reigne, he perceiving that the Venecians would be but lookers on, and newters, and would not helpe the Florentines; and that LADISLAUS King of Naples had enough to doe with LEVVS of Anjou, and that Pope BONIFACE (notwithstanding that the Duke of Milan had taken many townes from him) durst not attempt ought against him; he resolved with himself to returne into Germany, and did so, although with losse of reputation: whereby it appeared that the Empire was not of such power as in former times; wherewith the Florentines were much grieved, and vsed all possible meanes to haue staied him. And although I shall make some digression, yet I will declare what end the war betweene the Duke of Milan and the Florentines had, and how it was interrupted by the death of the said Duke.

The Emperour being departed out of Italy; the Duke of Milan resolved presently to effect his desires, and to make himselfe Lord of Florence, sending his Generall, called ALBERICO Earle of Cuno, with all the force which hee had lenied to make head against the Emperour, to assault Bologna, which was gouerned by JOHN BENTIVOGLIO, a friend and confederate with the Florentines. And with the Dukes Army went the Marquess of Montoa, his friend and confederate, and PANDOLPHO MALATESTA Lord of Rimini. The Florentines to the reliefe of BENTIVOGLIO, sent their best Captaines and men of warre, amongst which was FRANCIS CARRARA the son of FRANCIS CARRARA Lord of Padua. BENTIVOGLIO herewith and with his owne forces took the field, with a resolution to fight with the Duke of Milans power, which refused not the same: wherein, JOHN BENTIVOGLIO and his partakers being ouerthrowne, he escaped by flight, and the CARRARI were taken prisoners: and ALBERICO presently besieging the citie of Bologna, and battering it in many parts, by one of which some of his men, by the permission of some within the citie began to enter; but BENTIVOGLIO resolving to die honourably Lord of Bologna, charged those which were entred, and fought with such obstinacie, that being vnkowne hee was there slaine, and cut in pieces. Being knowne that he was dead, the citie without any more resistance was entred, and so the Duke of Milan had that citie.

Bologna taken
by the Duke of
Milan.

This

This victory strake such a fear into the Florentines, that they holding themselves for lost, would have accepted any conditions of peace, had they been never so hard; and sent to desire the Venecians to purchase the same for them: but the Duke of Milan, which now assured himself to be Lord of Florence, refusing to hear them, commanded his Army to march forwards: and being in the height of his greatness, that God which only is able, and yfeth to abate mens pride, measured his ambitious thoughts; for, hee was suddenly taken with a pestilent Fever, whereof within fewe daies after he died: and notwithstanding that his death was kept secret, yet it was soon discouered, and the Florentines were freed from the great fear of the seruitude which they expected. I knowe well that I haue spent much time about this man: but I doo it for that it is a notable matter to see to what great power this Duke tyrannically, in despite of Kings and Emperours which were his aduersaries, attained; and for as much as hee was a subject of the Empire, whereof this History is, it may be said to be of the substance of the same History.

This Prince JOHN GALEAS Viscount, Duke of Milan, was tall of stature, of a faire and comely aspect, indifferently well seen in the liberrall Arts and Sciences, very well spoken, of a quick and sharp wit, hardy and valiant in Arms, and therewith very politick and subtle in his actions: but he was so ambitious and desirous to raige and command, that to attain thereto, he setting aside the fear of God, made no question to attempt any means, just or vnjust whatsoever, so he might obtain his purposes; which were so many and such, that I cannot describe them. It is certain that he acquired much of what he desired: for, before his death hee was Lord of nine and twenty Cities in Italy; which were, Milan, Pavia, Monfrigal, Nouarra, Bercelli, Alba, Aquino, Alexandria, Tortona, Droho, Placencia, Parma, Reggio, Bologna, Pisa, Siena, Massa, Grosseto, Clusio, Perugia, Asse, Nocera, Lodi, Feltra, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Como, Cremona and Crema, besides the Towns and Castles subiect and appertaining to these Cities, which were very many. He died in the month of November, in the yeer of our Lord one thousand, foure hundred and two.

This mighty Duke left two sonnes behinde him, the eldest of which was called JOHN MARIA Viscount; and the other, PHILIP MARIA Viscount: to the elder he left by his Testament the title of Duke, and the City of Milan, with all the Towns and Cities within the iurisdiction thereof; and out of it the Cities of Bologna, Siena, Perugia and Asse. To his second son PHILIP he left the Cities of Pavia, Verona, Vicenza, and other places: and to a bastard sonne, whose name was GABRIEL, he left the City of Pisa. Which diuision made to his sons was imputed vnto him for a great oversight, and was after very prejudiciall to that estate: for, the two brothers disagreeing, it came to decay and ruine; for they were so young, that the eldest of them was but fifteen yeers old; so as there presently beganne factions and parakings between them and the widow Duchesse their mother-in-law, and their kinred and fauourites, about the gouernment and command. Finally (for that it would bee long to relate) the matter grew to that issue, that as soon as the discord was knowne to be between the heads, all the members became so out of order, as the greatest part of the Cities rose and rebelled against the Duke; some with those which first held them, and others with the new Captains and Tyrants: so as what in the time of the Duke was held for the greatest euill (which was, To bee subiect to one) seemed afterwards to be the least, by reason of the multitude of Tyrants, and the warre and great discord which ensued: for, in Cremona arose VOOLINO CAVALCABO, and PANDOLPHO MALATESTA with Brescia and Bergamo; PHILIP ARCELLANO in Placencia; PAVLO GYTTIOI with Luca; FACINGO with Porecello, Alexandria, and other places; the SYARDI in Bergamo; FOLLIANO RISCONI in Como; GIANINO VERNATESI in Lodi; GEORGE BENZONE in Crema; OTHO VITALE in Parma: and others sought to do the like in other places as, the CARRARISTI & those of Scala sought to make themselves Lords of Verona and Padova: in such sort, that the state of JOHN MARIA, the new Duke of Milan, was in great combustion and danger; and what did most hurt, was his owne tyrannicall condition: for he (as a proud cruell boy) beheaded sundry of the chief men of that Country. He also apprehended his mother, and committed many other insolencies, which in the end cost him his life: whereof being reprehended by a seruant and fauourite of his, which told him that he was vnlike to his Ancestors, he yielded a reason answerable to his actions, willing him to let him alone, for, that house or family could not be accounted excellent or famous which produced not men of all conditions. Thus, what the father had gotten by his valour and policy, the sonne lost by his weaknes and cruelty: for, besides the aboue-named Townes which

which were vsurped by other Lords, the Pope reconered Bologna, Assisa and Perugia: the Florentines bought Pisa. They of Siena hauing slaine CORREGIO their Gouernour, reconered their liberty, being subiect to cruell seditions. Neither did the Venecians forget themselves in these combustions, but extended their power as farre as Friuli and Istria. NOVEL CARARIVS the son of FRANCIS who had fled into Bauaria when his father was taken, hauing now reconered Padua with the assistance of the Venecians, being vnmindfull of their fauours, he sought to supplant them: and hauing perswaded WILLIAM SCALIGER to seize vpon Verona, being his familiar friend, and one who had assisted him both with counsell and Armes, he poisoned him to get Verona, and afterwards caused his sons ANTHONY and BRYNO to be treacherously murdered. He also attempted Vincenia: but they hating his tyrannicall craued protection from the Venecians, who imbracing this occasion, tooke Armes against him, besieged him in Padua, and in the end forced him to yeeld; so as he with two of his sons were strangled by the Venecians. By this victory they got Padua, Verona, Vincenia, with other Townes.

But PHILIP, his successor, reuenged his brothers death and expelled some of the tyrants, hereconered Bergamo and Brescia, hauing chased away MALATESTA, and Lodi, by the taking and hanging of VENASTES. He got Placencia and slew some of the ARCELLANI and banished the rest. He cast FRANCHINO RVSCA out of Como: with a promise of reward, he got Cremona hauing taken GABRYNDVLII, neglecting those which lay farther off. Let this suffice for his estate, and now to our purpose.

The Emperour ROBERT going into Germany (as is before said) applied himself to the pacifying thereof: for besides the ancient controuersies betwene the cities (as before is specified) in those daies many great men in Hungary through the old hatred which they long before had conceived against SIGISMUND their King, for the cruell execution which he caused to be done in the beginning of his raigne, rebelled against him, and they apprehending him committed him in a Castle to the custodie of a widow and her two sonnes, whose father he had put to death. SIGISMUND being thus prisoner, they sent to LADISLAUS King of Naples to come and take possession of that Kingdom, to whom it belonged: who although hee was not thoroughly confirmed in the Kingdom of Naples, yet moued with an ambitious desire to raigne and to commaund, he made the greatest haste thither that he could; and leauing Naples he came into Slavonia, where, in a citie subiect to the Kingdom of Hungary, he was crowned and proclaimed King: but in the meane time SIGISMUND vied such meanes with the widow and her sonnes, that they released him out of prison, and being at liberty, with the aide of his friends and many others which he reduced to his seruice, he reconered his Kingdom: and LADISLAUS being thereof aduertised, without proceeding any further (his hope and purpose failing him) returned to his Kingdom of Naples: but before his departure, in requitall of his good entertainment, he sold to the Venecians that citie wherein he was harboured. For all these matters (as it appeareth by the histories) his brother WENCESLAUS King of Bohemia and deposed Emperour, took little care, for he had enough to do to hold himselfe in his Kingdom; and as little is written of what the Emperour ROBERT did herein, or in the cruell warres betwene the Swislers and the Duke of Austria, the originall and issue whereof were long to be related. It seems he was otherwise buied in the Empires affairs; whereof, seeing it was in peace, no notable matter is written; and matters of small importance are not worth reading: for certainly although it be the blessing of God to liue in peaceable times, and vnder the rule of good kings and princes for the time present, yet the histories of them after their death are nothing delightful: and commonly men take more pleasure in reading of batailles, alterations of kingdoms, the fallies of Kings and their estates, then in histories of peace, iustice, and quiet times: and this is the reason why bookes of lies and fables are read with such delight, for that they are full of such fained accidents and adventures. True it is that those times were not without matters worthe to be related: but forasmuch as they concerne not the Emperour, I am not to write them in this history.

The Emperour ROBERT reigning in peace in Germany, in the fift yeere of his raigne Pope BONIFACE died in Rome, in the yeere of our Lord 1404: and he being dead the Cardinal of S. Croci was chosen & called INNOCENT the Seuenth, who before was called COSMO; BARNEDICT the Thirteenth liuing still in Avinion. Before that INNOCENT was chosen, all the Cardinals swore and promised, that whether soeuer of them should happen to be made Pope, he should doe his best endeavour to end the schisme in the Church, and that this INNOCENT should sware the same: but after that he was Pope, he vsed no such care therein as was expected.

The

The Emperor ROBERT, for that he was otherwise busied in *Germany*, or else through want of men or money, or both, could not or would not come into *Italy* at that time: whereto if he had had means, occasion was offered him to haue recovered to the Empire the Cities which the Duke of *Milan* and others had vsurped, by reason of the warres and great troubles which were among them in those daies: but (as I haue already said) the power and authority of the Emperors (for the causes before mentioned) was so much weakened, that they could not prouide for all parts; but the Venecians, taking the benefit of the time, made themselves Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona*, and *Vicenza*, with their confines; who before that time held not any City of importance in the main Land of *Italy*: and so they wholly extinguished the houses and estates of the *CARARATI* and of *Scala*, which of long time had been Lords of *Padoa*, *Verona*, and other Townes. The Florentines at this time bought the City of *Pisa*, of GABRIEL the base sonne of Duke GAUDAS of *Milan*; who, after that he had been Lord thereof the space of three yeeres, becing vnable to hold it, sold the same: and the Pisans to defend their liberty, and for the hatred which they bare to the Florentines, resolved (although in vain) to shake off the yoke of subiection. Whereupon, the Florentines besieging them, through famine, and by the treason of one JOHN SHORTLEBO, took the City, which in former time had been of very great power, and was now made a slave and subiect to the Florentines, as it is at this day: such is the weaknes and infidelity of the power and estates of this world.

*Pisa taken by
the Florentines.*

Pope INNOCENT the Seventh being dead, all the Cardinals, before the election of a new Pope, made a solemn vow, that he which should be chosen should endeavour to cause BENEDICT the Thirteenth, who was in *Animum*, to renounce the Papacy; and that BENEDICT doing so, he that was chosen should do the like, to the end that the schisme in the Church might cease, and that another should be chosen: this was held the fittest mean to end the schisme. After this solemn oath, one ANGELO CORARIA, Cardinall of Saint MARK, a Venecian, was chosen, and called GREGORY the Twelfth; who, as soon as he was chosen, confirmed the oath which he before had made: whereupon a meeting was procured to bee had between these two Popes, to the end that they both together should haue renounced the Papacy, and that another might be chosen; and many Letters & messengers were sent, and they both made shew to be willing thereto. But they could not agree vpon the place of meeting: yet in the end *Saونا* was appointed; and one Pope came from *Rome* to *Luca*, and the other from *Animum* to *Genua*: but they alleging many frivolous reasons, neither of them came to *Saونا*, whereby it plainly appeared that they had no meaning by their reconciliation to end the schisme. The Cardinals of either side lying neere together, and perceiving that neither of these two Popes had any meaning to renounce the Papacie, or to performe what they both had sworn, by Letters and messages passing betweene them agreed to meete together, to call a general Councell, to denie obedience to them both, and to chuse a new Pope.

The affairs of the Church being in this confusion, the power and authority of both Popes decreased, especially of BENEDICT the Antipope, France denying him obedience; who, finding no safety in *Anignon*, went into *Arragon*, where he was obeyed: and afterwards he retired himself vnto *Biscae*, where he continued in his hardnes of heart vntill he died; GREGORY also going from *Rome*, and the Cardinals repairing to the Councell. LADISLAUS king of *Naples* had an intent during this discord to make himself Lord of *Rome*; and with such forces as he could draw together, he went thither and seised thereon, with the help and fauour of the Colonnese; the which he held certain daies: during the which there were skirmishes and murders; but the *Vrsini* being in the end the stronger, he retired into his Kingdome.

27 Cardinals meeting altogether in *Pisa*, after many disputations a Councell was assembled, wherein met three Patriarches and 180. Archbishops and Bishops: the conclusion was, that the two Popes were cited to come to this Councell: whereto BENEDICT who was in *Animum*, answered, that the question was between him and Pope GREGORY, whether of them two should be Pope: wherefore they could not, neither did it appertaine to them to determine the cause; and that he marueiled at their presumption in attempting the same. Pope GREGORY also sent them word that they well knew him to be right Pope and canonically chosen; and therefore they neither could nor ought to call a Councell without his authority, for it appertained vnto him, and that he would not haue it held in *Pisa*, but in some other place; and that they were bound to go to that place which he should appoint, which was to *Aquileia*, whither hee went. About this controuersie the Emperor ROBERT summoned a Diet to be held in *Frankford*; whither came a Cardinall from Pope GREGORY, and another from the Councell held

in *Pisa*, each defending his cause; and Pope GREGORY desired that some other place might be appointed, but not *Pisa*. Finally, after many contentations, the Emperour yielding to the opinion of many learned men, and holding with Pope GREGORY, affirmed that he only had authority to call the Councell, and to appoint the place: But notwithstanding the Emperours opinion, the Councell of *Pisa*, holding neither GREGORY nor BENEDICT for Popes, chose a Franciscan Frier called PETER, Cardinall and Archbishop of *Milaw*, who took to name ALEXANDER the Fifth. This being done, thither came LEVVS Duke of *Aniow* and Earle of *France* (a riuall and competitor with LADISLAUS King of *Naples*) who acknowledging ALEXANDER for Pope, was by him inuested: and ALEXANDER gaue him the title to the Kingdom of *Naples* against LADISLAUS, who took Pope GREGORY's part. The schisme for all this ceased not, but encreased: for in lieu of two Popes now there were three, and each of them held his court apart, and had Cardinals, and many followers; but the new chosen Pope had the greatest and strongest partie: and Pope GREGORY wandering vp and downe remained for a space in *Genua*, (for LADISLAUS King of *Naples* was his friend) but in the end he came to *Armino*, where CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of that citie harboured him; hether continuing vntill the Councell of *Constance*. Pope ALEXANDER went to *Bologna*; but within eight moneths after his election he died in the same citie; and the Cardinals which were with him assembling in their Conclau in the same citie, chose BALTHASAR COSSA, a Neapolitane and Cardinall of S. *Eustace*, who was called JOHN the 24. which Election was by some held for violent and forced; for this BALTHASAR being a Captaine in the warres, and Gouernour of *Bologna*, had the commaund of men of warre and was of great power: but yet in the end he was by the greatest part of *Italy* held for Pope; and so were GREGORY and BENEDICT also in the places where they liued; by reason whereof all Christendome was diuided into three factions. The Emperour ROBERT being herewith discontent, and desiring a redresse, procured that a generall Councell might be held by the consent and authority of all those three which were called Popes; which afterwards in the time of his successor STRONMUND was accomplished. But he hauing begun this worke was within few daies after surprisid by death, in the tenth yeere of his raigne, in the yeere of our Lord 1410, leaving the schisme and diuision in the Church as before. This Emperour had six sonnes, the eldest of which, ROBERT and FREDERICK died before their father, so as when he died there remained JOHN, LEVVS, STEPHEN, and OTHER, which had diuers titles, and possessed sundrie estates.

*The death of the
Emperor
Robert.*

EMANUEL held the Empire of *Constantinople* in little prosperitie, as well by means of the warres with the Turkes, as other troubles and disorders in that Empire. In his time MAHYMAT sonne of CALAFIN was king of the Turkes: who in the beginning, and before that EMANUEL was Emperour, came into *Eurape* and warred in *Walachia*, but the rest of his time he spent in *Asia* in recouering that which TAMORLAN had taken from his grandfather BATAZETH.

In his time JOHN HVSSE began to be of such credit and reputation in *Bohemia*, that hee drawing many to be of his opinion, threw down the Images in Churches, denied Purgatorie, the sacrament of Confession, the Popes power, his Indulgences and pardons, Dirges and praying for the dead; praying to our Lady and to Saints; and held many other opinions which at this day are maintained in the greatest part of Christendome.



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THE
LIFE OF SIGISMUND,
ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND
HUNDRETH AND ELEVENTH
ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.

Sigismund King of Hungary, after the decease of the Emperor Robert, was chosen Emperor, whose election was very gratefully, for that he was a man of great expedition. He being confirmed, procured a Council to be held in Constance, to cease the Schisme which had continued many years: but it bewitched him to deferre it for a time, by reason of the warres betwene the Pope and the King of Naples, who had taken Rome. But Ladislaus being dead, the Council was assembled, whither the Emperor himselfe came in person: in which Council John Husse and Jerome of Prague were condemned and burned. The two Popes Gregory and John renounced the Papacie, but the third (which was Benedict) would not, so that the Emperor going in person to procure him to renounce it, could not prevaile; for Benedict was refused to dye with this title, notwithstanding that hee was deposed by the Council; and that all the Princes Christian, together with his best friend the King of Arragon (seeing his obstinacie) resented him. The Council being dissolved, the Emperor went to pacifie the troubles in Bohemia, and to suppress the followers of John Husse; but he neither by peace nor war could effect the same: and the Popes being severall times memorably overthrowne, the Bohemians could neuer be subdued by force of Armes. But in the end Sigismund was received as King of Bohemia: and the Council of Basil having decreed, concerning the opinions of the Bohemians, the Emperor upon the way going into Hungary dyed in Zenopa, when he had reigned 37. yeeres.



The Emperor ROBERT being dead and buried, the Princes Electors (according to their custome) met to chuse new Emperor in the citie of Frankford: which being made knowne to Pope IOHN, he (with a desire to shew the authoritie of a Pope, to corie favour, and to get aide against king LADISLAUS, who would haue made himselfe Lord of Rome) sent his Legate to entreate them to make choise of SIGISMUND king of Hungary: truly his request was reasonable, for he was a prince in that time, for his wildome and valour besides his other gifts of nature much esteemed: for he was tall of stature, very well proportioned, of a milde aspect, very discrete and aduised, of a pleasing conuersation, and aboue all most bountifull: and in conclusion such a one as was needfull for the present time. The Ambassadors from IOHN who was called Pope, were joyfully heard by the Electors; and all Germany fixed their eyes vpon SIGISMUND, as well for his merits, as for that he was a mighty King, and son to the Emperor CHARLES the Fourth; so as by common consent he was chosen Emperor; and comming from Hungary to Aken, he was there crowned with the accustomed solemnity: and his raigne was afterwards very long, and so shall I be in writing his historie.

Sigismund
Emper.
1087.

When

When Pope GREGORY in *Armino*, and Pope IOHN in *Bologna* were advertised of his Election, they sent him their Ambassages and approbations, either of them attributing the authority to himselfe: but SIGISMUND by reason of particular former friendship, seeming to incline to Pope IOHN more then to any of the others, presently began by messengers to treat with him concerning the calling of a generall Council, for the suppressing of the schisme: touching the appointing of the place, there was some question, but the Emperor appointed the citie of *Constance*, whither (as all men thought) all those which were called Popes, were bound to goe, there to make their renunciations. And for as much as the most of the Townes and Cities in *Italy* held IOHN for Pope; and also for that LADISLAUS King of *Naples* sought to haue usurped *Rome*, and all the Church lands and goods, and in effect, though not in name, vnder colour of taking Pope GREGORYS part, to make himselfe Emperor; Pope IOHN departing from *Rome*, sent against him LEUVIS Duke of *Aniow*, called king of *Naples*, PAVL VRISM, SFOREZA, and other Captains and souldiers, with the aide of the Florentines which were his friends. These joyning in battaile with LADISLAUS, ouerthrew him; but they following not the victory, LADISLAUS gathered his men together, and leuied for many others, that Pope IOHN (being then in *Rome*) was glad to make peace with him; and LADISLAUS sent to yeeld him obedience: but as it appeareth fainely, for within few daies after he came vnder color of other occasions with an Army into the territory of *Rome*, and entred the City by force; and Pope IOHN hauing no power to make head against him, fled to *Florence*; so as the King was lodged in *Rome* with as great state as if he had been Lord thereof, which strake a great feare into the Florentines and their confederats. To Pope IOHN being then in *Florence*, the Emperor sent another Ambassage about the generall Council; and the Pope sent two Cardinals Legats to the Emperor, concluding the Council should be held in *Constance*, and begin the first of November, *An. 1402*: which for some occasion was deferred, but yet the Emperor neuer left to procure the same.

The State of *Adrian* and *Lombardy* was not in peace in those daies, for there were great wars between the tyrants which were therein, of which I haue named some; but FACINO CANN was of greatest power, for hee held *Alexandria*, *Bercelli*, *Toriana*, and *Nouarra*, and found the means vnder the title and name of Governour to PHILIP Viscount brother to the Duke of *Milan*, to get into *Pania*; and being possessed of that City, he kept yong PHILIP in poore estate in the Fortresse: vnder the same pretext he afterwards made cruell warres against the other tyrants and cities which were his aduersaries. At the same time the Emperour SIGISMUND sent a Captain with a good number of souldiers to make warre vpon the Venecians, wherein (as saith SABELLICVS) hapned many notable aduentures: but for as much as he sheweth not the cause of this warre, I hold it fit to come to matters of greater importance, concerning the Emperours comming into *Italy*; before which, in the year 1412, FACINO CANN dying, he left neither son nor daughter to succede him but his wife, who was his heire. At that time, IOHN MARIA Duke of *Adrian*, by reason of his cruelties and bad conditions was slaine by his own seruants and familiars: and those which slew him taking the City, made ASTROGIO Viscount, son to BARNABY Viscount, whom the mighty IOHN GALBAS father of this IOHN MARIA, to haue the dominion of *Milan*, put to death by treason (being his Vncle) as before declared: which the other brother PHILIP (who was in *Pania*, and now of age and of power to execute any great attempt) vnderstanding, he by the counsell of his friends tooke the widow of FACINO CANN to wife, notwithstanding that he was much older then himselfe: by which marriage, besides *Pania* which was his own, he made himselfe Lord of those Towns which FACINO CANN had possessed. His power and courage herewith encreasing, he resolved to see if he could get *Milan* and the rest, which his father and his brother had enjoyed, and thereupon went presently thither; ASTROGIO not hauing yet gotten the Fortresse, for it defended it selfe against him: so as hauing intelligence with some within the City, and assisted by certain captains which had serued FACINO CANN, he entred *Milan*, and expelling ASTROGIO, suddenly made himselfe Duke; and in proceesse of time hauing good successe was a great and very redoubted prince, of whom we will sometimes make mention.

These matters before spoken of, together with the tyranny & power of king LADISLAUS of *Naples* (Italy being out of order) were the causes why the Council appointed to be held in *Constance* took not much effect as the Emperor SIGISMUND desired: for Pope IOHN, who had appointed the same, durst not goe out of *Italy*, leauing his competitor GREGORY and the King of *Naples* with such power behind him; wherefore the Emperor resolved to come

Ecc 2

thither

John Maria
Duke of Adrian
slaine.

A party between
the Pope and
the Emperor.

thither, to make some conclusion with Pope I O H N concerning the Council, and to assist him against the king of *Naples*, to the end that the Council might be the more commodiously held; which he presently put in execution; and as the countie was diuided into factions and partialities, some were glad of his coming, and some were sorie. The Pope being certified thereof came from *Florence* to *Bologna*, and thence to *Placentia*, whither came the Emperour, where they two met and staid a month. But what forces the Emperour brought with him, in what manner they were receiued into those cities, or what happened in peace or war, is not distinctly written, but that he was in *Lodi* and in *Cremona*, and afterwards in *Mantua*; where the Marquess gaue him most sumptuous entertainment. In these places they treated of the recouerie of the citie of *Rome*, and other places which were vsurped by the King of *Naples*; which seemed very expedient to be done, to the end the Council might be held; and on the other side it seemed that the matter ought to be deferred, considering the Kings great power, with whom the Florentines at that time (more for feare then for any good will) had made peace, and (to the end that he should draw his forces out of their frontiers) were to giue him a great summe of money; for which Pope I O H N was very sorie, for this made his waire more doubtfull. But that feare was soone ouer-past: for L A D I S L A V S feeling himselfe sick, went to *Naples*, and there died Lord of *Rome* and of all the territorie thereof, besides his kingdome of *Naples*. When he died, he left neither son nor daughter, and but one sister whose name was I O A N E, which presently succeeded him in his Kingdome: in whose little time, and after her death in that kingdome, were great wars and combustion about the succession. L A D I S L A V S being dead, the citizens of *Rome*, crying Libertie, submitted themselves to Pope I O H N, and so did the most part of the other townes; and he sent his Legates to them; for Pope G R E G O R Y although he had a better title, yet he had not so great power to doe it: for hee with his Cardinals liued poorly in *Arimino*: yet some Princes and people acknowledged him.

Pope I O H N, hauing taken the best order for his busines that he could in *Italy*, resolved to go to the Council in *Germany*, whither the Emperour to make prouision of all things necessary (hauing already proclaimed the Council in all parts of Christendome) was already gone: so as after the coming of Pope I O H N and the Bishops, Prelates, and Ambassadors from Christian Princes, into *Germany*, the generall Council (according to the appointment) began in *Constance*, vpon the fifth day of November in the yere 1414. Yet in the beginning of the Council there came no Ambassadors from I O H N King of *Castile* nor from F E R D I N A N D king of *Aragon*; for that they obeyed B E N E D I C T, who was gone from *Aragon* into *Aragon*: yet afterwards they sent their Ambassadors. The first Session thereof was vpon the sixteenth day of November the same yere: and so began this Council, which continued three yeeres, and was one of the greatest and most solemn, and wherein were the greatest number of Princes, Ambassadors and Prelates, that euer was held by the Church of *Rome*: for writers affirme that with the Emperour, and with the other Princes, Prelates, and Ambassadors, there came 40000. persons. What matters passed, and what was decreed and done in that Council, plainly appeareth in an Instrument which at this day is extant; the summe of that (which is to our purpose) is this:

The Council
of Constance.

That vpon Christmas euen ensuing after the Council began, the Emperour accompanied by the Dukes of *Saxony* and of *Wittenberg*; and other Princes, came to *Constance*, where he was solemnly receiued; and afterwards in Imperial pompe and habit it was present at the Sessions of the Council. After New-yeeres day came the Duke of *Baviera*, and then the Countie Palatine of *Rhin*, and the Duke of *Silesia*. Thither also came Cardinals Ambassadors from Pope G R E G O R Y in *Arimino*; who with authority from him approved the Council: but B E N E D I C T who was in *Aragon*, would neither come nor send. The Council being solemnised and ordained in this manner, Pope I O H N in the second Session, which was the second of March the same yere, promised and solemnly swore to renounce the Papacie, in case that G R E G O R Y and B E N E D I C T would doe the like: this he did to purchase grace and fauour with the Emperour, to the end that he might continue Pope still; whereof (as all writers affirme) he was unworthy; for his great vices and Insolencies, which were made manifest to the whole Council. Aiid he standing in feare of what after ensued (his owne conscience accusing him) fled in disguised attire into the Duke of *Austria's* Country who fauoured him & took his part. Whereupon many Ambassadors were sent from the Emperour and the Council to Pope I O H N, and from him to them. The Emperour and the Council proceeded against the Duke of *Austria*, for that hee was of counsell with the Popes flight, and had (notwithstanding their

their prohibitions and warnings to the contrary) harbored and protected him: and the Emperour confisking his goods, the Swissers took certaine places from him. Whereupon the same Duke which had assisted him, now perswaded Pope I O H N to depart and to returne to the Council; whereafter many Citations made and signified vnto him, he submitting himselfe to the Council, and approuing what by them was or should be determined, as it appeareth in the twelfth Session, was by their Sentence pronounced *non Pontifex*; and the Duke conducted him to *Constance*: where he voluntarily renouncing the Papacie, was apprehended, and committed to the Count Palatine, in whose custodie he liued miserably the space of three yeeres; what befell him afterwards you shall vnderstand.

After this, CHARLES MALATESTA Lord of *Arimino*, where Pope G R E G O R Y lay, came to the Council with sufficient authority from him to renounce his right to the Papacie: by vertue whereof he publicly renounced the same in the 14. Session, saying, that Pope G R E G O R Y in the commission which he gaue him said, that for the vniou and vniuersall reformation of the Church, and for redresse of the schisme, it was requisite and expedient that he and the rest which pretended to be Popes, should renounce the Popedom, and that the Council, there assembled should chuse such a one as might be for the good of the Christian common-wealth: and notwithstanding that he was the right Pope and canonically chosen, yet he now, as he euer before had offered to doe, did renounce and there resigne the Papacie into the hands of the Council, approuing what therein by them should be done, or what they had done already. Pope G R E G O R Y'S renunciation was highly esteemed, and he therefore much commended: whereupon the Council holding the Papall seate for void, made him a Legate and gouernor of the *Marca de Ancona*; which office he enjoyed but a little while, for he shortly after died, as some say of sorrow, to see himselfe deposed from his pontificall seate; and the Council admitted and receiued those Cardinals which had serued him, and were made by him, and had confirmed to them the reuenues which he had giuen them. What appertained to Pope I O H N and Pope G R E G O R Y being ended, it yet rested to deale with B E N E D I C T who was in *Aragon*, to whom many ambages and admonitions had been sent, that he should either come or send to the Council, for that no Pope should be chosen vntill the schisme were thoroughly ended: what was donetherein we will presently declare. But first I will shew you that amongst other matters which in this Council were decreed and determined, a famous Bohemian whose name was I O H N H V S S E, was therein for certaine opinions which he held, condemned and burnt by the decree and Sentence of the Council; and after him I H R O M of *Prague*, who was a follower of his. Sentence being giuen against I O H N H V S S E, being deprived of his priestly Orders, he was deliuered to the Ciuill Magistrato to be burnt, and was brought to the place of execution with a Bishops mitre of paper on his head, whereon were diuells painted with this Inscription, *This is an Arch-heretik*. It is sayd, that before his death hee did preface; with a propheticall spirit, the declining of the Popes Kingdome, saying that there would a goose rise out of his ashes which they should not be able to burne, for in the Bohemian tongue H V S S E signifies a goose. He also vttered these words, *After a hundred yeeres you shall make answere to God and to me*. And the euent afterwards did verifie and make good the truth of that his prophetic.

The burning of
John Husle
and Jerome of
Prague.

This being past, the Council sent to B E N E D I C T in *Aragon* and to the King thereof, to treat with them; to the end that B E N E D I C T should renounce the Papacie; and besides this, to treat of a meeting to be had at *Nizza* betwene the Emperour and the King, where they might conferre of the matter: in the end, in the sixteenth and seuenteenth Session it was concluded that the Emperour in person should with the Ambassadors, from the Council, take the paines to goe to Pope B E N E D I C T, to the end to procure him to renounce the Papacie.

Whereupon he resolving to put their determination in effect, departed from *Constance* in the moneth of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord, one thousand, four hundred, and fiftene. And forasmuch as at that time there were very great warres betwene the kings of *England* and of *France*, the Emperour going in person to each of them, sought to haue reconciled them: but he failing of his purpose, concluded with them, to request and require Pope B E N E D I C T in *Aragon* to renounce the Papacie; which if he refused, to doe, that then through all their dominions they should command that none of their Subiects should obey him. And passing forwards (for that the King of *Aragon*, by reason of his infirmities, could not goe out of his Kingdom to meet him in *Nizza*, or in *Narbonne*) he was content to goe to *Perpignan*, whi-

ther the King of *Arragon* and Pope *Benedict* were already come, where he and the Ambassadors which came from the Councell were by the King very honorably received; and after that the Emperor had visited the King and conferred with him about the matter, he went to the Pope *Benedict*, whom with the best speeches and reasons he could devise, he perswaded to yeeld to the Councells determination.

To the first, *Benedict* gave very good words, but generall without any conclusion, and did the like to what the Councells Ambassadors propounded. Afterwards there were other meetings between these Princes and this Pope about the same matter, but to no effect; for *Benedict* notwithstanding the King of *Arragon* entreaty, and the Ambassadors from the King of *France*, for the same purpose deferring the conclusion with delays, departing from *Perpignan*, went to *Collioure*: where imbarcking himselfe in a Galley, without any stay (notwithstanding that the King and the Emperor by their Letters desired the contrary) he went thence by *Sea* to *Peniscola*, which is a little Towne (but very strong) in the countrey of *Valencia* in *Spain*, vpon the Sea coast; whither both the Emperor and king of *Arragon* sent vnto him: but he persisting obstinate, the king vpon the fift of January, in the yeere of our Lord, 1416, reiecting him, denied him to bee Pope.

This being published, the Emperor and the Ambassadors took their way towards *Constance*: and in his returne (as I gesse) was his journey to the Kings of *England* and of *France*, concerning Pope *Benedict*: for by the Histories it appeareth not when it was, but it seemeth to be at his returne, for he came not to *Constance* vntill the beginning of the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and seuentene, having spent one whole yeer vpon the way betweene *Spain* and *Constance*, being one yeer and a halfe after his departure from the Councell to goe this journey. Those which write that he spent three yeeres therein are to be excused, for he took part of all three yeeres, to wit, 1415, 1416, and 1417. The Emperor and the Ambassadors being returned, and the Councell hauing at large heard their relation, they resolved to proceede against Pope *Benedict*, as against a rebell, and one whom they neuer had held for Pope; and his accusation was signified vnto him, with a new charge to renounce: but he persisting in his obstinacy was denounced for no Pope, but an Heretick, a schismatick, and a scandalous perturbator of the vniuersall peace of the Christian Church and Common-wealth: And the Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Nauarre*, and *Portugall*, which vntill then had been at his deuotion, reiected him.

The Councell (by reason of the renunciations made by *John* and *Gregory*, and *Benedict* being depriued) holding the Papacy for voided, determined to chuse a new Pope: and appointing fise Prelates of fise seuerall nations, to wit, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Dutch, to these, together with the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, and to the Cardinals which had chosen the other Popes, the Councell gave order to choose a Pope; all which agreeing together, chose Cardinal *Otho de Columna*, and he was called *Martin* the fift. This *Martin* being chosen (to auoide all occasion of scruple) ordayned that euery tenth yeer a Councell should be held, and that the first should begin at the end of fise yeers, and that all the benefices giuen by the three Popes before that *John* and *Gregory* renounced, and *Benedict* was depriued, should be confirmed. After this, in the fise and forth Session, in the moneth of April, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and eightene, three yeeres and a halfe after the beginning of this Councell, it was dissolved, and the Pope tooke his way towards *Rome*, and all the rest towards their Countreies. At this time the Emperour made the Earles of *Cleues* and of *Sauoy*, Dukes, and so haue their successors continued euer since.

The Emperor hauing newly redeemed the Marquisate of *Brandenburgh*, from *William* Lantzgraue of *Wirting*; to whom *Idocys*, Marquesse of *Moravia*, his cosen germane, had pawned it when he aspired to the Empire, the same with the Electorall dignity he sold to *Fredrick* Burgraue of *Nuremberg*, a Prince of knowne wisdom, magnanimity, loyaltye and authority, hauing deserved well both of the Emperor and Common-wealth, for foure hundred thousand Crowns; with this condition, that if the Emperor should haue a sonne, it should then be lawfull for him to redeem it. And yet in this sale the price was not so much regarded, as the reward of *Fredrick*'s vertues and merits, who had done *Sigismund* great seruises, and vndergone many dangers for him. There is one memorable thing written of this *Fredrick*; who, making his Will, called his foure sonnes vnto him, speaking to *John* the eldest after this manner: I first got this septentrionall dignity when I was familiar with the

Em-

Emperor *Sigismund*; and now that I am cald out of this life, my cares, that such an honor should not grow contemptible in our family; Thou I see art wholly inclined to a quiet and contemplative course of life: In this Septentrionall charge thou shalt finde nothing but cares and continuall toyle; wherefore if I might, with your liking, I would giue this charge by my will to *Fredrick* my second brother, who seemes to be more fit for action: To whom *John* answered, I did alwaies thinke that *Fredrick* had been more decre vnto you then my selfe, which did somewhat grieue me, but now deere father, I will change my opinion, and will honor and loue you, who by your last will bequeath rest to me and cares to him. A notable example in old *Fredrick*, not of fatherly affection, but of wisdom, providing for the publike: and of modesty in *John* the sonne, yeelding to his fathers iudgement touching the succession, without any froward opposition.

This being ended, the Emperor went to pacifie the troubles in *Bohemia*, where the followers of *John Hus* and *Jerom of Prague* which were burnt at the Councell of *Constance*, were of such power that they pulled down some Churches and Monasteries, which did more abound in *Bohemia* then in any kingdom in all Christendom; the King hauing little meanes to redresse the same. I say King, for *Wenceslaus* who had been Emperor, liued vntill this time, who holding not himselfe to be in safety in the City of *Prague*, retired himselfe to a most strong Castle, about fise miles from thence, and being there the Hussites rose and committed many infortunes: Which King *Wenceslaus* perceiving, he sent to his brother the Emperor (as at other times he had done) for aide, about the time that the Councell brake vp at *Constance*: but he was so resolved to go to the warres against the Turkes which annoyed him in *Hungary*, or peradventure in hope to be reuenged for the battaile which he lost against them before that he was Emperor, which I write not for that it maketh nothing to my purpose: the which he did contrary to his duty, and therein had ill successe, and in *Bohemia* worse, for presently after this, King *Wenceslaus* dying without leauing any successeor but his wife the Queene, the Emperour was sent for to take possession of that Kingdom: but desirous to renew the warre against the Turkes, wherein most commonly he had ill successe, he would not come, thinking to entertaine the matter by Gouernors which he sent thither: wherein he erred, for that occasion being lost, the troubles encreased; and there arose one *John Cysca*, a man of a noble house and very expert in the warres, whom the Hussites made their Captaine, to whom out of *Prague* and other parts thereto adjoyning, came 40000 of the Hussites; who not content with the subuerting of Monasteries and pulling down of Images, possessed themselves of the forresties of that City, and being masters of the field, took the towne of *Relesina*, and other towns and castles.

Cysca Captaine
of the Hussites
in Bohemia.

Cysca before the coming of the Emperours Gouernors, was grown so mighty, that they were constrained to make peace with him and with the Hussites, to the end that they should giue vp *Prague* and other Castles, which they desired to haue vntill the Emperours coming, which was shortly after; wherewith far greater accidents ensued, when peace and quietnes was hoped for; as we will declare after that we haue made some relation of the state of the Empire in *Italie*, wherein they now know no Emperor but in name only; and likewise of the coming, and successe of the new Pope.

The Councell being dissolved, Pope *Martin* notwithstanding that he was diuersly counselled, (by some, that he should continue in *Germany*, and by others, in *France*) remained firme in his resolution to goe into *Italy* and to *Rome*, alleging that he which gouerneth the ship, ought to sit at the Helme, and not in the Prow, neither in the mid ship. In conclusion, he departed from *Germany* the same yeer that he was chosen, and came directly to *Milan*; for Duke *Philipp* (who by his policy and valour was grown very mighty) was his friend. At that time *Philipp* was busied in the warres against *Andvph Malatesta*, who withheld *Bergamo* and *Brescia* from him, and against *Gabrio Fondulo*, who held *Cremona*; and against other Lords which held other places which had been his fathers, the mighty *John Galas*; and were lost in the time of his brother *John Maria*; in which warres *Philipp* had so good successe, that he recovered all those estates, and was afterwards one of the most puissant princes of the world, and was Lord also of *Genoa*. He possessed the state of *Milan* vntill he died, which were two and thirty yeeres, in which time he had great wars with the Venetians and Florentines, and with other Princes; whereof of necessity we must sometimes make mention of him.

From *Milan* the Pope came to *Florence*, but could not goe to *Rome*, for that one *Baccio*

MONTEIO (an excellent Captain, and of very great power) in the time of *Sede vacante*, and of the Councell, had taken the City of *Perugia*, and the Territory thereof, and many other Towns in the iurisdiction of *Rome*: and many others of his condition ioyned with him: so as there was no safe passage for the Pope to *Rome*, wherein the said **BRACCIO MONTEIO** had a strong party. But at the intercession of the Florentines, which were mediators between them, **BRACCIO MONTEIO** afterwards submitted himself to the Pope, and rendered some Towns which he had taken; and the Pope made him his General against *Bohemia* which rebelled: which by him, and by **GABRIEL** Cardinall of Saint **CLYMENT**, was reduced to the Popes obedience.

In those daies (but somewhat before this time) **BALTHASAR COSSA**, which had been Pope **JOHN** (who renounced his Papacy in the Councell of *Constance*, of whom Pope **MARTIN** stood in no small fear that he would have attempted some alteration by taking vpon him as Pope, and would have renewed the schisme) came into *Italy*, and finding fauor and entertainment among some of his friends, would not intermeddle in any matter; but of his owne accord without any safe conduct or other agreement, at such time as no man thought thereof, came voluntarily to *Florence* where the Pope lay; and comming into his Palace, kist his foot, and acknowledged him for Pope, Saint **PETER**'s Successor, and **CHRIST**'s Vicar; whereupon, Pope **MARTIN** made him a Bishop and a Cardinall: but he, within few months after dying, was in *Florence* most solemnly buried, by the procurement (principally) of **COSMO DE MEDICI**, a rich and noble Citizen thereof, and chief of the house and family of the *Medici*'s, whose beginning (as it is written) was through the treasure and riches which hee inherited from this **BALTHASAR COSSA**, otherwife called Pope **JOHN**.

Pope **MARTIN**, knowing what troubles were in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, fought by his Bulls to haue pacified the matter: but seeing it was comn to blowes, the friendship betwixt him and the Emperor **SIGISMUND** was soon after broken. In those daies came to *Rome **LEUVVS**, Duke of *Aniow* and Earl of *Prouence*, son to the other **LEUVVS** deceased, to receiue from the Pope the title and inuestiture of the Kingdome of *Naples*, against Queen **IOAN**, sister and heire to King **LADISLAVS**; being called thither by the Pope for the same purpose, through her ill gouernment and tyranny, but chiefly for that she ioyned with **BRACCIO MONTEIO** to offend made warre vpon him, and for other matters too long to relate. The Pope proceeding against her, and holding her vnworthy to enioy the feudatory lands of the Church, sent for Duke **LEUVVS**, offering him the Kingdome of *Naples*: but Queen **IOAN**, being thereof aduertised, adopted **ALONZO** King of *Aragon* (who was also King of *Sicilia*) whom shee called to her aid, and to the succession in that Kingdome; who came accordingly. The Queen afterwards (according to her naturall condition) falling at oddes with him, and reuoking the adoption which she had made of **ALONZO**, adopted the same **LEUVVS** whom the Pope had called. Hereof grew the wars between **LEUVVS** and **ALONZO** for the Kingdome of *Naples*; and, after the deace of **LEUVVS**, with his brother **ROBERT**, which was continued many yeers: but in the end, **ALONZO** hauing the victory, obtained the soueraignty of that Kingdome.*

These things passed in *Italy*, where the Emperors were now of small power: and in *Germany*, the warres which the Turk made in *Hungary* being asswaged, the Emperor resolved (though late) to come into *Bohemia*, to take possession of that Kingdome: whether if hee had presently comn, it is very likely that the troubles there had been pacified: for, at his comming to *Brno*, which is in *Moravia*, Ambassadors came to him from *Prague* to submit themselves, and to sue for pardon; which hee entertained and heard, and proposing certain tolerable conditions, granted them a generall pardon: the newes whereof were very ioyfull to the Inhabitants of that City and Kingdome; to the Hussites, to see themselves pardoned of their offences; and to the rest, in hope to liue in peace. But all this was crost, for that the King came not presently to take possession of that City which is the head of that Kingdome, where they peaceably attended his coming; but he would first go to *Praha*, the chief City of *Silesia*, a province to the East of *Bohemia*. There, as well as in *Prague* (in time of the insurrection of the people) the Gouernours which were left there by **WENCESLAVS** were slain; and the Emperor, to punish the offence, did iustice vpon the principall heads of that rebellion.

As the newes thereof was published in *Prague*, and as their offences were equall or greater, this vnreasonable punishment strake such a terror into the people, that they fearing the like rigour, without any further consideration rose vp in Arms; and resolving to refuse him for their King,

wrote

wrote their Letters, thereby inciting the rest through all the kingdome to doe the like; publishing that he had resolved to commit great cruelty amongst them! This took such effect in the greatest and best part of the kingdome, the people took Armes: and as the greatest part of those of *Prague* were Hussites (the rest ioyning with them) they altogether sent for a Capitaine of the Hussites, a man of great power, whose name was **CISCA**, whom they put into *Prague* for defence thereof against the Emperor, who was comming against it. Hee encountered in that City and Kingdome many encounters, skirmishes; batailles and bloodshed by fire and sword; such as neuer was seen or heard of, and such as I am not able to relate: the most effectual whereof may be seen in the third booke of **HEMBAS STRIUIVS**, afterwards called **PATRVS QUINTVS**; in his History of *Bohemia*: for my part I will rest satisfied, briefly mentioning the most notable accidents which happened. The Emperor accompanied by the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, and the Duke of *Austria*, with many other souldiers both of Foote and Horse, came neere to the City of *Prague*: Whereof the Fortresse called *Vincograde* was at his deuotion.

CISCA and his people very resolutely battered the same, but their chiefest hope was to take it by famine. The Emperor comming thither released the Fortresse, and entering it, was therein crowned King of *Bohemia*: the Fortresse being victualled and garriisoned; he presently besieged the City; which siege continued six weekes; in which time in all the skirmishes and encounters which happened, it pleased God that **CISCA** and his followers had the better: the like issue befell in a manner in all parts of the kingdome, between the Hussites and the Imperialists. Whereupon the Emperor raising his siege from before *Prague*, came to *Chama*: and **CISCA** leauing the City, ioyned with the Tabornites, so called after the name of a City founded by them, and so called: And being victorious, and not contented to make defensive warres only, taking the field, he likewise tooke some Townes and Castles from his aduersaries.

Many other conflicts after this ensued, which I omit: and the matter came to this issue, that the Emperor with his whole power came to a strong Monastery which he called for **CISCA**; with a resolution to batter and to take it; and if **CISCA** came to the reliefe thereof, to fight with him: for his army was such, that he doubted nothing of the victory. But there befell a strange accident: which was, that **CISCA** resolving to come to the reliefe of that Castle; and so to fight with the Emperor, and being come to the point to haue ioyned, the Emperors troups but at sight of their enemies, making no resistance, or shewing the mindes or courage of men, sodainly ranne away; and the Emperor was driven to do the like, nor daring to stay in any part of all *Bohemia*: So as **CISCA** and his people being masters of the field, besieged many strong holds and Castles, which he took by force: At the assault of one of which; as he had but one eye, that one was shot out with an arrow; but his credit and reputation was so great, that he continued in the gouernment and command of the Army, which was led by a blinde Christian: a thing neuer seen nor read in any History; for notwithstanding that he was blinde, yet he still prosecuted the wars.

The Emperor (notwithstanding these disasters) was not dismayed: but leauing his whole power he sent for the Princes of the Empire, whom he appointed to enter *Bohemia* by the West; and he with his Hungars would enter it by the East. Thither came with great troups the Duke of *Saxony*, the Count Palatine of *Rhine*, the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, the Archbishops of *Meuse*, and some other Princes and Prelates; who began the warre; and besieged and took some townes. The Emperor stayed longer then he had appointed, but comming with his Army, he began on his side, and notwithstanding that **CISCA** was blinde yet he took the field against him; and comming to loyne in bataille, the Emperors men were slaine with such feare of **CISCA** and of the Hussites, that they were presently ouerthrowne, and many principall men of them were slaine; and the Emperor infortunate in the warres, being driven to flee, **CISCA** followed the execution of the victory.

Matters standing in this estate, the Nobles and principalls of *Prague* and of all *Bohemia* desiring to haue a King, that might oppose himselfe against **SIGISMUND** by force to yield them lawes, and their Kingdome to **VITSLAV** Duke of *Lithuania*; for which **CISCA** was sorry: The Duke desirous to be a King, accepting their offer, sent a Capitaine called **TOKY** with his power who being gladly receiued into the City, began to shew the power of a new King, and to batter such castles and Fortresses as were his aduersaries. But this Duke within short tyme after, at the entreaty of the King of *Poland*, comming to a composition with the Emperor, gave over

his

The Emperor making warre against the Hussites, besieged the City of Prague.

The Emperor coming to fight with the Hussites at the sight of them, his people fled without blow striking.

The Emperor overthrowing the army of the King of Poland, and their Duke, Captain of Cilicia.

warres for the Kingdom of Naples.

his enterprise and title to the Crown of *Bohemia*. It followed, that the Emperor gave the Province of *Moravia* to *Albert* his son-in-law, one of the Dukes of *Austria*, to the end that hee should defend the same; and he returning to the war against the *Hussites*, there hapned betwixt *Cressa* and the Imperialists another great battell; wherein *Cressa* having the victory, nine thousand of the Imperialists were slain.

The Emperor, seeing the power of *Cressa* to bee so great, that without his good will hee could not be King of *Bohemia*, sought to be at peace with him; and to that end made him many large promises and offers: at the time of the parley, being at a point to have made a conclusion, *Cressa* died of the plague; after whose death the *Hussites* were divided into several factions, of which some were called *Hussites*, and some *Taborites*; so as they were at variance and contention amongst themselves: but warring against the Imperialists, they ever ioynd and were friends.

After many other accidents, Pope *Martin* sending his Legate into *Germany*, commanded the Emperor to renew the warre against the *Bohemians*: and the Duke of *Saxony* entering the Countrey upon the one side, and the Marquess of *Brandenburgh* upon another side, and at another place the Archbishop of *Treuer*, either of them with the greatest power they were able to levie; all which, meeting together in *Bohemia*, and beginning the war, and knowing that the *Hussites* came to fight with them (a matter seeming incredible, yet true although strange and shameful) they were stricken with such fear, that without seeing or hearing any enemy, both Captains and Souldiers setting all flame apart, abandoning the field, ran away in such manner, that neither entreaty nor authority was able to stay them; and the *Hussites*, pursuing them, took all their baggage and artillery, and not content therewith, salving forth of their Kingdom, warred in other parts; out of which, in consideration of a great summe of money, they returned home again.

The Pope, understanding in what estate the affairs of *Bohemia* stood, resolved to give a Croisade, and to send a new Legate against the *Bohemians*, notwithstanding that in *Italy* there was as little quietnes; but great wars, as well in the Kingdom of *Naples* as in *Lombardy* and in other parts. And to that effect he sent *Livian*, Cardinal of *S. Angelo*, to be his Legate against the *Hussites*, and that (the time being expired) he might sit in his place in the Councell appointed to be held in *Basil*. This Cardinal coming to the Emperor, it was decreed, that a new Armie, and new forces, to a greater number than before, should be leuied against the *Hussites*; whither came *Frederick*, Marquess of *Brandenburgh* (who was chosen General) and the Dukes of *Bavaria* and of *Saxony*, the Archbishops of *Meiss*, *Treuer* and *Cole*, and many Bishops, Prelates and Princes, together with the companies of the Cities, and so many others, that they amounted to the number of forty thousand horse, but not so many foot (for, it seems they were not so requisite for that war); who with this power entered the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, the Cardinal Legate going with the Army. But the *Hussites* were so accustomed to the hearing of Arms, and were therewith so courageous, that they drew themselves to one head, with a resolution to fight with the Imperialists: and the one Army being opposite to the other, so as no man doubted but that the Imperialists (considering their multitude, and the goodnes of their Captains and Souldiers) would have had the victory, there hapned the strangest accident that ever was seen, whether through treason or practice in the Army, or through some vain & cowardly fear or imagination, or through the secret iudgement of God who was not pleased that the matter should be decided by Arms, there fell a sudden fear in the Camp, and a rumor that they were not to stay there; whereupon they all beganne presently to march, leaving behinde them all they brought, and many of their Arms and furnitures; and the whole Army (no admonition, threatening or intreaty, made by the Princes and Commanders, being able to prevail with them) fled; and they did the like, without seeing or fighting with any enemy: and so they fleeing out of the Countrey, the *Hussites* made great booty of what their enemies left, and could not carry with them.

Seeing an Army being so shamefully overthrowne, the Emperor intended not (for that time) to visit any other; but the time being expired that the Councell should begin, the Cardinal Legate went to *Basil*; and the Emperor, by reason of the aid and assistance promised him by *Pope Martin*, Duke of *Milan*, resolved to go into *Italy* to be crowned in *Rome*. At this time died *Pope Martin*; and after his decease, a Cardinal called *Gabriel Condulmer* a Gentleman of *France*, was in March in the year 1431 chosen, and called *Eugenius* the Fourth: in the beginning of whose Papacy many insolencies (as saith *Platina* and other

Wri-

riters) were committed in *Rome* between the Pope and the Colonnois. *Eugenius*, approving the Councell appointed by Pope *Martin*, commanded it to be begunne in *Basil*; where, the Cardinal of *Saint Angelo* being President, the first Session was held upon Friday, the seventh of December: whereof before that we make any relation, which shall be but little (notwithstanding that it continued long, and that therein was much controuersie and contention with the Pope) we will describe the journey *Sigismund* made to his coronation, which was in this manner:

Upon assurance of the promises and offers made by the Duke of *Milan*, *Sigismund* with small troops of Germans and Hungars came into *Italy*; and coming to *Milan*, the Duke being not there, he was by the Dukes commandement very honourably received by a Captain of his called *Nicholas Pichino*, and other principall men, and there according to the custome was crowned with the Crown of Iron: but the Duke came not to see him; yet hee afterwards by Letters and delays temporized with him many daies in *Parma* and in *Placencia*, yet not furnishing him with such things as he had promised against the *Florentines*, who, as enemies to the Duke, stopped his passage to *Rome*, and to that effect maintained an Armie in field: and moreover they perswaded the Pope to prohibit his coming to *Rome*, assuring him, that by the instigation of Duke *Philip* he came against him. The Emperor, without speaking with the Duke in the best manner that he could came to *Luca*; and notwithstanding that the Pope and the *Florentines* sought to stay him, yet he, after some accidents which hapned between the souldiers of the one and other side, came to *Siena*, where he staid six monthes; in which time he came to a composition with the Pope, many ambassages passing between them in the mean season; so as he peaceably departing towards *Rome*, was therein solemnly received, and with great solemnity crowned by the hands of the Pope, upon the last day of May in the year of our Lord 1432; and after some treatie he took his leave to return into *Germany*. By the way he was entertained in *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, by their Lords and Dukes (the warres continuing in *Italy*, as before) wherein passed many great matters: the principals were the *Florentines* and *Venetians* which made war against the Duke of *Milan*, who now was become Lord of *Genoa*, the which hee tooke by means of the dissention and discord that grew betwene the Inhabitants.

Whilst the Emperor was in *Italy*, in the Councell at *Basil* many matters were treated of, but had not yet taken such effect as they desired: for, the *Hussites* persisting constant in their opinions, the Councell sent thither certain learned men, such as well knew the Countrey, who by flattery and fair means sought to have seduced the *Bohemians*; in whom they sometimes found hope of peace, and at other times signes of warre: and so the case continuing as doubtfull as before, it pleased God that by secret means unknowne to man, there grew some suspition & jealousy between the Nobility of that Kingdom (whereof one *Mennander* was the chiefe) and the *Taborites* and the *Hussites* (notwithstanding that some of the Nobles were *Hussites*); but in the end it grieved them all to be governed by *Procopius*, a man of base parentage, who being General of the *Taborites*, commanded all; and by another *Procopius* called the younger, Captain of the *Hussites*. After that they had long murmured at the matter, they summoned a Parliament to be held by all the estates of the Realm, vnder pretext to set some order in the government: for they were discontented with the violence and insolencies daily committed. Finally, the Parliament was assembled, and a Noble-man and nobly defended, although of mean estate, whose name was *Alcicon*, was nominated and made their Gouvernor, and he presently undertook the government. And although he had the title and outward shew, yet all was done by the order and direction of *Mennander* the chiefe of the Nobility. Herewith the *Hussites* and the *Procopii* were so much discontent, that the matter came to blowes, I cannot describe all that passed; for there were many notable accidents: but I will tell you the euient thereof.

When the Emperor, coming out of *Italy* into *Germany*, was upon his way towards *Basil*, hee understood that between the Pope and the Councell there was great discord: for, the Pope perceiving that the Councell began to treat of many matters against his authority and dignity, commanded it to be dissolved, and to be transferred to *Bologna*; and the Councell, rejecting his commandements, would not accomplish what he required, but made other acts and statutes to his disgrace. Whereupon many matters passed, and the Emperor came to the Councell; and there hearing the matter debated, made a reconciliation between them: and the Pope againe ratified the Councell; yet they afterwards fell further at variance, as you shall hear: for, those

The Emperor
Sigismund
crowned in Rome
by the Pope.

Dissention be-
twixt the Pope
and the Councell
of Basil.

of

of the Councell, refusing to make an end, continued the Councell a long time in despite of the Pope: but the Emperor by his authority in the best manner that he could tooke vp the matter; and vnderstanding of the warres between the Nobility and the Hussites in *Bohemia*, holding the same for the most assured mean for him to recouer that Kingdom, went from *Basil* to *Vlm*, where he was aduertised of a battell fought between them, wherein the Lords had the victory; and therein were both the Procopii (Captaines of the Hussites and Tabouriers) slaine, with many thousands of others; and a great number were taken prisoners: and they found the meanes afterwards to kill or burn all those which were taken, or escaped from the battell. The Emperor, vnderstanding heerof, sent his Ambassadors into *Bohemia*, to perswade the Nobility to obey and receiue him for their King, for that of right it appertained to him, as to the sonne and brother to the Kings of *Bohemia*. And it pleased God to work such an alteration in the hearts of the Bohemians, that they sent their Ambassadors to *Ratisbone*, whither the Emperor was gon from *Vlm*, to whom they gaue order to receiue him for their King and soueraign Lord: and they agreed with him concerning his coming into *Bohemia*; and he there ratified the conditions concluded by those of the Councell with the Bohemians, concerning points of religion; which in summe was, that that the Bohemians wholly submitted themselves to the Church of *Rome*, and that they, beleeuing as it did, forsooke all matters in question, except communicating vnder both kinds of bread and wine; which was granted them vpon this condition, that the matter should be referred to the determination of the Councell: and all other matters concerning Church-rents and goods, and other ecclesiasticall benefices, were concluded and agreed vpon.

These matters being ended, the Emperor within fewe daies after peaceably entring *Bohemia*, was with feasting and great solemnity, vpon the fourth day of August, in the yeer of our Lord 1436, receiued into the City of *Prague*: he had been there but a fewe daies space, but ther was so great an alteration, that it seemed a new world, and another kinde of people: for, notwithstanding that there remained some of the sect of the Hussites, yet the greatest and most common were Papists. The Temples which had been spoiled and ruinated were new built, and those which were defaced were repaired, and the Altars were decked with Images and Reliques, and the Monks and Friars returned to their Couents and Cloisters: finally, all was restored to the former order. Of the pretended Hereticks, which would not be conuerted, some fled for feare of imprisonment, and to others a time was limited wherein they should recant; and against such as persisted constant, the Emperor proceeded: for his success heerin, Pope *Eugenius* sent him a Rose of gold, who at that time commanded the Councell at *Basil* to bee dissolved, and a generall Councell to be held at *Ferrara*; where they expected the Emperour of *Constantinople*: but the Councell of *Basil*, holding themselves to be about the Pope, would not obey him, neither be dissolved.

The Emperor being now threescore and ten years old, and tired with warres and troubles both before and after he was Emperour (which were more than I haue written) began to wax feeble and sickly; and perceiving death to approach, he was aduertised that his wife (considering that he was old, and could not liue long, and that he had but one daughter which was married to *Albert* of *Austria*) sought, as soon as he should be dead, to marry with the King of *Poland*; and that the Bohemians should take him and her for King and Queen. For redress heerof, and being somewhat ialous of the Bohemians for matters past, he sent for the Noble-men of *Hungary* which came with him into *Bohemia*; to whom in seeret (aduertising them of what passed) he recommended his daughter and son-in-law, and made them to promise to take them for their King and Queen after his decease. And notwithstanding that he was very sick, yet hee caused himself to be carried out of *Prague* towards *Hungary*, where he desired to die: but being vnable to reach thither, he was carried to his daughter and son-in-law in *Moravia*, who by his gift, possessed that Prouince, which came to meet him in the City of *Zemnia*; whither also came his wife the Emperesse, who there by his commandement was apprehended. The Emperor within fewe daies after, in the 37 yeer of his Raig, vpon the day of the conception of our Lady, in the yeer of our Lord 1437, died. And so ended this Prince both his life and troubles; who although he had vnfortunate successe, especially in Arms and warres, yet he failed in nothing that belonged to a wife and valiant Knight. This Emperor might well be paralleled with the ancient *THOMAS* and *CHARLES*, for the excellency of his wit, piety, wisdome, greatnes of minde, industry, dexterity of counsell, and patience in labor, if fortune had been answerable to his wife resolutions and commendable attempts, and that God had not denied successe to his iust and necessary Arms against the Turk. He remained no more to these Turkish

WARs

warres, being hindred with intestine combustions, and terrified (as I conceiue) with the remembrance of two ouerthrowes; and although he desired to be reuenged of these cruell and Barbarous enemies, yet he durst not make triall of a third battell. He delighted much in the reading of Histories. He had alwaies this Saying in his mouth, He knows not how to raig, that cannot dissemble; meaning, that he must not do all things according to his owne will. He hated a flatterer as the plague: but when as a slander by did blame the Emperor, saying that hee was gouerned by flatterers; he answered, So it falls out in Courts: those whom wee hate most and seek to shun, we are forced to obey. Speaking of gouernment, he was wont to say, that all men refused to practise any Art which they had not leard; but no man refused to command, which is the most difficult of all Arts. Blessed were Kings on earth, if hauing excluded proud men from all gouernment, they drew into their Courts such as are milde and graue. And when-as his Courtiers did blame the railing of the German multitude, who commonly spake ill of their Princes; smiling he answered, Do you think it strange that they speak ill, when as we doo ill? In his youth he was vindicative, but age and experience tempered this heat: wherefore one expostulating with him, that he not only pardoned his enemies, but also fauoured and aduanced them; Thou, said he, thinkest it a benefit to kill an enemy, for that there is not any danger in a dead man: but I kill an enemy when I spare him; and I make him my friend when I aduance him. He was twice married, first to *MARY* daughter to the King of *Hungary*, by whom he had that Kingdom; the second time with *BARBARA*, daughter to the Earle of *Cilla*, by whom he had his daughter *ISABEL* which was his heir, and married to *ALBERT* one of the Dukes of *Austria*, who then was Lord and Marquesse of *Moravia*. His wife after his death was set at liberty: but spending her daies infamously, in the end she died of the plague.

The state of *Italy* when *SIGISMUND* died was so confused and out of order, that except I should relate the whole, I cannot expresse the same in such sort as it may be vnderstood. Duke *PHILIP* of *Milan*, being an enemy to Pope *Eugenius*, fauoured the Councell of *Basil*: and the Florentines and Venecians supported the Pope against him. There were other warres among them; wherein the most famous Captains were, *FRANCIS SFOERCE* before named, and *NICHOLAS PICHINO*. *ALONSO* King of *Aragon* (Queen *IOHNE* and *LEVVES* being dead) contended with *RENE*, *LEVVES* his brother, about the Kingdom of *Naples*. A little before that *LEVVES* died, *K. ALONSO* and his brother the King of *Nauarre* being taken in a battell by sea, and with them many other Lords by the fleet of the Genoais, were carried prisoners to Duke *PHILIP* of *Milan*, who then was Lord of *Genoa*; who, shewing his magnificence, released them, and set them at liberty: which the Genoais took in so ill part, that they reuolting made themselves free from the Duke.

In those daies were cruell wars between the Kings of *England* and *France*; and amongst the French was a woman which bare Arms like a souldier, and afterwards (as a Captain) wrought wonders, and defended and recovered many Castles for the French: this woman was called *IRANNE la Pucelle*.

After the decease of *EMANUEL* Emperour of *Constantinople*, his son *IOHN PALAEOLOGVS* reigned, who was already vpon the way to come to the Councell in *Italy*:



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THE LIFE OF ALBERT, SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HUNDRETH AND TWELFTH RO- mane Emperour; And of Iohn Paleologus in CONSTANTINOPLE.

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THE ARGUMENT.

Sigmund being dead, his son-in-law Albert was peaceably chosen; who was in some doubt to accept the Empire, by reason of the Kingdom of Hungary: which being past, he accepted the government. For that he lived not long, he could not effect so great matters as he promised. He had warres with some rebels, which hee luckily ended. But he could not make any peace or union between the Councils which were held in his time, one in Basil without the Pope, the other in Ferrara where the Pope was in person; which Council was afterwards ended in Florence. He took Arms against Amurath King of the Turks, in the behalf of the Dispute of Serbia: but, being in a little village upon his way, he died of Dysenteria, having reigned but a small time. His death was much lamented, by reason of the great hope conceived of his vertue.



THE same day that the Emperor SIGISMUND died, his sonne-in-law ALBERT Duke of Austria was by all the principall Lords of both those Kingdomes which were there with him, together with his wife SIGISMUND'S daughter, to whom in right those Kingdoms appertained, hailed King of Hungary and Bohemia; who from that City of Zemonia which is in Moravia, sent Ambassadors into Bohemia, with SIGISMUND'S Will and Testament, and by his authority to take possession of that Kingdom: and he with his wife, carrying with them the dead body of the Emperor, and the widow Emperesse prisoner, departed towards Hungary; where they were without any contradiction received and obeyed, and afterwards with great solemnity, upon the first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1438, crowned; having first performed the Imperiall funerals and obsequies.

In the meantime, his Ambassadors which were in Bohemia, assembling the principall Lords of that Realm in the City of Prague, shewed the Testament of the deceased Emperor and their King; and alleging many effectual reasons, perswaded them to chuse ALBERT, as well for that he had married the onely daughter and heir of their King, as also for that hee was of the house of Austria; between which and Bohemia there was an ancient covenant, that whensoever there failed an heir in any one of these houses, one should be chosen out of the other. Finally, the Ambassadors vied so good means, that the Assembly concluded, that ALBERT and his wife should be their King and Queen; and so in their absence they were sworn vato, and received for such, notwithstanding that some of the principall Barons were against the same: among which many were the Emperesse kinsmen; of which the chiefest were TASON and ALBERT'S BROTHER, which were consenting to the practice which we spake of when the Emperor died. These men, requiring certain conditions which might not be granted, departed from ALBERT'S service and obedience: which, calling and inuiting others to ioyne with them

them, chose for their King, CASIMIR brother to the King of Poland; and they sending for him to come and take possession of the Kingdom, offered him their aid and seruice in the action.

In this mean time, the Electors of the Empire being certified of the death of the Emperor SIGISMUND, met in Frankford to chuse a new Emperor; where ALBERT, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Duke of Austria, was upon the twentieth day of March, in the year 1438, chosen; and being by the same Princes advertised of his election, very gladly gave ear to their Ambassage, but yet could not presently accept the government, for that when he was sworn in Hungary, he promised the Hungars, notwithstanding he were chosen, hee would not accept the Empire, because it was not held expedient for that Kingdom, that the King thereof should be Lord of any other Countries, but should make his abode in Hungary onely; producing the Emperor SIGISMUND for example, whose absence was the occasion of many inconveniences in that Country. But notwithstanding all this, new Ambassages daily arriving, hee caused the principall Lords and the Burgeses of Cities in Hungary to meet in the City of Vienna in Austria, wherein he found some contradiction: but in the end the Hungars being intreated and perswaded by FREDERICK, Duke also of Austria, they consented to his election, and ALBERT accepted thereof; and presently went to be crowned at Aken, which was acceptable to all Germany: for, he was held for a wife and valorous Prince, and shewed the same in the final time that he enjoyed the Empire.

Albert Duke of Austria chosen Emperor.

Albert crowned Emperor in Aken.

ALBERT, knowing that CASIMIR brother to the King of Poland had accepted the Kingdom of Bohemia, and that with the aid of his brother he leuied forces for that enterprife, sent his Ambassadors to the King, desiring him, that si he well knew him to be the right King of Bohemia, he would not suffer their iust friendship for any vniust cause to be broken: where the King of Poland answered, that he could not let his brother to accept that Kingdom which by the natural subiects thereof was offered him, together with other excuses such as he thought good. Within few daies after, the Emperor entred Bohemia, notwithstanding that TASON and the rest of his faction sent (with certain protestations) to require him that he should not do it: but he, holding on his journey, was in the month of May, in the year 1438, crowned in the City of Prague. And TASON, and such others as took CASIMIR'S part, ioyning themselves with the men of warre which came out of Poland, raised an Army; and taking the field, and fortifying such Towns as were at their deuotion, warred vpon the rest: and the Emperor with the Troops which he brought with him, and others which came to his aid, did the like. And notwithstanding that others were expected to come to him out of Austria and from other parts, yet he would not stay, but went to seek his enemies and to fight with them: but TASON and the Polacres not daring to giue him battell, retreating, encamped themselves neer to the City of Tabor, which was inhabited by pretended Hereticks, whither the Emperor pursuing them, had in his Army CHRISTOPHER Duke of Baniere, FREDERICK Duke of Saxony, and ALBERT Marquesse of Brandenburg: which there pitching their Tents, daily skirmishes passed between them; wherein the Polacres and Bohemians were so hardly bested, that they disbanding, part of them put themselves into Tabor, which is a most strong impregnable Town; and ALBERT, knowing it to be such, returned to Prague: and the Polacres (fewer in number than they came into that Country) returned to their houses; so as the Emperor, finding no resistance, discharged his souldiers which were strangers: and some Princes which came to his aid, returned to their Countries; yet between the one and the other Kingdomes some roads and incursions continued: but shortly after a truce was taken between them. And forasmuch as there came tidings of the coming of AMURATH the great Turk with a great power into Hungary, ALBERT was constrained to leaue Governours in Bohemia, and to take his way thitherward, with a determination to leuie forces and to fight with the Turks, notwithstanding that he was counselled by many to the contrary, being feared with the infortunate battell fought by the Emperor SIGISMUND. But notwithstanding all their admonitions and perswasions, nothing could diuert the Emperor, so great a desire had he to fight: and that which more increased his resolution, was, that the Dispute of Serbia, fleeing from AMURATH, came into Hungary to implore aid and succor to relieue and vnset his sonne which was besieged in the City of Sinderunia, situate vpon the side of the riuer Danubius, which the Turk held besieged, and put it to great distresse: wherefore the Emperor resolved to raise his forces for that journey, which was in the year of our Lord 1439.

At this time the discord and contention between the Councell of Basil and the Pope grew more violent: for, notwithstanding the Popes commandments to dissolve (it hauing now

continued eight or nine yeeres since it first began) they held, and refusing to be dissolved, cited the Pope to make his personall appearance before them. In this Council they disputed long of the authority and power of the Pope: and in the end they decreed that the authority of the Council was about the Pope, and that they might displace the Pope; and that not onely Bishops, but other learned and godly men should haue their voices. Hereupon **EVGENIUS** finding that this Decree would shake the Popes authority, and that the Council would arrogate more liberty then he thought fit, he refused to dissolve it.

The Pope hereupon summoned a generall Council to be held in *Ferrara*, which was the yeere before (by his commandement) begun by the Cardinall *S. Crosse*, whither the Pope himself came in person. Here was that which had neuer bene seene (a schisme of Councils) for those of *Basil* would not giue ouer, yet many which had been there came to *Ferrara*. In the Council of *Ferrara* came **JOHN PALOLOVS**, Emperor of *Constantinople*, with a great number of Greeke Prelates, notwithstanding that those of *Basil* sought to haue induced him to come thither: but a great plague falling amongst them at *Ferrara*, the Pope removed the Council to *Florence*; where the Greeks and their Emperour submitted themselves to the Latines, touching the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, the third person of the Trinitie, which they held to haue proceeded but from the Father onely: and other matters were there handled, which **ANTONINVS** Archbishop of *Florence* in his histories, and **PLATINA** and others write at large. But this notwithstanding, those of *Basil* proceeded in their Council against the Pope; and although the Emperour sought to bring them to vnity, yet his other affaires were so great (considering the small time he ragined) that he could not effect it; and now worst of all, for he had raised his whole power, and was marching with his Army against the Turk, to free the citie of *Sindervonia*.

Being past *Buda*, and encamped betweene the riuers *Tisus* and *Danubius*, he was certified that the Turk had taken the said citie & had put out the **DISPOS**'s sons eyes; and **AMURATH** being aduertised of his coming, retiring with his Army towards *Theffalonia*, a famous citie in *Macedonia*, took afterwards many cities in *Epire* and *Theffalia*. The Emperour seeing that he could not recouer the citie, and that the Turk was retired, returned to *Buda*, where he discharged his Army: and being come thither, what with the scorching of the Sunne, and with the heate of Summer (and as some say, by eating of more Cucumers then did him good) he was taken with a flux; wherewith growing very weak, departing from *Buda* with a desire to go to *Viena*, he died by the way, in a little village called *Langbrat*, vpon the 27. day of October, in the yeere of our Lord 1439, before that two yeeres were fully expired, since that he was first chosen Emperour: his death was much lamented for the great hope conceived of him, that he would haue proved a good Prince. The Emperour **ALBERT** left two daughters, one of which was married to the Duke of *Saxony*, and the other afterwards to the king of *Poland*; and his wife the Emperess he left great with childe of a son, which in time came to be king of *Hungary*, and of *Bohemia*; but first there ensued much discord betweene the two kingdomes, as hereafter shall be declared.

The schisme & contention betweene the Pope and the Council of *Basil* grew to be so great, at what time the Emperour **ALBERT** died, that they chose for Pope **AMADVS**, whom many called **BASILISK**, for that he was chosen at *Basil*, who was now called **FELIX**: he had been Duke of *Sauoy*, and married and had children, he took religious orders (as many write) to the end to be made Pope: he was father in law to **PHILIP** Duke of *Milan*, to whom was imputed the principall cause of his election: for he being the Popes enemy, procured that the Council in *Basil* should make choise of him, and he himselfe made cruell warre against the Pope, against the Florentines, and the Venecians, **PICHINO** being General of his Army. And **FRANCIS SPOCE** (**PICHINO**'s competitor) was General for them, so as there was a greater diuision in the Church of *Rome* then euer had been seene before, for as there were now two Popes, and two Councils; and some Princes fauoured the one, and others the other: amongst which **ALONSO** King of *Aragon* being an enemy to **EVGENIUS**, fauored Pope **FELIX**; but as it seemed that **EVGENIUS** had the better title, Pope **FELIX** his credit daily impaired, yet he held the name of Pope the space of nine yeeres; and afterward Pope **EVGENIUS** being dead, in the time of Pope **NICHOLAS** he renounced the Papacie.

In *Constantinople* reigned **JOHN PALOLOVS**, who in those times came to the Council at *Florence*; who hauing ended such matters as he came for, concerning the vnion of the Greeke and Latin Churches, returned to *Constantinople*; where, within a little after he died, and **CONSTANTINE** succeeded him in the Empire.

The death of the
Emperour Al-
bert the second.



THE LIFE OF FREDERICK, THE THIRD OF THAT NAME, AND HUNDRETH AND THIRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

THE ARGUMENT.

ALtho the Electors ioyntly agreeing in the election of Frederick Duke of Austria, a young man of the age of fine and twentie yeeres, he accepted the Empire, and coming to be crowned in Aken, was confirmed by the Pope. He was a loue of peace, and a disinterested observer, thereof in all his actions. He supplanted the schisme, and shewed himselfe a perfect friend to the Pope; and coming into Italy was crowned in Rome, to the great contentment of all the Countrey: Wherewith were made most sumptuous feasts by all the cities which receiued him. He afterwards returning into Germany, was much troubled with the confusion he found there, by reason of the King of Bohemia, which could not be pacified but by the restitution of the King to the Bohemians. In times of this Emperour, Constantinople to the great shame and dishonor of all Christendome was lost, and great harmes were threatened by the Turke: but a Croisade being made, the Turke had a very great overthrow, so as he was constrained to alter his resolution. This Emperour had some controuersie with his brother about the Duchie of Austria, but in the end the title rested in the Emperour: who, to his sonne Maximilian gave the title of Archduke of Austria and made him King of the Romanes. He ever sought to maintaine peace, by reason wherof he was called the peacable Emperour. And being now old, and his sonne Maximilian desiring the gouernment, it pleased God to take him out of this world, when he had ruled the Empire three and fiftie yeeres.



THose which haue trauelled a long iourney, and being come neer to their iourneys end; through the desire they haue to attaine thereto, and to rest their wearie bones, make commonly greater halte then before: so I desiring to do the like, and to make a quick dispatch in writing the history of the Emperours remaining yet behinde; being tired with the long iourney which I haue trauelled, and to obtaine rest; after so long watching and so much painetaken in that which is past; in the end of my iourney the Emperour **FREDERICK** presenteth himselfe, and after him his sonne **MAXIMILIAN**, whose liues were such and so long, that all the time and paper which I haue spent might haue bin employed in writing the liues of them two: of **FREDERICK**, for that he was naturally more enclined to peace, and procured the same, and raigned fiftie and odd yeeres; in which time so many accidents passed, that they require a long discourse; and of **MAXIMILIAN**, for that his acts were so great, and so many accidents happened in his time, that if they all should be written, this volume would hardly containe his history. Whereof (when I had well considered) it did put me in a great perplexitie, fearing to be tired or founded before I should attaine to the end of my iourney: but setting all feare apart I will proceede, and thus it was:

As soone as the death of the Emperour **ALBERT** was published, the Princes Electors of the Empire assembling in the citie of *Frankford*, about two or three daies before the new yeere 1440. chose for Emperour **FREDERICK** Duke of *Austria*, a young man of the age of fiftie and

Frederick
Duke of Au-
stria chosen
Emperor.

and twenty yeeres, who a little before came from *Ierusalem* where he had been in Pilgrimage. This **FREDERICK** was the son of Duke **ERNESTVS** of *Austria*, descended in line masculine from the Emperour **ALBRECHT**, above named. When as he vnderstood of his election, accepting the same, he prepared himselfe to go to *Aken* to be crowned; before which I hold it expedient to relate in few words what happened in the Kingdomes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, after the death of the Emperour **ALBERT**; since they were provinces of the Empire; and forasmuch as they serve for our purpose, for the clearing and better vnderstanding of that which followeth.

The King of
Poland chosen
King of Hun-
gary.

The widow Emperesse (as before is said) at the time of her husbands decease was with childe: and as soone as he was dead, the Lords of *Hungary* assembling together consulted about the choosing of a new King: for sith the Emperesse before had already two daughters, they thought not that she now would haue had a son: whereupon after many doubts they choosing **VLADISLAVS** King of *Poland* for their King (yet some say it was the Kings brother) sent to aduertise him thereof. In the meane time that the Ambassadors were vpon their way, the Emperesse was deliuered of a son, who was named **LADISLAVS**; which when they saw, they then wished they had not sent to the King of *Poland*: yet they held it more expedient for the good of the Kingdom to haue him for their King, for that he was of age and power to protect their countie, and to gouerne the same, which would be wanting in the infant; and they in like manner were of opinion that the Bohemians would haue made him their King also.

Standing in this doubt, the King of *Poland* (to take benefit of the time) in the greatest haste he could, came into *Hungary*, and was in *Buda* by those which desired to haue him so received for their King. In the meane time, the widow Queene with her new borne son, together with the Earle of *Cilia* and great part of the nobilitie, went to *Alba Regalis*, where vpon Whitsunday the young child was crowned King by the Archbishop of *Syrigonium*.

This solemnity being ended, and featic sworn to him by those which were present, as to their Lord and King, the Queene with her son fearing the inconstancie of the Hungars, by the counsell of some her friends presently took her way towards *Piena*, and committing him to the protection of his Vncle the new Emperour, together with the crowne of that Kingdom, which she had in her power (which is there held for the best right to haue the possession thereof) he returned into *Hungary*, to see if he might haue the gouernment thereof, during her sons minority. Some say that she sent the young King to the Emperour: but howsoeuer it was, the Emperour as his Vncle had the wardship of the childe, for to him appertained the protection of the house of *Austria*. In *Hungary* was great contention who should be King: but those which took part with **VLADISLAVS** King of *Poland* being assisted by **JOHN HYNIADES VAIVODA** (a very famous Captaine for the great victories which hee had obtained against the Turkes) for that time prevailed: and the young **LADISLAVS**, although crowned, remained a long time dispossessed in the Emperours keeping. In the Kingdom of *Bohemia* was no lesse combultions: for the Emperour **ALBERT** being dead, they in like manner treated of the chusing a new King; and they hauing appointed a day for that purpose, before the time came, the widow Emperesse was deliuered of her son **LADISLAVS**, and she presently vpon her deliuerie sent into *Bohemia*, to enforme the Bohemians of the equite of her cause, and to put them in minde that she was the daughter of the Emperour **SIGISMUND**, King of *Bohemia*; and that she and her husband **ALBERT** had enioyed the same, wherefore they should not now deprive her soone of his right.

The Ambassadors doing what in them lay, found fauour and assistants; but **TASCON** and the rest which had been **ALBERTS** enemies, were of such authority, that notwithstanding they confessed that the childe **LADISLAVS** had right to the Crowne, yet they alleged that he ought not to be King before he was foure and twentie yeeres of age: and their sentence prevailing, they chose **ALBERT** Duke of *Baniera* for their King, who shewing the greatnes of his minde, would not accept it: a rare example of magnanimitie, and seldom seene. The Bohemians meeting againe agreed to send to entreate the Emperour **FREDERICK**; that seeing he had charged himself with the protection of the person of the young King, that he would also be pleased to take vpon him the gouernment of the kingdom of *Bohemia*: and **TASCON** who was one of the Ambassadors, counselled him to haue made himself King thereof, which was a matter calfe to effect.

This Ambassage was deliuered to the Emperour at such time as he was going towards *Aken* to be crowned (for he was but newly chosen) his answer he referred vntill his returne; which

which then was, that whereas they had offered him the kingdom of *Bohemia*, he would not shew himselfe so vnusult a tutor, as to bereaue the pupill of his right; and that he could as ill take vpon him the gouernment of the countie, for hee had otherwise enough to answer for before **GOD**: for that which he held, and for that cause he would vndertake no other charge: Wherefore amongst themselves they might finde men sufficient to haue the Rule and Gouernment.

Those which came with this Ambassage being returned, the Lords of *Bohemia* appointed a new meeting; and chose for Gouernors vntill that **LADISLAVS** should come to age, **TASCON** and **MENANDER**; who were heads and leaders of the contrary faction: To **TASCON** repaired all the reputed heretics of time past. Within a little while after, **TASCON** dying **GEORGE POGIABRACCIO** succeeded him, who after the decease of **MENANDER**, had the sole gouernment; and many other matters befell in the time that **LADISLAVS**, by reason of his nonage was in the Emperour **FREDERICKS** protection: And the Hungars and Bohemians oftentimes fought to haue the keeping of him vntill he came to full age. This for the present may suffice, to vnderstand the successe of the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*.

The Emperour **FREDERICK** spent the time from Ianuary vntill Iuly, in providing for the affaires of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and to make provision for his Coronation, which should be solemnized in the moneth of August, in the City of *Aken*, at which time Cardinal **LEVVVS** being sent by the Councell at *Basil*, came thither to approve and authorize his Election. About whose coming, there were great alterations; for the Bishop of *Liege* who was an enemy to the Councell of *Basil*, and to Pope **FELIX**, holding with **EVGNIVS**, put him out of the towne: but **THEODORICVS** Archbishop of *Colen* (who held with those of *Basil*) made him to be received in againe, whereupon Pope **EVGNIVS** deposed him from his Prelacy, vntill that afterwards he was through the Emperours entreaty by his Ambassadors restored. The Coronation being ended, the Emperour returned into *Austria* where he was at great controuersy with his brother **ALBERT** about the diuision of the estates thereof; with whom **FREDERICK** seeking to come to an agreement, procured peace and concord through all *Germany*, for he was euer enclined to peace and a louet thereof. Whilst the Emperour applied himselfe hereto, in *Italy* in those daies (or a little before) after great warre and infinite combultions, a peace was concluded between Duke **PHILIP** of *Milan* of the one side, and the Venecians and the Florentines of the other. And **FRANCIS SFORZA** who was General of their Army marrying the Duke of *Milanes* base daughter, had *Cremona* and other places with her for her dowry: this peace was made in the yeere 1442. A little before this, in the same yeere, **ALONSO** king of *Arragon* wholly expelling his competitor **RENE** out of the kingdom of *Naples*, remained in full possession thereof. About this time, **VLADISLAVS** King of *Poland* (who was also in possession of *Hungary*) after many adventures past in the warres against the Turkes fighting a battaile with them, was therein vnturnately slaine; hauing bene King of *Hungarie* but foure yeeres.

The Emperour
Frederick
crowned in A-
ken.

King **VLADISLAVS** being slaine in this manner, the Noble men and Burgeses of *Cities* assembling, chose the childe **LADISLAVS** their right Soueraigne, for their King; who (as I said) at the age of foure moneths was crowned in *Alba Regalis*; and they hauing proclaimed him for their King, sent a solemn Ambassage to entreate the Emperour to permit them to haue the custody of him, to the end that they might crowne him: whereto the Emperour (commending their doings) answered, that there needed no election, sith he was their naturall Lord; neither was there any neede to crowne him, sith he was already crowned. And seeing that he was but an infant, and wanted a tutor, vntill that he should come to age, he willed them to chose them Gouernors; and he would take care for his person vntill he should be of yeers fit to gouern. With this answer the Hungars being greatly discontented, refused to haue that by force which by faire meanes they could not obtaine: And **JOHN HYNIADES** being chosen for their Gouernor, came into *Austria* to waue vpon the Emperour, for that he gaue them not their King; but finding sufficient resistance, mist of his purpose. About the same time, the Bohemians in like manner did sue to haue him; to whom the Emperour gaue the selfe same or the like reasons and excusis as hee had done to the Hungars; and so he dispatched them for that time.

Whilst these matters passed, after most cruell warres, between *England* and *France*, a truce for a time was taken between them, and the Dauphin of *France* whose name was **LEVVVS**; in the

the time of this truce, without any reason or occasion that might move him thereto; leuied a very mighty Army, and entering *Germany*, besieged and tooke the City and state of *Wittenbergh*, and other Towns of lesse quality, no man knowing thereof: yet Historians set downe sundry. Someday, that he came by the Emperours procurement against the Swissers, who at that time were enemies to the house of *Austria*. *N A V I L L A R V S* writeth, that hee published, that hee came to recouer those lands which in antient time appertained to the house of *France*. *P L A T I N* and other Italians write, that the Dolphin's coming was by the Popes inflation, to ouerthrow the Councell at *Basil*; which in my opinion is most likely to be true: for, hee presently marched against *Basil*, and the Swissers (who were in league with that City) sent 4000 cholemen to the relief thereof; but they could not enter it without meeting with the Dolphin, who within fight of the City fighting with his whole Army, were all slain, not one escaping: but they found their liues very dear; for they fighting in a manner a whole day, from the morning till night; were not broken vntill they had slain twice so many of their enemies as they were. After this battell the Emperor sent to require the Dolphin to make no war in the Territories of the Empire, and began to prouide for the defense thereof. Some report it after this manner, and others after another: the conclusion was, that the Dolphin hauing done much harm in many places, returned to his fathers Kingdom.

At this time died *JOHN PALAEOLOGVS* Emperour of *Constantinople*; and for that he had no sonne, his brother *CONSTANTIN PALAEOLOGVS* succeeded him. Many matters passed in those daies in *Italy*, which I haue not time to relate. King *ALONSO* of *Aragon*, possessing the Kingdom of *Naples*, and defending the cause of Pope *EUGENIVS* (with whom he was in great grace) was by him inuested, and confirmed in his Kingdom.

Pope *EUGENIVS* being dead; Cardinal *THOMAS SARZANO* (who lately was Legate in *Germany*) was chosen, and called *NICHOLAS* the Fifth, to whom (as soon as hee was consecrated) the Emperor sent to acknowledge obedience; and he sought to haue established a general peace through all *Italy*: but the treaty of peace and the conclusion thereof was interrupted by the death of the great and puissant *PHILIP*, Duke of *Milan*; who might iustly be called great; for, he was great of minde, of body, of power, of estate, and of farre greater wit and vnderstanding than any of his Ancestors: which *PHILIP* died the thirteenth day of August, in the yeere of our Lord 1447, in the twelfth and fiftieth of his age, and the two & thirtieth of his reign. When he died he left neuer a son; and but one base daughter called *BLANCH*, who (as I said) was married to *FRANCIS SPORCH*.

The Duke being dead, the City of *Milan*, crying Liberty and Empire, made choice of twelue men to gouern it; but there was a sudden alteration; for many fought to haue been Lords thereof. The Milanois (as I said) desired their liberty; and King *ALONSO* of *Naples* and *Aragon* pretended a title of inheritance: for, Duke *PHILIP* by his Will and Testament made him heir to all his dominions. The Emperor with better right pretended that estate to appertain to the Empire (for default of heirs) and therefore it was to returne to the Empire: but hee had not time to come into *Italy*, by reason of the great fear and danger of the coming of the Turks into *Hungary*; which, as Emperor, and Tutor to the young King, hee was to defend. *FRANCIS SPORCH*, hauing married the base daughter of Duke *PHILIP*, pretended title to the duchie of *Milan* by the right of his wife. *CHARLES* Duke of *Orleans* would haue it, for that hee was the sonne of *VALENTINA*, sister to Duke *PHILIP*'s father; which *VALENTINA* was married to *LAVES* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to *CHARLES* the first King of *France*: wherefore *CHARLES* pretended that Duchy to appertain vnto him. The Venecians, taking for their right the occasion which was offered, presently seized sundry Towns into their hands, as *Cremona*, *Placencia* and *Lodi*. All those which pretended title to the Duchy of *Milan*, sent their Ambassadors to the Milanois; not that they all did absolutely make claim therunto, but with certain complements and offers to assist them against the Venecians which took their Townes. The Milanois would accept no Soueraign but the Emperor: whom they intreated to permit them to enioy their liberty, vpon condition whereof they would yearly giue him a cup of gold in token of their vassallage and subiection; and to that effect they dispatched their Ambassadors vnto him: but God in his secret iudgement had reserved that estate for *FRANCIS SPORCH*; which hapned after this manner:

FRANCIS SPORCH being certified of the death of his father in law *PHILIP*, and that the Venecians made themselves Lords of the countrie, hastned him to *Cremona*, which was his owne towne, giuen him for his wiues dowrie; and fortifying, garrisoning, and furnishing the

the same with all things needfull, he went to *Pavia*, whither being called by the inhabitants, he became Lord thereof. The Milanois made him General of their Army against the Venecians, and he accepting the charge, hauing good successe, ouerthrew them in battaille: and being victorious (imitating *OCTAVIVS CÆSAR*) made peace with them, which they gladly accepted, and in their agreement they bound themselves to assist him with certain troupes of men of warre: and he resolving to put in execution what he had intended (which was to make himselfe Lord of *Milan*) bent his forces against the Townes and Cities of *Lombardy*; some of which he tooke by force, and other by faire meanes, and in the end besieged the city of *Milan* itselfe: and after many accidents, was received into it; and so with the title and by right of Armes, was called Duke of *Milan*; and afterwards coming to be Lord of the whole estate, was a mighty and a valiant Prince, and liued many yeeres Lord thereof.

At the same time when these matters passed in *Milan* and *Italy*, the Emperor *FREDERICK*, after the dissolution of the Councell of *Basil*, sought by all means to root out the schism betwixt the Popes, for *FELIX* was still called Pope and obeyed by the Sauiouists: but the Emperours Councell and Authority so much preuailed with him, as he was forced to come to obedience, and renouncing the Papacy, was by Pope *NICHOLAS* made a Cardinall, and his Legate in *Savoy*, and in certaine other Prouinces. Shortly after ensued great warres in *Germany*, between many of the Imperial cities, and the Marquesse of *Brandenburgh*, who was assisted by the Earle of *Wittenbergh*: the warre was such, as in the space of two yeeres that it lasted, they fought nine severall times, and fortune fauoring sometime one, and sometime the other; much harme was done before that the Emperour could pacifie the same: vntill at length, by his intercession and commandement, a peace was concluded between these Princes and the cities. And he hauing settled this concord, resolved to come into *Italy*, for the great desire hee had to be crowned, wherein *ALONSO* King of *Naples* and *Aragon* was his allie and great friend; the Venecians were also his friends, for as he loued peace, so hee euer sought to maintaine the same. He hauing resolved to goe his iourney, and agreed to marry with the Lady *ELEANOR* daughter to the King of *Portingall*, it was decreed that shee (he being there) should come into *Italy* by Sea, and that the nuptials should there be solemnized. Whereupon he leuied an indifferent Army of foote and horse, and provided all things necessary for his iourney; and departing from *Germany*, carried with him *LADISLAVS* the young king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, not without griefe to both those kingdoms, who very instantly desired to haue had the guard of him: by reason whereof, a great number of the Nobles of both those Kingdoms, together with many Lords of *Suenia* and *Austria* accompanied him: with which (although in warlike manner) in the beginning of January in the yeere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred fifty two, he entered *Italy*: and coming into the countries subiect to the Venecians, Ambassadors with shew of singular loue and affection came to entertaine him, who freely furnished his whole Army with victuals whilst he was in their iurisdiction.

Keeping on his way by *Trenigi* and by *Padoa* to *Ferrara*, he was thereby *BONIFACIUS*; their Duke sumptuously feasted; and in all parts was entertained with great loue and good will. From *Ferrara* he came to *Bologna* (notwithstanding that *FRANCIS SPORCH* invited him to come to *Milan*; there to be crowned with the crowne of Iron) and following his way towards *Rome*, accompanied with the Cardinall which came to receive him there, he went to *Florence*; and was there most sumptuously entertained, and had the like in *Siena*, whither he presently went: at his being there, he was certified that the King of *Portingall*'s daughter, to whom he was to be married, being but sixteen yeeres old, was arrived by Sea in the city of *Basil*; and he staying for her there, she, with many gallants in her traine was brought to *Siena*; where the Emperour, accompanied with the King of *Bohemia* and other Princes and men of account y went to meete her.

The Emperor was already by his deputy betrothed to her, but he deferred the nuptials vntill he might receiue her at the hands of the Pope. The Emperor being come to *Rome*, was sumptuously entertained and feasted by Pope *NICHOLAS*, who vpon the steps coming into Saint *PETERS* Church clad in his pontificalibus; attending his coming; receiued him; the Emperesse and the King of *Bohemia*, kissing his foot, hee gaue them their hands; comming into the Church, and hauing made their prayers, and other ceremonies accustomed, they went to their lodgings; and vpon the fifteenth day of March in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty two, the Emperour was married to the Emperesse, and was the same day with the Iron crowne, which should haue been done in *Milan*, crowned king of *Lombardy*: And three dayes after

A memorable
battell fought by
the Swissers against
the French
near to Basil.

The death of
John Palaeologus,
Emperour of
Constantinople.

The death of
Pope Eugenius,
whom Nicholas
the Fifth suc-
ceeded.

The death of the
mighty Philip,
Duke of Milan.

Titles to the
duchie of Milan.

The Emperour
going into Italy.

Hieronicus Mæ-
cius lib. 19.

The Emperour
Frederick
crowned and
married in Rome
by Pope Ni-
cholas.

after in the same Church, with the ceremonies and solemnities accustomed, was crowned Emperor of *Rome*, and the Emperess in like manner. The feasts at the coronation being ended, the Emperor leaving King *LADISLAUS* in *Rome* went to *Naples*, whither afterwards came his wife the Emperess, to see King *ALONSO* who was her vncle, where they were continually for the space of fiftene daies sumptuously feasted. From *Naples* the Emperor by sea, and up the river *Tiber*, returned to *Rome*, thence to take his journey towards *Germany*, where he was advertised, that the Hungars and Bohemians had caused some alterations for that the Emperor detained their King from them; the chief motors were *VLICH* Earle of *Cilia*, and another *VLICH* a man of great power.

The Emperess tarrying 8. daies longer in *Naples* then the Emperor, went by land to *Manfredonia*, and from thence by sea to *Venice*, for she knew that the Emperor would go to see that citie before his returne into *Germany*. The Emperor in his iourney took *Ferrara* in his way, where in reward of the service done him by *BORSIO* Duke of *Ferrara* at his coming and going, he made him Duke of *Modena* and *Reggio*, and gave him the title and soueraignty of those cities; and being there, *GALEAS SPOCR* Viscount, son to *FRANCIS SPOCR* Duke of *Milan* came to see him, and brought him gifts and presents from his father. The Emperor friendly entertaining him dubbed him Knight, for the good conceit he had of his person. And from *Ferrara* the Emperor sending his people by land, went downe the river of *Po* to the citie of *Venice*, where he was received with infinite sorts of triumphs, whither the Emperess was already com, and was received with no lesse solemnitie: in such feasting and pastimes he spent there other ten dayes: and then departed, accompanied with the Duke and Senate of *Venice* to the sea side, who sent Pourvoiers before with order, that in all their dominion, his whole court should be furnished with all things necessary gratis. And so this peaceable Prince passed through *Italy* in peace, and with euery mans loue and applause, which he could not haue done if he had been ambitious and desirous of warre: and if he could haue done it, it would haue bin to the greater losse of his people and expence of money, and with the peril of his life and burthen to his conscience, as by the histories of other Emperours which came into *Italy* to other intents, it may appeare.

The Emperor being departed out of *Italy*, it seemed that peace and quietnes went away with him: for the warres presently began betweene those which formerly had bin enemies, who as long as he was there were in some sort pacified. The Venecians being in league with King *ALONSO*, with the Duke of *Sauoy*, and with the Marquess of *Monferrat*, against *FRANCIS SPOCR* Duke of *Milan*, made cruell warre against him, whom the Florentines and *LEWIS GONZAGA* Marquess of *Monten* assisted and aided. And King *ALONSO*, enemy to the Florentines, sent his son *FERRINAND* with 8000 horse as some write and 4000 foot to make warre in *Tuscane*. The King of *France* dealt with *RENE* Earle of *Provence*, to passe into *Italy* with 2000 horse, in the behalfe of the Duke of *Milan* and the Florentines, in hope of the enterprise of *Naples*. So as there was most cruell war through all *Italy*, the issue whereof I haue not time to declare. The Pope vsing all means to haue pacified the same, desired they all should haue ioynd together, to haue holpen the Emperor of *Constantinople* against the great *Turke*, knowing that he purposed to besiege the citie of *Constantinople*: but he could not then effect the same, and so *Constantinople* was not relieved, when it stood in most need.

The Emperor *FREDERICK* coming into *Germany*, found it in no better quiet, then at his departure he left *Italy*; for a great part of his countrie of *Austria* was in Armes against him, and had thrust out the Governours which he had set there: all which was done for that he had not leaue young King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* at liberty, moued thereto by the Earle of *Cilia* and by *VLICH* a great man in *Bohemia*; who perswaded them to take *LADISLAUS*, the son of *ALBERT* Duke of *Austria* for their Lord, to whom that countrie did more properly appertain; and the Emperor vnderstanding of their rebellion, came with part of his Army to a towne called *Xiensa*, where those of *Austria* came against him; and notwithstanding that the Emperor had good forces, yet they fought with him, and the fight continued foure houres: but so many charged the Imperialists, that they were constrained to retire to *Xiensa*, before which whole of *Austria* encamping themselves with great furie, in the name of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* requiring their King, battered the same. When it was knowne that the Emperor was besieged, great preparation was made through all *Germany* by sundie Princes which resolved to free him; and the like was made by the Hungars and Bohemians, who to the contrary required to haue their King.

The

The Emperor foreseeing the great miseries likely to ensue, gave care to a parley, wherein it was agreed that he should deliuer the young King *LADISLAUS* who was not yet fully 14 years old) into the hands of the Earle of *Cilia*, who should haue the keeping of him vntill November then next coming, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fiftie two: And that the Proctors and deputies of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* should meete in the City of *Viena*, there to conclude who should haue the government of those kingdomes; with many other promises which were neuer performed.

Herewith the siege was raised from before the city, and the Earle of *Cilia*, carried the yong king to *Viena*, where he was received with as great ioy, as if he had been the naturall Lord thereof: and so presently without any other treaty, he gaue offices and dignities as lord of the countrie, and was also called Duke of *Austria*, by the Title before specified. To him came presently many great men of both the kingdomes, and amongst them *JOHN HYNIADES* *VAI* *VODA*, who had been gouernor of *Hungary*; and *GEORGE POGIORACCIO* Gouernour of *Bohemia*.

The time appointed being expired, thither resorted many Princes of *Germany*, and Ambassadors from the Emperor: but the yong vnexperienced King would accomplish no part of what was couenant; and being ruled and led by fauorites, in the final time that he liued many disorders were committed in his house and Court, which *ARNAS SLYVIVS* hath most excellently written in his History of *Bohemia*, *Viena*, and the other Cities which held for *LADISLAUS* being supported by *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, persecuted in their rebellion, and so continued as long as *LADISLAUS* liued.

Whilest the Emperor *FREDERICK* was pestered with these troubles, and the other Princes had warres amongst themselves, *MAHOMET* the great *Turke* in the beginning of the yeere one thousand foure hundred fiftie three, with an huge Army besieged the Imperial City of *Constantinople*, the head of all the Greeke and Oriental Empire (*CONSTANTINE* the last Emperor thereof being within it) which he besieged the space of more then fiftie daies, in which time (for that it was not relieved) vpon the nine and twentieth day of May in the same yeere, the City was by force taken and entred, and the Emperor, to the shame and dishonour of all Christendome was therein slaine: and in that City were such cruelties committed, as the like thereof had neuer been seene or heard of. For the losse of *Constantinople* all the Princes in Christendome were very sory, but much more when they vnderstood how great cruelties and murders the *Turke* had afterwards committed; and that he had taken other Townes and Provinces thereto adioyning, and that he therewith threatened *Italy* and *Germany*: Whereupon they began to consult of defence and resistance to be made against him: but the Ambition and dissension which reigned amongst them, gaue no place to the conclusion or performance of any good exploit; as in our daies the like hath been seen in the like necessity. Yet the next yeere a peace was concluded in *Italy* between the King of *Naples* and the Venecians, the Duke of *Milan*, and the Florentines, and those of their league: which being concluded, the Pope rigged vp a great flecte of Gallies to make head against the *Turkes*; but they write that he was euer so sorrowfull after the losse of *Constantinople* that he neuer enjoyed good day, but falling sick died, vpon the twenty fift day of March in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fiftie fve, in the fiftenth yeere of the raigne of the Emperor *FREDERICK*, and the eighth of his Papacy.

After his decesse, Cardinall *ALFONSO BORGIA* a Spaniard was chosen Pope, and called *CALIXTUS* the Third. The first thing he vnderooke was to procure warre against the *Turke*, and to that effect sent out his Bulls, and a generall Croisade, and therewith sent his Legates into all parts of Christendome, especially into *Germany*; where the Emperor haue the like care, had summoned a Diet or Parliament vpon that occasion. And notwithstanding that many Princes gaue in their names, and offered to serue in this warre, yet the icalousie and dissension amongst them was such, that they put nothing in execution: but the Pope neuertheless sent Cardinall *JOHN CARAIAYAL* for his Legate into *Germany*, who for that it was certainly known that the *Turke* was coming into *Hungary*, with the Emperours aide and fauor leuied men and money: presently hereupon came news that the *Turke* was come, and that he had in his Army (they which say least) one hundred and fiftie thousand men, and that he went to besiege *Belgrade* otherwise called *Alba Graeca*, and more anciently, *Taurinum*; and that he purposed in few daies (taking that City) to march forwards. King *LADISLAUS* giuing the charge of that warre, with the defence of that City and Kingdome to *JOHN HYNIADES*

Constantinople
besieged and tak-
en by the great
Turke.

The great Turke
entred Hungary.

NIADBS, retired to *Vienna*: for in truth he was neither of age, neither had power sufficient to fight with the Turke.

The Popes Legate with the greatest number of men that he could get came to *Buda*, and from thence before the Turks comming put himselfe therewith into the City of *Belgrado*: amongst those which came with him, was one *JOHN CAPISTRANO*, a Franciscane Frier, who with his sermons and exhortations gathered together and brought with him a great number of men, which for their device wore the signe of the Croffe. The Turke comming with his power, and besieging the city, these men wrought wonders in the defence thereof, being furiously battered. To the reliefe thereof, with the power which the Emperor sent, and such others as he could raise in *Hungary*, which were forty thousand Foore, and five thousand Horse, came *JOHN HUNIADBS*.

To be briefe, it pleased God, that the succors being arriued, and comn to blowes, they had so good fortune that the Turke was ouerthrowne and wounded, and a great number of his men slaine: Whereupon he raising his siege and flying, left his Artillery and baggage behinde him. This happened vpon Saint *MARY MAGDALENS* day, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred fifty six. All Christendome reioyced, and made bonifiers for this so notable a victory: And *Italie* and *Germany* by this means were deliuered from the feare which they conceiued, by reason of the late losse of *Constantinople*: For, considering the great power of the enemy, they all feared to haue been lost. Within few daies after this victory, died that excellent Capitaine *JOHN HUNIADBS*: and the Turke by reason of this ouerthrow, suffering *Hungary* and *Italie* to rest in Peace, made warres in the Ilands of the Sea called *Archipelagus*, and in other countries bordering vpon them.

The Emperor *FREDERICK* sraigne was so long, and so many accidents hapned therein, that I shall be enforced to be briefer in writing what followeth, then I haue been in what is past. After this victory obtained by *JOHN HUNIADBS*, the Emperour *FREDERICK* applied himselfe to the establishing of peace in *Germany*, to the end he might be able to prevent what might befall: and being busie herein, the yong King of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* being of the age of eighteen yeeres died (not without suspect of poyson) in the City of *Prague*, where he attended the comming of the French Kings daughter, to whom he should haue been married. The realmes of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and that also which he held in *Austria*, by reason of his death without issue and heires, were void; which caused much strife in those countries and kingdoms, about the succession and election, diuers Princes pretending to haue right to them. In the end the Bohemians took *GEORGE POGIORRACCIO* (who was Gouverneur thereof in the time of *LADISLAUS*) for their King, a man of a Noble house and of great valour. The Hungars for their King chose *MATTHEVV* the sonne of that excellent warriour *JOHN HUNIADBS*, as well for the loue which they bare to his father, as for the good hope they had of his person, being a yong man of nineteen yeeres old, and then prisoner in *Bohemia* for the death of the Earle of *Cilia*, which grew vpon this occasion, the yong King *LADISLAUS* was wholly gouerned by the Earle of *Cilia*, who had enuiet the vertues and glory of *JOHN HUNIADBS*; and after his death continued his hatred against his sonnes *LADISLAUS* and *MATTHEVV*, seeking their ruines: *LADISLAUS* comming to expostulate the matter with the Earle, they fell to wordes, so as in the end the Earle strooke him, and *LADISLAUS* slue the Earle.

The King of *Hungary* being informed of the fact, promised *LADISLAUS* pardon & gaue him a purple robe imbroyded with Gold: yet being newly incensed, he seized vpon both the brethren, and put *LADISLAUS* to death, and finding that the Noble-men of *Hungary* hated him for this fact, and that he could not stay there without danger, he returned into *Bohemia*, carrying *MATTHIAS* the yonger brother with him, where soon after the yong king died, leaving him a prisoner, whom *POGIORRACCIO* the new King of *Bohemia* setting at liberty, married him to his daughter; and he afterwards being King of *Hungary*, proued an excellent and a most valiant Prince.

In the house of *Austria* (the gouernment whereof in right appertained to the Emperour) his brother *ALBERT* pretended, that for as much as his brother was Emperour, he ought to enioy the same; the like did his cosine *SIGISMUND*. About this controuersie those of *Austria* assembling maintained the Emperour to be their principall Lord; and that he according to the custome of *Germany* was to haue regard to the maintenance of his brothers and cosin-germanes estate: Wherefore and for the better preferuation of the peace, certain Lands and re-

uenues

uenues were assigned vnto them. The Emperour vpon this agreement came to *Vienna*, and was there receiued and obeyed: but his brother and cosin, persecuting in their purposes, caused some alterations in the Country; and there were some sharp bickerings about this matter: but, by the mediation of *LEVVUS* Duke of *Bauiere*, a composition was made between him and them, yet they were neuer without iealousies and contentions till the death of *ALBERT*: at which time the Emperour without any contradiction took possession of that estate. After this, in the yeer 1458, died *ALONSO*, King of *Aragon* and *Naples*, whom his brother *JOHN* King of *Nauarre* succeeded in the Kingdomes of *Aragon* and *Sicilia*; and in the Kingdom of *Naples* succeeded his bafe son *FERNANDO*; who contented with *JOHN* the son of *RENN*, with whom his father was at variance about that Kingdome. And in the month of August following, died Pope *CALIXTUS*; and in his place was chosen *ENRRAS SILVIUS*, a Cardinall and Citizen of *Siena*, and was called *PIVS* the Second; who was so excellently learned, and endued with so many graces, that I cannot expresse what is written in commendation of him: besides this, the books which he wrote bear record of his wisdom and learning; who accordingly first took care for the defense of Christendome, and for the wars against the Turke, and to that effect wrote to the Emperour and the other Princes.

The next yeer after his election, he summoned a generall Councell to be held in the City of *Mantua*, to treat more effectually of the matter; where many Noble-men and Princes Ambassadors met; and many matters were deuised and ordained, which were neuer put in execution, by reason of the wars and troubles in *Italie*, and between the most part of the Princes in Christendome. Particularly in *Germany*, in the yeer 1460, beganne great debate and strife between *VDALRICVS* Earle of *Wilttemberg*, and *FREDERICK* Count Palatine of *Rhine*, about a dowry and some such matter; for which they came to fight sundry times, and many were slain of either side, vntill that an agreement was made by the Emperors commandement and authority.

After this another warre ensued, of longer continuance and more dangerous, which was for the Archbishopsrick of *Mentz*: for which, *DIETTERVS* of *Isenburgh*, and *ADVLPH* of *Nassaw* contended. *DIETTERVS*, who was in possession of the greatest part of the Bishopsrick, being for his contumacy, intrusion, simony, and such other matters, by the Sentence of Pope *PIVS* deposed, *ADVLPH* by the Emperors consent was by the Pope created; so as the one to get possession, and the other to defend the same, troubled all *Germany*, which the Emperour could not remedy: for, their rage grew to that height, that his commandements being contemned, some Princes taking part with the one, and some with the other, all imploied their whole force therein; and there followed many batels and encounters, and many great Personages were slain of either party.

CARION writes, that Pope *PIVS* the Second, of the house of the Puolomini, who had been Secretary to the Emperour *FREDERICK*, relying vpon his priuate loue, and his respect to the Sea of *Rome*, deposed *DIETTERVS* from the Archbishopsrick of *Mentz*, and advanced *ADVLPH* of *Nassaw*. The chief reasons they say were, for that he opposed himself stoutly against the Popes vniuersal exactions, wherewith the Provinces were opprest vnder colour of the Turkish warre; and that Pope *PIVS* required an oath, whereby his successors should also be bound, that he should not call the Electors together for the choosing of a new Emperour, or to determine of any other thing concerning the Empire, before they had acquainted the Pope therewith, and knowne his pleasure, which he refused to doo. This quarrell drew most of the Princes and chiefe Lords of *Germany* into Armes and combustions; as you haue formerly heard.

This warre continued long; but yet in the end, by the Emperors order and authority, the matter was taken vp; but the harms which were done before that time, could not be repaired as he would haue had them. For, he was so ill obeyed by his subjects in *Austria*, that those of *Vienna* ioyning one day with his brother *ALBERT*, in the yeer of our Lord 1463, took Armes and besieged the Emperour in the Fortresse of that City; and, battering the same, would haue taken him prisoner.

The King of *Bohemia*, who was his next neighbour, desiring to win his grace and fauour, came to his aid; and rescuing him, in such manner pacified the rebellion, that the Emperour if it had so pleased him might haue apprehended his brother *ALBERT*, but hee of purpose let him go: and it pleased God that a while after Duke *ALBERT* died, when as without his death there was no mean of peace in the state of *Austria*. He being dead, the Austrians together with Duke

Ggg

Str.

The Turks besieged Belgrado.

The great Turke ouerthrowne before the city of Belgrado in Hungary.

SIGISMUND wholly submitting themselves, became subject to the Emperor.

The death of
Aeneas Sylvi-
us, otherwise
Pope Pius 2.

In the yeere 1464, in the 24 year of the reign of the Emperor **FREDERICK**, died that excellently learned Pope, **PIUS** the Second, otherwise called **AENEAS SYLVIVS**, after whom was chosen Cardinal **BARDO** a Venecian, and was called **PAVL** the Second, who considering that the Turkes daily conquered the Christian countries, applied himself to procure a remedy: but the same reason which hindred others, prevented him also, so as he could not bring it to passe. Yet the Venecians entred into league with **MATTHIAS** King of Hungary, whose fame and reputation was then very great; and they giving him a certain summe of money, resistance was made in diuers parts. About this time died **FRANCIS SPORCA** Duke of Milan, whom his eldest son **GABRIEL MARIA SPORCA** succeeded in that Dukedome. About this time also died **PHELIP** Duke of Burgundy, and Earle of Flanders, whom succeeded the most valiant and renowned Captaine Duke **CHARLES**, called **CHARLES** the Hardy.

In the second yeer after Pope **PAVL**s election, the Emperour **FREDERICK** came to Rome, whereby the Pope he was most honestly received: the cause of his coming, some say was to performe a vow which he had made; others say that it was to conferre with the Pope concerning warres against the Turke: but howsoever it was, he came and returned quietly into Germany, where through his meanes peace continued long after: at the last there was no great warre, eyther in Germany or in Italy. In those daies notwithstanding that these countries were in peace and quiet, yet Duke **CHARLES** of Burgundy had cruell warres with France, and with the Swissers, and with other Princes. Pope **PAVL** being dead, **SIXTUS** the 4 succeeded him, who although he was but a Franciscane Friar, yet they write that he was so warlike, that the most part of the time that he was Pope he warred in Italy. The next yeer after his election which was in the yeer 1472, and the 32 of the Emperors reign, Duke **CHARLES** of Burgundy (of whose power and aspiring minde and of his warres, and the battails which he fought, wonders are written) procured leave to see, and to speake with the Emperour: and they meeting in Luxembourg, the Duke requested many matters at the Emperors hands, amongst which, this was one, that the Emperour should giue him the title of King of Naples, and make him his Vicar or Lieutenant in Italy, for he purposed to haue made a conquest thereof.

The Emperour disliking the ambition of this Prince, temporizing in the best manner hee could, answered him in general termes without concluding any thing, and in a night without bidding him farewell, departed the City; wherewith the Duke was very much discontented, and the next yeer following he leuied a very great Army, and marching towards Colen besieged the City of Nuiz: which he did to the end (as he said) to restore Colen to **ROBERT** of Bannia the Archbishop thereof, who was his kinsman and good friend. The Emperour vnderstanding that the Dukes meaning was (if he could) to take Colen, required him to raise his siege, which taking no effect he leuied a very great Army, and therewith marched directly against the Duke: but as he was slack in his business, so he needed (considering the Dukes power) to haue speedily brought a great Army: but as he came not with such expedition as the cause required, so the besieged, and the cuntry thereabout endured great extremity, and the siege continued many months: but he coming at length (though late first) and the one Army encamping neere to the other (with the Emperour came the Duke of Saxony, the Marquesse of Brandenburg, the Archbishops of Mentz and Treuere) and being at the point to haue given bataille (which as it was thought would haue been very cruell) a treaty of peace was propounded betwene them, whereto the Emperour neuer refused to giue care, in so much that hee was therefore called The peaceable Prince. What the conditions of the peace were, I finde not written by those Authors which I haue read: but the effect of what ensued, was that the Duke raising his siege from before the Town, returned with his Army into his Country; and so the war ended betwixt the Emperour and him.

Some write, that by this peace it was concluded that **MAXIMILIAN** the Emperours sonne should marry with the only daughter of **CHARLES**, and enjoy all his Prouinces, if he died without issue male. Out of this peace were excepted by **CHARLES**, LEVVS the French King, **SIGISMUND** of Austria the Emperors cosin-germane, **RENE** Duke of Lorraine, and the Swissers, who had made an irruption into Burgundy by the procurement of **LEVVS**: and hee was incensed against **SIGISMUND**, for the redeeming of certaine Towns which had bene pawned to him. But the Duke had other warres, for hee euer desired and procured the same, and thereby enlarged his Countries and Dominions untill that

that in the yeere one thousand foure hundred sixty six, in a cruell battaille which he fought with the Duke of Lorraine, he was ouerthrown and slain. His death was the cause that the Emperour and his son **MAXIMILIAN** warred with the French King, the reliques and feed whereof continued long, and hapned in this manner:

The death of
Charles the
Hardy, Duke of
Burgundy.

The warlike Duke **CHARLES** dying in such manner, as I said, left no heire but one only daughter, whose estate contained the two Burgundies, the estates of Flanders, Brabant, Guelders, Holland, Zealand, Artois, and many other Towns, besides those which he had taken in Lorraine, in Picardy, and from the Swissers; for his minde and valour was so great, that he durst hold all the world for his enemy, and made no reckoning to take their townes. But this smooke (for so it may well be called) being by his death ouerblowne; euen as he had done by all others, so all men dealt with his. The Duke of Lorraine, and his confederats the Swissers, recovered what he had taken from them. **LEVVS** the French King, speedily leuying an Army, recovered Picardy, took the Cities of Peronne, Montdidier, Tournay and other Townes. The Flemmings and Burgonians with those of their party, in the name of their Soueraign Lady, **MARY** daughter of the deceased Duke, for their defence put themselves in Armes. The French King alleged that Burgundy for want of heires males, was to returne to the house of France: the Duke of Lorraine by his commandement entring Burgundy, took the greatest part thereof; and the King sent to require the Duchesse **MARY** to come into France in person to doe him homage for the Earldome of Flanders, and her other estates subject to the Crown of France: but she vnderstanding his meaning, refusing to come stood vpon her guard. Hereabout were many treaties and parleys, and many Towns were taken, too long to be recited.

The Flemmings sending to the Emperour for aide, offered their Duchesse **MARY** in marriage to his sonne **MAXIMILIAN**, who was then one and twenty yeeres old, a young man of a great spirit, valiant, a comely personage, of a very good constitution, and apt for any attempt. The Emperour being very glad of this proffer, granted their requests, notwithstanding that hee saw he vndertook a warre against France, and that he already had warres with **MATTHIAS** King of Hungary, who (like the Duke of Burgundy) was neuer content with what he had, but thought all too little, and incensing the Austrians against the Emperour, took some townes from him in Austria and warred vpon him.

The French King hauing intelligence of this treaty of marriage, sent to the Emperour and his sonne **MAXIMILIAN** perswading them to desist. This notwithstanding, **MAXIMILIAN** who was now called Arch-Duke of Austria, with many good men of warre, in Iuly, in the yeere 1467, went into Flanders, and marrying this Lady **MARY** had with her all her dominions: the warres on the Flemmings side against the French through his coming, were well reinforced: and he therein fighting oftentimes in his owne person, shewing the greatest of his minde, obtained some victories, especially one memorable battaille between Tournay and Arras, wherein he alighting from his horse, put himselfe into a squadron of foote. Afterwards some treaties of peace being motioned, a truce was taken for a time, wherein the French King rendering some Towns, continued in possession of what he had taken in Burgundy, and so for a season the warre ceased. This peace (so farre as I can coniecture) was made by the Emperors procurement, by reason of warres made against him by **MATTHIAS** King of Hungary: for which, being otherwise troubled with other occasions of the Empire, he could make no sufficient prouision, and also for that the peace with France (as presently shall be said) continued but a small time.

The battaille of
Guinegats.

The reason of the warre, betwixt the Emperour and **MATTHEW CORVINVS** King of Hungary, was, for that the Pope hauing by his Bulls given the kingdome of Bohemia to **CORVINVS**, from **GEORGE BOISERAC**, who constantly defended and maintayned the doctrine of **JOHN HUSSE**, which was hatefull to the Court of Rome, the Emperour refused to inuest him in the said kingdome. But this quarrell grew violent after the death of **GEORGE**, when as the Noble-men of Bohemia, and the Emperour neglecting **CORVINVS**, made choice of **LABISLAUS** the sonne of **CASIMIR** King of Poland, the Emperour hauing first refused to come vnto the said kingdome, eyther terrified with the mutinies of the Bohemians, or else that he fled from toyle and danger, wherein he knew he should be engaged against so powerful and valiant a Competitor. In this warre the Emperour was in very great danger to haue lost Austria, if **ALBERT** Duke of Saxony had not valiantly and fortunately made head against **MATTHIAS**, forcing him in the end to accept of conditions of peace. **MATTHIAS** did so honour **ALBERT** for the euent of this warre, as hee gaue him only

the prayse, to be one of the greatest and most valiant Captaines among all the Princes of Christendome.

At the same time GALBAS MARIA having been nine yeeres Duke of *Milan*, certaine his subiects and favorites, for his licentiousnesse, and insatiable Luxury, conspiring against him, slew him as he was in S. STEPHENS Church at Masse, he being then of the age of three and thirty yeeres. He left for his successor a sonne of the age of nine yeeres, whose name was JOHN GALBAS, who by reason of his nonage was under the tutele of his mother BONA: through whose negligence and vnchaste life, his vnkle LEUVES or LODOVICK, called the Moore (a man blinded with ambition and desire of command) seized vpon the person of the young Duke, whom he consumed away with a slow poison, and vsurped the government, getting into his hands all the strong holds, or whatsoever else did belong to that State, whereby he came to be absolute Lord of the whole Duchie: and his Nephew (languishing two and twenty yeeres) had onely the title of Duke; and LODOVICK the authority and possession: where many matters happened, which for that they concern not my History I omit. The truce between MAXIMILIAN and France continued little more then one yeere, at the end whereof the French King and he renewed the warre, which lasted a certaine space, and some Townes were taken both of the one side and of the other; vntill at length through the procurement of the Emperour FREDERICK, a peace betwene them was concluded for seven yeeres.

At the same time when these matters passed, the great and mighty Turke MAHOMET, having done much harme in the Christian countries, held *Rhodes* besieged little lesse then three moneths; but it pleased God that he could not then take it: this happened in the yeere of our Lord 1480. After this in the same yeere, he sent a mighty Army by Sea, which landing in *Pagha* and in the kingdom of *Naples*, took some Townes, and amongst others *Otranto*, which they held more then one yeere after: and if through the goodnesse of God the great Turke had not died, all *Italie* was in danger to haue been lost: but through the death of this mighty Tyrant (who in *Gracia*, besides *Constantinople* and *Thracia*) had taken and subdued many Prouinces, and an infinite number of Cities and Towns) those townes in *Italie* were recovered, and Christendome was freed from the oppression which it endured: and the rather for that his sonne and heire BATAZETH in the beginning of his raigne, was troubled with domestick war and dissension. At this time died RENA Earle of *Provence* and Duke of *Aniow*, an ancient challenger of the crown of *Naples*.

In *Italie* was great war at that time, which beginning between the Venecians, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, spread it self ouer all *Italie*: Which the Emperour FREDERICK, perceiuing, and considering how great danger all Christendome was in, hee procured the Princes of *Germany* to settle some perpetuall peace and concord, thereby to bee able to resist the Turkes: the like he practised with the French King, and with his own son the Archduke of *Austria*, and Duke of *Burgundy*. Whilst he was thus busie, the Duchesse MARY, daughter to the braue Duke CHARLES, with whom MAXIMILIAN had so many prouinces, came vnfortunately to her end: for the (as of custome she used to doo) riding hunting, fell from her horse; and, as some say, the horse trode vpon her, or kickt her, whereof she died: others say, that with the fall she was so bruised, that she died thereof the eleuenth day after, which was vpon the seuententh day of March, in the yeere of our Lord 1482, when shee had been Lady of those Countries little more then five yeeres. She left at her deace one sonne and one daughter which were PHILIP, who afterward was King of *Spain*, and father to the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth; and MARGARET, which afterwards was a Princess in *Spain*. When this Duchesse MARY died, LEUVES the French King was very sick, and lying vpon his death-bed, desired peace; wherewith the Emperour being well pleased; they agreed, that MARGARET (which was a child of two yeeres old) when she should be of age, should bee married to his sonne CHARLES, who afterwards was King and then twelve yeeres old: and that their fathers and they should keepe perpetuall peace: with this condition, that eyther of them should continue in possession of what they held in *Burgundy*. This being concluded, the young MARGARET with great pompe was brought to *Paris*, where her wedding feast was held, although it afterwards took no effect, as shall be said.

Within fewe daies after this solemnity King LEUVES died, leauing his son CHARLES of the age almost of thirteene yeeres, to succcede him. At the same time a peace was concluded in *Italy*, and about the same time the Emperour assembled the Princes Electors and other

The death of
Mahomet the
great Turke.

The death of
Leues King of
France.

Princes

Princes of *Germany* in the City of *Brannford*, where he desired and obtained of them to make his sonne MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, which was effected in the seuen and fortieth yeere of his raigne, vpon the sixteenth day of February, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand foure hundred eighty six; and departing thence with a very great count of Princes and Lords, they went to the City of *Aken*, where he was with great solemnity crowned with the crowne which sometime was of CHARLES the Great, brought for that purpose from *Novemburgh*, where it was kept with great respect. The same day, by the consent of all the Princes, he made a Law: Whereby hee ordained vnder great penalties that peace should bee kept through all *Germany*; which was obeyed, and in the greatest part of *Germany* obserued a long time after.

After this, the new king of the Romans came into the Lowe countries, wherof his son PHILIP was now lord, whose tutor he was, where at first he had great oppositions, ADOLPH D. of *Ghellers* being head of a faction, who (conspiring with the French) was slaine at *Tourney*, wherupon the Dutchie of *Guelanders* yielded vnto him; he being assisted by the counsell and fortune of that valiant warrior ALBERT Duke of *Saxony*: the Belgians factiously mutyning, and insensibly reiecting the command of their new Prince PHILIP of *Rauenste* in being head of the faction, he so daunted them with encounters and sieges, during the space of eight yeeres, as hauing taken some Townes by force and others by composition, he so terrified the rest, as they willingly submitted themselves, and craued pardon.

After which ALBERT of *Saxony* transported the warres into *Frisland*, the which (in reward of his great seruice, and recompence of his charges) MAXIMILIAN (with the consent of the Princes of the Empire) gaue vnto him and to his heires for euer, wherof although he subdued a great part, yet being preuented by death, he left the victory imperfect to his sons. But the euent of this *Frisland* was, that although that GEORGE and HENRY brethren, Dukes of *Saxony*, had subdued the greatest part of the country, yet afterwards they fell into a new rebellion, not able to endure a strangers yoke: wherewith the brethren of *Saxony* being tyred, this Prouince lying faire from their hereditary possessions, the enioying wherof would be more chargeable then beneficiall, they afterwards past it ouer by transaction, to the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth, for a certain sum of money.

MAXIMILIAN being in the City of *Bruges*, in the yeere one thousand foure hundred eighty seuen, vpon certain discontentments the Burghers rose against him, and in this tumult apprehending his person, with certain of his traine, they held him prisoner the space of foure moneths: wherof when his father had intelligence, leuying the best forces that he could, he hastened to him, and notwithstanding that his sonne before his coming was at liberty, yet he severely punished the Burghers of *Bruges* and of *Gaunt*, and for the king of the Romans peaceably enioyed the government of the Prouinces of the Low Countries, and of that which he held in *Burgundy*, and his father the Emperour being now old and tyred, returned into *Germany*, to maintaine peace and iustice, and to prouide for defence to be made against the Turks. For the preservation wherof, notwithstanding that MATTHIAS King of *Hungary* had taken *Viena* and other townes in *Austria*, he endured it, and attempted not by force to recover the same: but within short space after King MATTHIAS died, without any heires, when he had reigned seuen and thirty yeeres. His death being made knowne to MAXIMILIAN King of the Romans, he with great speede departed from *Flanders*; and through his fathers aide, leuying a puissant Army, in short space recovered *Viena*, and all the rest which King MATTHIAS had vsurped.

Whilst these matters were in handling, LADISLAVS sonne to CASIMIR King of *Poland* wholly recovered the kingdom of *Bohemia*, for which both he and his father CASIMIR had waited with king MATTHIAS, from the time that GEORGE POGIOBRACCIO died. After this, both he and MAXIMILIAN pretending to be King of *Hungary*, each of them sought to marry the Queene widow, the Lady BEATRIX of *Aragon*, daughter to FERDINAND King of *Naples*, who was of great authority in that Kingdome. MAXIMILIAN being somewhat slow in the matter deferred the time; but LADISLAVS making more haste, married her, and was receiued for King of *Hungary*, and crowned in *Alba Regalis*; and presently between him, the Emperour and MAXIMILIAN a peace was concluded, wherein it was ordained by the consent of those of the kingdom, that if LADISLAVS died without lawfull issue male, then MAXIM. and his heires should inherit the kingdom. But LADISLAVS reigned 22 yeeres after, and his sonne LEUVES succeeded him, who married MARY sister to the Emperour

Ggg 3

CHARLES

CHARLES the Fifth: and FERDINAND brother to the Emperour CHARLES, married his sister ANNE: by which marriage (King LEVVS being in the yeere of our Lord 1526, ouerthrowne and slaine by SOLTMAN the great Turk) this FERDINAND succeeded in the kingdomes of Hungary and Bohemia: and so the covenant by meanes neuer thought of, came to take effect betwixt LADISLAVS and MAXIMILIAN; which passed in the yeere 1490.

Returning to our history, after this agreement, MAXIMILIAN comming to Norimbergh, by the consent of his father he treated of a marriage between him and the Duchesse of Britaine, who after her fathers decease without heires males, succeeded in that Dukedome: and CHARLES the French King in like maner sought to haue her, notwithstanding that he was already betrothed to MARGARET of Burgundy, which was but a child, and whom he had in his power, as hath been declared.

The French writers excuse him herein, and yeelde reasons for what he did; whereof those Kings are neuer to seeke which haue not the feare of God before their eyes. They alleged that the Kings contract with the young Lady MARGARET was of no force, for that she was vnder age; and also for that King CHARLES neuer consented thereto: and notwithstanding that he had consented, yet he was likewise vnder age, and afterwards reuoked the same. And that the contract of the Duchesse of Britaine with MAXIMILIAN was of no effect: for the Duchesse gaue thereto no sufficient authoritie, for none of the Ambassadors being foure in number, had any authority in *solidum* to make any contract; neither had the Duchesse any meaning to do it: and that which she did was but to temporize with the Brittaines, to the end they should not yeeld themselves to King CHARLES of France. And admitting that the contract had been made by men hauing sufficient authority, not being confirmed it was of no force, for that the conditions and covenants were not afterwards performed. Finally, by these and other reasons they excuse him, holding their arguments for true and sufficient in their opinion. And the French King going into Britaine, the Princess MARGARET (who was nothing forie for it) returned: for (they say) she neuer liked of the match, yet yeilded thereto by the perswasion of the Flemmings: and so a very furious and cruell warre began betweene the Emperour, his son MAXIMILIAN, and the French King. And forasmuch as his father was now old, MAXIMILIAN had the sole gouernment, and had already vnderaken the charge: but after some bickerings, a faigned peace was made betweene them; whereto MAXIMILIAN by reason of the great and excessive charges of the war, and for some other respects, was constrained to condescend; but principally for that at the same time, which was in the yeere 1492, the men of warre which had serued the valiant MATTHIAS King of Hungary, which kept still together (& for that they were mourning colours for their King, were cald the black Regiment) through want of pay, or some other infolence, making war in Austria, had the spoile of some townes: for the reliefe whereof, MAXIMILIAN leuying forces, went into those parts, and without any great trouble brake and scattered the mutiners, and for example to others seuerely punished them.

This yeere was much noted about others for three speciall things: the first was, for that therein died Pope INNOCENT the 8, in the eighth yeere of his Papacie; whom RODRIGO de Borja a Spaniard, borne in Valencia in Spaine succeeding, was called ALEXANDER the Sixt: GVICHARDIN writing of his election saith, that hee came to be Pope by bribery, hauing corrupted some of the Cardinals with money, and poisoned the rest with promises of offices and great preferments, which made him hateful to the world; and drew vpon him the vengeance of God. But his election was not so distastefull, but his conditions were more odious: who although he were sharpe witted, excellent in counsell, a good Orator to perswade and of great Iudgement in the greatest affaires, yet these vertues were wonderfully blemished by his vices: for his manners were dishonest, in his actions was no sinceritie, there was no modestie in his countenance, small truth in his words, little faith in his heart, and lesse religion in his soule. All his actions were stained with insatiable couetousnes, immoderate ambition, barbarous cruelty, and a burning desire to aduance his children (by what meanes soeuer) being many in number, among the which there was one no lesse detestable then the father, to whose cursed counsels he became a wicked instrument. The second was, for that the great citie of Granada in Spaine, was in the beginning of that yeere, by FERDINAND and ISABEL King and Queene of Castile taken from the Moores: the third was, for that in the same yeere, by the commandment of the same Princes, the West Indies were discovered in the Ocean sea.

This being past, and the yeere 1493 being comin; Germany and Italie beeing, through the Emperors

perors wisdom and good gouernment, in peace, and himself at peace with all Princes, in quiet possession of the Duchie of Austria, and his sonne MAXIMILIAN beeing King of the Romans, and Gouernor of the states and prouinces of the Lowe Countries and of part of Burgundy, in the behall of his sonne PHILIP; when he had reigned 53 yeeres and foure months Emperour (wherewith no Emperour but AVGVSTVS CESAR, who reigned three yeeres longer, could be compared with him: but yet FREDERICK did far exceed him in age) at this time it pleased God to take him out of the world. This Prince is reported to haue had many vertues: for, besides that he was courteous, desirous of peace, temperate in his diet, and very devout, he was in all his life time neuer heard to swear but twice, which he could not auoid; once was, when he was crown'd in Aken, the other time in Rome. He had great care for the preservation of the lands of the Empire: and to the end not to hazard the same, or to bring them in question, he sometimes made peace with the losse of his owne estate; neither would he euer inuest FRANCIS SFOCE nor his son GALEAS MARIA in the Duchie of Milan, notwithstanding that they were in quiet possession thereof: which when FRANCIS SFOCE saw it would not be gotten without much money, hee gaue ouer the pursuit, nothing fearing the Emperors force, who was diuerted without other war. He had by his wife ELLENOR (who died long before him) three sons and two daughters: his first sonnes name was CHRISTOPHER, who died a childe: his second sonne was MAXIMILIAN, who was afterwards Emperour: the third was JOHN, who also died a childe. Of his two daughters, the one, called HELEN, died in her infancy, and the other, called HVGORADA, was married to ALBERT, Duke of Banier, and was afterwards mother to the Dukes, WILLIAM, LEVVS and ERNESTVS.

The death of the Emperour Frederick the third



THE LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND FOVRTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

THE ARGVMENT.

Frederick being dead, his sonne Maximilian, who in his fathers life time had the gouernment of the Empire, was without any contradiction made Emperour. In the beginning of his Reigne, hee disposing himself to go to the warres against the Turke, who had kept a great stirre in Hungary, made him to flee. Hee took to wife Blanch, daughter to the Duke of Milan, and made great warres against the Swislers. In this Emperors time the Pisans in Germany made an insurrection, which was one of the greatest tumults that had been seen; but they being soon suppressed, he subdued many other Rebels. Then became to growe the causes of the dissension between Spain and France for the Duchie of Milan. This Emperour made warre against the Venetians: then

Lewes king of Hungary ouerthrowne and slaine by the Turke, anno Dom. 1526.

Warres betweene the Emperour and the French King.

then followed the terrible battailes of Rauenna and Marignan, with diuers accidents of warre, which ended in a fainted (yet for a time durable) peace. When the Emperour Maximilian departed out of this life, he had reigned 5 yeeres.



After the peaceable FREDERICK, followed his son, the warlike and victorious MAXIMILIAN, who in his fathers life time was crowned King of the Romanes. The same yeere that his father the Emperour FREDERICK, died, the Turkes made an incursion into the countrie of Croatia, a prouince of Hungary, which bordereth vpon Dalmatia: and the new Emperour desiring to preuent the danger, speedily raising his forces, went to fight with them, but they hauing intelligence of his coming, retired: whereupon he dissolued his Army. The Emperour MAXIMILIAN hauing bin a good space a widower; when as his father was dead, he contracted himself to the Lady BLANCH, the daughter of GALEAS, and Nicetto LEVVS SFORCE Duke

of Milan; who being Vncle and gouernour to his Nephew JOHN GALEAS (who in right was Duke) vsurped and held his estate. This BLANCH being the fairest woman of her time was wooed by many Princes, yet to her was the Emperour married. To whom LO DOVICK promised in dowrie 400 thousand duckets, to be paid within a certaine time and 40 thousand in Jewells and other ornaments: and MAXIMILIAN (regarding money more then the alliance) tyed himselfe to inuelt LO DOVICK in the Duchie of Milan (to the preiudice of JOHN GALEAS his new brother-in-law) to hold it for him and his successors, as if the estate had been without a Duke since the death of PHILIP MARIA visconti. At the same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1494. the French King CHARLES the Eight made preparation to come into Italy, who a little before had given out in speeches that he meant to make a conquest of the kingdome of Naples, which he pretended to belong to him, by the last will and succession of RENNE Lord of Provence, and his ancestors Dukes of Anjou: whereto he was chiefly induced by LEVVS Duke of Milan Vncle to the right Duke JOHN: For FERDINAND King of Naples, and his sonne ALONSO, had required him to leaue the gouernment of Milan, to Duke JOHN GALEAS, who was married to King FERDINANDS Niece, and vpon this quarrell they determined to make warre vpon him: by reason whereof he by all meanes possible perswaded the French King to come against him into Italy, and to that effect furnished him with a great summe of money. And to the end that the Emperour MAXIMILIAN should not be his enemy in this case, LEVVS SFORCE procured this marriage of his Niece with the Emperour. In the time wherein his coming was most bruiet, died FERDINAND King of Naples, when he had reigned feuen and thirty yeeres, and his son ALONSO Duke of Calabria succeeded him.

At this time was the new Emperesse BLANCH carried into Germany, and there was married to MAXIMILIAN; Germany being in peace and quiet, and the Emperour taking care for the warres, and resistance to be made against the Turkes. But the King of France neuertheless took his way towards Italy: and to the end he might passe in more safety, he gaue to King FERDINAND the Earledome of Rossillon, and the Ile of Sardinia, which JOHN, father to FERDINAND had morgaged to LEVVS the French King, father to this CHARLES. Of the commanding of this King CHARLES, although it concerneth not this history, yet I will briefly write the summe: for it was a matter very famous, and much feared by the Pope, and by all the Princes and Potentates of Italy: and also for that it will serue for the better vnderstanding of what we shal speak of hereafter.

King CHARLES then with 50000. men of foote and horse, in the moneth of September in the same yeere came into Lombardy, where he was by Duke LEVVS receiued with great honor, and his Army was by him furnished with all things necessarie. Being there he went to visit the right Duke, JOHN GALEAS, who lay sicke in Pavia, and within few daies after died, leauing a young son called FRANCIS: He was his cosin germane: for the King and GALEAS came of two Sisters, daughters to LEVVS the Second, Duke of Savoy. The words he vsed to him were in general, for that LO DOVICK was present, onely expressing how much he was grieved for his sickness, perswading him to hope of recouerie, but in his minde the King and all that were with him had great compassion on him, beleeuing confidently that the young gentle-

man

man had not long to liue, by the villanie of his vncle. The presence of ISABELL his wife did adde much to this compassion: who not onely full of sorrow for her husbands infirmity and the estate of her little son, but much afflicted for the danger wherein her father and friends were, in the presence of them all fell at the Kings feet, recommending vnto him with teares, her father and his howse of ARAGON: to whom although the King for her age, beaurie and present fortune made some shewes of pittie, yet not able to stay the course of so great an action vpon so slender an occasion, he answered her with shewes of will to do that which he could not; saying, that he was forced to prosecute the enterprize, being so farre advanced. Then holding on his iourney he came to Pisa, and was afterwards receiued into Florence, and from Florence he went to Rome, no man daring by the way to make head against him, and much lesse at his coming to that city.

Pope ALEXANDER not daring stay his coming in his Palace, retired himself into the Castle Saint Angelo, so much did they stand in feare of him. Afterwards they two came to a composition of peace, although they neither met nor spake together: but afterwards vpon security they met and conferred, and within few daies after, the King with the greatest part of the forces which he brought with him out of France, tooke his way towards the Kingdome of Naples, in the moneth of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1495. where King ALONSO durst not stay vntill he came, as well by reason of the great Army which he brought with him, as for that, by reason of his vicious and dissolute life, he was ill beloued of his owne subiects of that kingdome. Whereupon, at what time as King CHARLES was in Rome; King ALONSO hauing reigned not fully one whole yeere, giuing vp that Kingdome to his son FERDINAND, went into Sicilia, where he became a Monke, and in short space after died: by reason whereof, his son FERDINAND being King, he raised the greatest power hee was able, so that it is affirmed he had 5000. men at Armes, 500. light horse, and a great number of foot. Neuertheless the French had so good successe, and King FERDINAND found so great feare, and so little constancie in his people, that after some accidents, he came to Naples, and thence fled by Sea to Isehaia, and afterwards into Sicilia, and so the French King in two moneths space, became Lord of the whole Kingdome, excepting some little townes vpon the Sea side, which held for King FERDINAND.

Pope ALEXANDER seeing the prosperitie and power of King CHARLES in the kingdome of Naples, knowing his ambition, and fearing to lose his estate, whilst he was buisied in the conquest of Naples, procured a league to be made betweene himselfe, the Venecians, and the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, whom hee solicited to come into Italy to the reliefe and defence of his Church. Into this league also entred LEVVS Duke of Milan (notwithstanding that by his procurement King CHARLES took occasion to come into Italy) being grieved in minde for that King CHARLES had so good successe in Naples, which made him stand in feare of his owne estate; whereto the French King euer had an eye; as afterwards LEVVS Duke of Orleans and cosin germane to King CHARLES, who afterwards was King, made apparant; who challenged that Dukedome to appertaine vnto him, for that he was Nephew of the other LEVVS Duke also of Orleans, brother to King CHARLES the Sixt, and of his wife VALENTINA, sister to Duke PHILIP of Milan, the last of the Viscounts; whose bastard, FRANCOIS SFORCE Duke of Milan took to wife, when he became Lord of that Duchie: Whereupon LEVVS for the better confirmation of his estate, obtained of MAXIMILIAN (as supreme Lord of all Lombardy) to be inuested in the Duchie of Milan: which in my iudgement, and of all those which write without passion, was his truest and best title; for after the death of Duke PHILIP aboue named, neither the Emperour FREDERICK, neither MAXIMILIAN had giuen the title to the Duke, or to his Father, or to his Nephew; neither could it descend to them by the feminine sex, and much lesse to this LEVVS Duke of Orleans, who then sought, and afterwards took the same, when he came to be King of France; and by so much the more, for that the descendents from this SFORCE, came from the woman being a bastard, whereby he vniuilly and without reason possessed so great an estate: he being inuested by the Emperour with great ioy and solemnitie, took the Ducal Ensignes. King CHARLES hauing intelligence of the League newly made by these Princes, resolved to leaue such forces in the kingdome of Naples, as might suffice for the defence thereof, and with the rest of his Army to returne into France; and marching towards Rome, giuing the Pope to vnderstand that he came to do his dutie to his Holines, Pope ALEXANDER after some Ambassages betweene them, not daring to abide his coming, departed from Rome; wherein, and in other townes belonging to

King Charles of France his conquest of the kingdome of Naples.

Charles the eighth, King of France, came into Italy.

to the Church, the Kings troupes did much harme. The Pope not holding himselfe to be in safety in *Civita Vecchia*, went to *Perugia*, with an intent, if he were oppressed, to go to *Ancona*, and there to imbarke himselfe for *Venice*.

The French King departing from *Rome*, continued his journey towards *France*, notwithstanding that he knew that in *Lombardy* the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan* had an Army in a readinesse to fight with him; and in *Lombardy* *L. VV. Duke of Orleans* had already taken the City of *Nouarra*, vnder pretext of the title aforesaid: whereupon the Duke of *Milan* made haste to besiege him. King *CHARLES* coming neere to *Parma*, passing the river *Taro*, found a great Army of his enemies; whereof *FRANCIS GONZAGA* Marquesse of *Manos* was General: with whom neere to the river they came to a battell, where hapned very notable accidents. But herein is great difference among Writers about this matter: for, the French attribute the victory to their King; and the Italians giue it to the Venecians and to the Milanais. The truth is, that neither of the Armies was wholly broken or ouerthrowne, but the Italians that day seemd to be Masters of the field: which appears in this, that they taking many French prisoners, none of them were taken by the French; and they moreover compelled the French king to seek another passage, by reason whereof they were reputed to haue the victory.

There died in this battell, which was fought on the sixt day of Iuly, in the yeer of our Lord 1495, a thousand men of both sides. But *GUYCHARDIN*, writing of this battell of *Taro* or *ENFRAUO*, saith, that the French had not about 200 slain; and of the confederates there were slain 3000: among which was *RAINVENTO de FARNESA*, Leader of the Venecian horsemen. Touching the honour of the victory, either side sought to appropriate it to himselfe with what reasons they could produce; The Italians, for that their tents and carriages were not spoiled: but, by the general opinion of all indifferent men, the French were held to haue the glory of the victory, both for that they slue more of their enemies, they chased them ouer the river, and wonne their liberty to passe on. But after some treaties between the two Armies, the French in a night went towards *Aste*; where the King remained certain daies, and a peace was concluded between him and the Duke of *Milan*: and *L. VV. Duke of Orleans* rendering *Nouarra*, King *CHARLES* returned into *France*; and shortly after, *FERRDINAND* King of *Naples* recovered that Kingdom, but not without great difficulty, by reason of the French which remained in garison there, and of those which the King afterwards sent thither. In which war, matters of greatest importance for the seruice of King *FERRDINAND*, were guided and directed by the famous Captain *GONSALO FERNANDES of Cordona*, who for his excellency was called the great Captain of *Spain*; sent thither by King *FERRDINAND*, called the Catholick, for the defense of that Kingdom the first time that he went thither: and so of all this great enterprise, there remained nothing to the French King, but that hee did much harm, and put all *Italy* in great fear (for, the reputation and power wherewith he came, was very great) and making a iourney, gaue a bold attempt, and therewith returned.

Whil'these matters passed in *Italy*, the Emperor in the same yeer 1495, assembled a Council or Diet in the City of *Worms*; where the matter was debated, whether the Emperor should go to relieue the Pope against the French King, or make warre against the Turk: but the Princes were so contrary in their opinions, that nothing was concluded. The Emperor at this Assembly gaue to the Earls of *Wittenburgh* the title of Dukes, which they hould to this day: and from thence he sent the Ensignes and inuestiture before named to *LODOVICK Duke of Milan*; and other matters were ordained concerning the government and peace of *Germany*. At that time was *MAXIMILIAN* daily solicited by the Duke of *Milan* to come into *Italy*: and in the end by his importunity, and promise of certain money for the defraying of his Army, the Emperor past the mountains but slenderly accompanied, giuing it out that the body of the Army which he had promised, marched after. Being entred *Italy*, he sent to haue the Duke of *Saluz* and some other Princes come and speak with him: but his forces were so contemptible, that not any one would obey. Then *LODOVICK Duke of Milan* perswaded the Emperor to go to *Pisa* (against whom the Florentines made warre) hoping by his means to get that Towne into his hands: whereupon, the Emperor sent Ambassadors to *Florence*, to let them understand, that intending to go with a great Army against the Infidels, hee held it necessary first to come into *Italy*, for the pacifying of all quarels. And for that it did belong to his Imperiall Authority, he required to be informed of the controversies between them and the *Pisians*; commanding them in the mean time to surcease from Arms, with assurance that hee would administer iustice indifferently. To whom they sent their Ambassadors to *Genoa* to beseech him to think,

that

that seeing his holy resolution was to settle peace in *Italy*, there was nothing more conuenient than to restore *Pisa* to the Florentines, from whence sprung all the discontentments to his Majesty and the confederates, *Pisa* being in that regard the cause which made some aspire to the ans. Moreover, that it was not agreeable to iustice, that such as had been spoiled by force, if they were not restored to their possession; which if they might obtain of him, they would then refer their cause to him, and wholly rely on his iustice. *MAXIMILIAN* discontent with this siege, and returned suddenly with little honour into *Germany*, hauing shewed his weaknes in *Italy*.

It hapned after, that King *FERRDINAND* hauing recovered his Kingdome, falling sick, died; and for that hee had no sonne, his vnckle *FREDERICK*, brother to his father King *ALWIS*, had the Kingdome; and many other matters befell in *Italy*, which I haue no time to write: and the Emperor was in peace with King *CHARLES*, who shortly after in the yeer 1497, died suddenly; which caused a great alteration: for, by reason that he had no issue male, dome of *France*; who as soon as he was King, caused himself to be called Duke of *Milan*; where execution: and he presently diuorcing himself from his wife *LOAN*, which was sister to his Predecessor *CHARLES*, alleging for his reason that she was barren, and that he was forced to marry her; and also to the end to haue (as he had) the Duchie of *Brittain*, he married the widow Queen *ANNE*, late wife of the deceased King *CHARLES*.

The Emperor hauing intelligence of the death of the French King, desiring to get the Duchy of *Burgundy* for his sonne *PHILIP*, who afterward was King of *Spain*, entred it with an armed hand, and took some Towns: for the defense whereof, the new King *L. VV. Duke of Orleans* sent a very great Army; but within few daies following, a peace was concluded between them, greatly to the Emperors honour and advantage: which was the more easily effected, by reason of the great desire the French King had to proceed in his enterprise against *Milan*, for the right which he pretended to haue to that Duchie; and for that the Emperor had resolved to make war against the Duke of *Gelders*. The Duke of *Milan* hauing a watchfull eye, and standing in great fear of the French Kings proceedings, as much as was possible for him provided for his defense, principally through the league and friendship with the Emperor; who, being of sufficient power to protect him, was resolved to haue done so: but other warres happening in the mean time with the Swissers, who in the yeer of our Lord 1499, made warres in the Territories belonging to *Austria* (which warre, and the occasion thereof, is written at large by *HENRICVS MYCIVS* and *NAVCLERVS*); the Emperor, leaving the enterprise of *Gelders*, the situation of their country, environed with most high hills and steep mountains, as also for their great strength and courage, were then (and at this day are) greatly esteemed, and reputed valiant in Arms. *MAXIMILIAN* coming against them, notwithstanding that this warre began against his will, yet he followed the same in such sort, that in sundry conflicts and encounters between them, 30000 men were slain of both parts, but the greatest number was of the Swissers; fortune inclining sometime to the one side, and sometime to the other: in the which war he did wonders in his owne person, vntill that at last, through the entreaty of the Duke of *Milan* and other Princes (which interposed themselves) the Emperor concluded a peace with them. But before that this warre was ended, *L. VV. Duke of Orleans* the French King (who procured the same) to take benefit of the time, raised his whole power; and in the moneth of October, the same yeer, entring *Lombardy*, he besieged and took the Duke of *Milan's* Towns; who because he was ill beloued of his subjects, and the Emperor failing him in his necessity, and also because the Venecians were in league with the King, he resolved by abandoning the City to giue place to the French fury; and sending his brother *ASCANIVS SEURCH* before, with his sonnes *MAXIMILIAN* and *FRANCIS* into *Germany*, he with the best and greatest part of his treasure, within few daies after followed. The Duke being in this manner departed, the French King with very little resistance or none at all, was receiued into *Milan*, and into the rest of the cities in that Duchy: and the Venecians (according to the composition made betweene them) took the citie of *Cremona* and other places of that estate.

King

A battell between the French and the Italians at Enfrauo.

The Kingdom of Naples recovered by King Ferrdinand of Aragon.

The Emperor comes into Italy.

King LEVVS being in this manner become Lord of all *Lombardy*, leaving therein such gouernours and garrisons as he thought expedient, returned victorious and triumphant into his countrey. The Duke of *Milan* being come before the Emperour (who loued him very well) was by him very honorably and kindly intreated; and within few daies after, the Emperour assembling the greatest part of the Princes of the Empire, resolved to relieue and succour him as a prince by him inuested, and who had the best title to that estate; and so with the greatest expedition that could be made, a good Army was leui'd, the greatest part whereof were *Swissers*; wherein the Cardinall A SCANVS the Dukes brother vsed great diligence. With these men and with such others as he leui'd in *Italy*, the Duke in the yeere 1500, returned into *Lombardy*, and his brother the Cardinall going before, was receiued into *Milan* and other cities, who speedily conducted thither his brother.

The French King being certified hereof, in the greatest haste possible sent into *Lombardy* the greatest number of choice men that he could get, the greatest part whereof likewise were *Swissers*; and the Duke who wanted neither men nor courage to fight, attended in field the coming of the French Army: the two Armies being at the poynt to haue ioyned, the *Swissers* which were with the Duke, not onely refused to fight, but (as some say) corrupted with money, deliuered vp the poore Duke to the French, who was carried prisoner into *France* and afterwards his brother the Cardinall was taken. And so in few daies space, the French King recovered the estate of *Milan*, and Duke LEVVS afterwards, poore, afflicted, and deprived of his Duchy; dyed in prison, hauing been one of the most puissant, valiant and redoubted Princes of the world.

Pope ALEXANDER (who neuer had any feeling or compassion of an other mans affliction and miseries) felt tragically crosses in his owne howle, the fruits of lust and vnatural cruelty; for he still desiring to aduance the Duke of *Gandia* his eldest son to all temporall greatnes, the Cardinall of *Valente* ambitiously affecting his brothers place, and withall enuying him that he had a better share in the loue of the Lady LVCRATIA their common sister, thrust on by lust and ambition, hee caused him to be murdered as he rode one night alone in the streets of *Rome*, and his body to be cast into *Tiber*. GVICHARDIN writes, that it was reported, that the father was a concubiner with his two sonnes in the loue of his daughter LVCRATIA, who being made Pope took her from her husband, as too mean, and married her to JOHN SPORE Lord of *Pesaro*; but not able to endure her husband to be his cortuall, he disolued this second marriage, suggesting that JOHN was colde by nature, and vnable to cohabit. The death of the Duke of *Gandia* afflicted him so, as with teares in the open consistorie he accused his owne actions and life, and promised reformation.

In this yeere 1500, vpon Saint *Matthias* day, being the siue and twentieth day of *February*, CHARLES who afterwards was King of *Spain* and Emperour, and was called CHARLES the First, was borne in the citie of *Gann* in *Flanders*. Duke LEVVS hauing in this manner lost his estate, the Emperour receiued his sons which the Cardinall A SCANVS brought with him: what became of them, you shall heare hereafter. In the yer 1501, prodigious sights, much to be admired, appeared in *Germany*; for certaine crosses of sundry colours, and some blacke, were seene vpon men and womens apparel, vpon their heads, and vpon the beds whereon they did lie, made so perfect and so liuely for the time they lasted, that it was wonderful to behold; after which, ensued a most grievous and cruell Pestilence. In those dayes also in *Asia* began the Empire and dominion of that great Prince, called the Sophi of *Persia*, who had his beginning from one called SEHIN, or SECHIN, who was said to be descended from the auncient Kings of the *Persians*: this Prince by Armes made himselfe Lord of all *Persia*, and of great part of *Armenia*, of *Mesopotamia*, and other Prouinces: and afterwards the Kingdome of *Persia* was established in his successors; which since encreasing, is in some sort a bridle to the vnmeasurable rapine and power of the great Turk.

At the same time, LEVVS the French King standing in some doubt of the Emperour, by reason of his late conquest of *Milan*, and the enterprise of *Naples*, which he purposed to vnder-take, sought to enter into a league with him, and to giue his eldest daughter CLAVDIA in marriage to young CHARLES, who afterwards was Emperour and King of *Spain*, being then but one yeere olde (he being also an infant) to whom appertained the succession and inheritance of the Duchy of *Britaine*: with this match, the Emperour and his son PHILIP were well content: and Queene IOAN and the said PHILIP being then to goe into *Spain*, by the league and consent of the said French King, went through *France*, and in the citie of *Paris* this marriage

marriage was solemnized; and so they passed into *Spain*, where they making their abode not fully two yeeres, returned by the same way they came through *France*, as through their friends countrey. Which marriage afterwards was not accomplished, for King LEVVS married his said daughter CLAVDIA, to FRANCIS Duke of *Angolemente*, who was afterwards King: by reason whereof King LEVVS lost the title which he pretended to haue to the Duchy of *Milan*; for at the making of the peace, it was decreed, that if this marriage took not effect, that then the Emperour, should giue the Duchy of *Milan* to the said young Prince CHARLES. The French King being in this manner in league with the Emperour, sought also to enter into the like with FERDINAND King of *Castile*, with these conditions; that they two making a conquest of the kingdome of *Naples*, and deposing King FREDERICK should diuide the same betweenethem: which conditions were accepted by King FERDINAND (as saith SABELLEVS, a writer of that time) for that King FREDERICK shewed himselfe ingratefull to his Nephew, who sent him ayde and succours; and the same went, that hee secretly practising vnderhand with the French King, offered to pay him tribute, to the end he should not make warre against him, but suffer him to liue in peace; and that hee promised him his help for the taking of the Ile of *Sicilia*, which appertained to King FERDINAND, and to the house of *Aragon*.

This being concluded, the two Kings sending thither their Armies and Generals, the warre began; and after some matters (which I haue no time to relate) King FREDERICK abandoning the Kingdome, yielded himself into the French Kings hands, who vsed him very kindly: but his Army neuertheless took all his Countrey, *Calabria* and *Pulia* excepted, which the Spaniards seized on in the behalf of King FERDINAND. And so for a while the peace continued between the French and the Spanish, until that the French seeking to intrude themselves into the Spanish limits, they made warre one against the other, which warre was one of the most cruell and famous that euer was, and wherein the French employed the greatest force and power: and GONSALO FERNANDES of *Cordova*, being Generall for King FERDINAND, in the space of three yeeres that this warre lasted, obtained so many notable victories, and performed such exploits in Arms, and vsed so many policies and stratagems, that he purchased the name of a great Captain; and wholly expelling the French out of that Kingdome, made a conquest thereof for his King: and so it remains vntill this day subiect to the house of *Castile*. In the time of this war, which was in the yeere 1503, died Pope ALEXANDER, when he had been Pope eleuen yeeres. He died (as it is written) of poison; which, GVICHARDIN relates after this manner: Going the 18 of August to sup in a Vineyard neer to the Vatican, he was suddenly carried away dead to the Palace, being (according to most mens opinions) poisoned after this manner: The Duke of *Valentinois* his gracelesse sonne had resolved to poison ADRIAN Cardinall of *Cornette* in the wine they should haue at supper; for, it is most certain, that both father and sonne were well practised in poisoning; not onely to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be freed from icalousies, but euen of a wicked desire to get the goods of the rich whosoever they were; As happened to the Cardinall of S. *Auge* who was very rich, yea they would poison their greatest friends and most faithfull seruants, such as were the Cardinalls of *Capua* and *Modena*. VALENTINOS had sent certaine flagons of poisoned wine before, giuing charge to his man that no man should touch them. The Pope coming thither before and some what altered with heat, called for drink, his owne prouision being not yet come: he that had the charge of the poisoned wine (thinking it had been recommended vnto him for the rareness thereof) gaue the Pope thereof to drink; and his sonne VALENTINOS, arriving at the same Instant, drank also of the same wine. The father died instantly: but VALENTINOS by the vigor of his youth and the helpe of strong counterpoisons recovered after a long and grievous sickness. At *Rome* reioyced to see the body of this monster dead; a man full of ambition, infidelity, cruelty, luxury, and strange couetousness, selling both holy and prophane things without distinction, with which vices he had infected the whole world. In his place was chosen Cardinall FRANCIS PICCOLLOMINI, Nephew to Pope PIVS, being his sisters sonne, and was therefore called PIVS TERTIUS; but he being Pope but thirtie dayes, Cardinall IVAN was chosen, and called IVLIVS the Second.

The Emperour intermeddled not in the affaires of *Naples*, as well for the preservation of the league and friendship with *France*, as also the better to provide for other matters in the Empire, wherein at the very same time, which was in the yeere of our Lord 1502, befell a strange aduventure in the countrey of *Spire*; wherein an infinite number of people gathering themselves

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together

A league betweene the French King, and the King of Castile.

The *Swissers* gave the Duke of *Milan* into the power of his enemy the French King.

The Duke of *Gandia* murdered by his brother.

Emperour being discontented drawing his forces towards the Frontiers of *Italy*, he sent a Herald to *Verona* to publish his intent to passe into *Italy*, to receive the Imperiall Crowne, and to require lodging for 4000 Horse; whereunto the gouernour made answer, that if he would passe for no other occasion then to receiue the Crown, they would honor him with all offices of obseruance; but they saw contrary effects, hauing brought so great forces with Artillery vpon their Frontiers. This voyage of the Emperours produced no great effects: for after some spoiles don in *Friuli* and some places taken, which the Venecians soon recouered, in the end he sought to haue a truce with the Venecians, the which was concluded for three yeers, and so the Emperour retired into *Germany*.

In the meane time, CHARLES Duke of *Gualderland*, through the ayde (as it was furnished) of the French king, made warres in *Brabant*, whereupon the Emperour was constrained to giue ouer the warre against the Venecians, and with his forces to go to the reliefe of that Countrey, wherein he making head against the Gelderois, put them to the worse. In the yeere 1508, LEONARD Duke of *Milan*, called the Moore, being depriv'd of his estate, dyed prisoner in *France*; his sonnes MAXIMILIAN and FRANCIS, living in the Emperours Court in *Germany*.

A league made
at Cambray.

This yeere the Emperour and French King, being either of them much discontented with the Venecians, they resolved to contract a league secretly against them; sending their deputies to *Cambray* to that end, where they concluded (contrarie to the covenants with either of them made with the Venecians) with the consent of the Pope and king of *Aragon*, to make war against the Venecians, every one in his owne right, to recouer those townes which they had usurped from them. As, for the Pope *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Ravenna*, and *Servia*: for the Emperour *Padua*, *Vincenza*, and *Verona*, belonging to the Empire, and *Friuli* and *Trenis* as th'inheritance of the house of *Austria*: for the French King *Verona*, *Ghiaradada*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo*, and *Crema*: And for the king of *Aragon* the Townes and hauens which had been morgaged by FERDINAND king of *Naples*: That the French King should beginne the warre in person by the first of *Aprill*, at what time the Pope and the Catholike King should enter into the action: And to the end the Emperour might haue some colour of excuse for not observing the truce which he had made with the Venecians, The Pope should demande succours of him as from the protector of the Church. There were many other Articles conteyned in this league whereof GUY CHARDIN makes an ample relation.

The Pope being resolute, and loth to see the Emperour too great in *Italy*, he desired rather to obtaine part by accord, then the whole by Armes, labouring to induce the Venecians to restore him *Rimini* and *Faenza*; letting them know that the danger which threatened them by the vnion of so many Princes, would be farre greater if he did concurre with them, and pursue them both with his spirituall and temporall Armes; but if they rendered those townes he should haue iust cause not to ratifie the league, which without his Pontificall authority would easily vanish. The Venecians were herewith much perplexed, there being great contrariety of opinions amongst the Senators: but in the end the worse counsell prevailed, which was not to yeeld vnto the Popes desire, whereupon his Holinesse ratified the league.

In *Aprill* 1509 the French King advanced his Army into *Italy*, sending a Herald to *Venice* to denounce war against them, whereunto the Duke and State answered; That since the king his master was resolved to make war against them, in a time when they hoped most for the obseruation of the league which they had neuer violated, whereby they had made the Emperour their enemy, they would stand vpon their defence, relying vpon the equity of their cause. They hauing drawne together a flourishing Army went to field, and after some daies the two Armies met at *Ghiaradada* where there was a furious battaile fought, and the Venecians were overthrowne. But some write that onely the Venecian reercard came to blowes, wherethey were in a manner all slaine hauing fought very valiantly, their commander BARTHOLOMEW d'ALVIANA being taken prisoner. Many townes in *Lombardy* followed the Victors fortune and yeelded to the French King. The newes of this ouerthrow being come to *Venice*, it cannot be written what a generall lamentation there was in the citie, and how much they feared the ruine of their countrey. Thus in 15 daies after the battaile, the French King hauing conquered all that belonged to him by the league of *Cambray*, the Pope plaied his part with the townes of *Romagnia*, and the Emperour MAXIMILIAN sending diuerse troupes into *Friuli*, took diuerse townes there.

The Venecians, seeing their estate desperate, resolved to abandon the iurisdiction of the firm land,

land, and to contain them selues within the salt water; commanding their Magistrates and Officers in *Padua*, *Verona*, and other places, to retire; and leade the Towns to the peoples deuotion. They also sent an Ambassador to the Emperour to pacifie him by their humble submission; and to obtain peace vnder what condition soeuer: but they could not move him. They also sent vnto the Pope whatsoeuer they held there; vpon certain conditions, which the Pope did not allow. Thus were they stript of all their great power, being almost out of hope for the preferuation of their liberty. This ruine of theirs was very sensible to many, who foresaw that the state of *Italy* would be very wretched, if it should be brought vnder the yoke of strangers. The Pope aboute all others began to be much grieved for their fall, who, fearing the power of CHARLES and the French King, resolved to do all hee could to crosse their courses, accepting the Letters written vnto him in the name of the Duke of *Venice* with great submission, humbly entreating him to pardon and absolue them.

The Emperour delaying his coming into *Italy*, the Venecians began to recouer some Towns in the firm land which they had abandoned; and the French King prepared for his return into *France*. In the mean time the Emperour came into *Italy* with no great forces; so as hee spent the time in enterprises of small moment with little honour to the Imperiall Name: yet at that time he did sollicite his confederates to ioyne their forces together, for the taking of the City of *Venice*; but they could not agree: but in the mean time *Friuli* and *Istria* were pitifully afflicted by the Emperours forces; and he went in person to besiege *Padua* with a great Army, which the Venecians did fortifie with all the men, artillery and munition they could; so as all the young Gentlemen of *Venice* with their friends and followers put themselves in Armes, and went to guard the City: but after seuenteen daies siege he raised his Camp, and retired towards *Verona* with much discontent; and then presently returned into *Germany* to giue order (as hee said) for the warres he intended to make the Spring following: After which, the Venecians made their submission to the Pope, who gaue them absolution, and enioyned them for penance to visit certain Churches. The warre continued still betwixt the Emperours forces and the Venecians: and the Pope, seeking to reconcile them, the first that gaue ouer this war, was Pope IV 11 01 who, being sued vnto by the Venecians for peace, granted the same; and therewith withdrew his forces.

Pope IV 11 01 (as he was a subtile cunning Prelate) hauing gotten what he desired, mistrusted that the Emperour and the French King hauing brought the Venecians to ruine, his owne state would be in danger: for, his meaning was that no man should be of greater power in *Italy* than himself. But as the French Kings purposes were to the contrary, so he took his agreement between the Venecians and the Pope in very ill part; and after many Ambassages past between them, in the end they two fell at variance. The Pope, practising vnder hand with the Genoais, made them rebell against the French King; and the King (in requital) made a schisme in the Papacy, and to that effect drew the Cardinall of *S. Croffe* (who had been Legat in *Germany*) together with some other Cardinals, to his deuotion; who, calling a Councell against the Pope, appointed the City of *Pisa* for the place of their meeting. The Emperour, notwithstanding the league between the Pope and the Venecians, desisted not from warring against them: but hee was aduertised that the French King had induced the Duke of *Gualders* to take Armes against him, and to that effect had with money supplied his want: for, the King although hee would that all should aid and assist him, yet hee would not that any one but himself should haue the victory.

Vpon this occasion, the Emperour, leauing the friendship of the French, ioynd with the Pope: and the French King, persisting in his resolution, caused many Bishops and other Prelates to go to *Pisa*; where he procured the Councell to be assembled, which the Cardinall of *Saint Croffe* had already begun: but, holding themselves to be there in no safety, they went afterwards to *Milan*. And the Pope in like manner sent to the King of *Castile*, requiring his aid, which presently was promised, and afterwards sent him; and then he began with his fulminations to persecute the French King. And to the end to defeat this Councell, hee summoned a Councell generall to be held in *Saint Iohn de Lateran* in *Rome*, the yeer next following, which was in the yeer 1512. The warre between the King and the Pope being very cruell, the King mightily engrossing his Army, made MONSIEUR DE FORX, Generall thereof; who going to *Bologna*, took it; and taking *Brescia*, sacked it.

The Cardinall of *Saint Croffe*, and those which ioynd with him, cited the Pope to appear before

The French
King caused a
schisme in the
Papacy.

before them : and the Pope, after many protestations proceeding against them, deprived them of all their ecclesiasticall dignities and benefices : King FERDINAND'S forces coming to the Popes aid, after some encounters the two Armies (meeting neer to *Ravenna* upon Whit Sunday, in the year 1512) came to a battell, which was as cruell and bloody as ever was any; and although the French obtained the victory, yet twice so many of them were there slain, as of those which were overthrowne, if they may be accounted overcome; whereof one Squadron remained whole and neuer broken, and so past through the midst of their enemies, none daring to charge them.

A battell between the French and the Pope's forces neer the river of Carro in Italy.

In this battell MONSIEUR DE FOIX the French Generall was slain, together with many of the French Nobility. Finally the French were reduced to such an estate, that notwithstanding they had the victory, yet it fared with them as though they had been overcome: for, they departing from *Ravenna*, and taking their way towards *Milan* (MONSIEUR DE LA PALISSE being the Generall) Pope IVLIO recovered the City of *Ravenna*, and in like manner *Bologna*: and understanding the issue of the battell (though at the first he stood in great fear) yet being certified of the truth, and how much the French Army was distressed, after his accustomed manner leuying new supplies, wrote to all the Kings and Princes of Christendome to stirre them up to warre, and to that effect sent a Cardinall to the Emperor; who, being discontent with the French King, within fewe daies after sent into Italy by the way of *Perma*, an Army of Swissers and Germans, with MAXIMILIAN SPOER the sonne of Duke LAVRES, to recover the state of *Milan* which was his fathers. MAXIMILIAN SPOER entering *Italy*, and being come to *Perma*, ioyning with the Spanish Army, and with those which were in league with the Pope, the French were stricken with such fear, that the Cardinall of Saint Croisse, and the rest of the Councell of *Pisa* (which had withdrawn themselves to *Milan*) with all speed possible departing thence, fled into *France*: and MONSIEUR DE LA PALISSE the French Generall, leaving such garrisons as hee thought good in the Castles of *Adrian* and *Brescia*, and other Towns in *Lombardy*, abandoning the City, retired to *Pavia*; and the enemy coming thither, he departed from thence, and went also into *France*. And so MAXIMILIAN SPOER, in short space recovering the Duchy of *Milan*, was with great ioy (through the Emperors aid and favour) received into the City: to whom presently came Ambassadors from *Genoa* to do him honour, and to congratulate his return: for, the Genoais then rebelling against the French, and having chosen them a Duke; besieged the Castle of the *Lanterne*, which was at the French deuotion. In the processe of his war, the King of *Nauarre*, for that he held with the French King against the Emperor, against the Pope, and the King of *Castile*, and would not giue passage to the Spanish Armies, was bereaued of his Kingdom: and the Kings of *Castile* possesse the same vnto this day.

After these things, and other which succeeded, in the beginning of the year, vpon the three and twentieth day of February, in *Rome* Pope IVLIO died, in the tenth year of his Papacy; and in his place was chosen IOHN, Cardinall de *Medicis*, who being taken at the rout of *Ravenna*, and afterwards set at liberty, was called LAO the Tenth: in the beginning of whose Papacy, the French King, the Lord of *Tremouille*, and the Duke of *Albania*, with a great Army came into *Lombardy* against MAXIMILIAN Duke of *Milan*; who with aid from the Emperor and the Swissers, coming to a battell neer to *Nauarra* (where his father was taken prisoner) obtained the victory, with the death, overthrowe, and imprisonment of many of them: so as he, driving the French out of that Duchy, remained Lord thereof in peace.

Presently after this in the same yeere, the Emperor (resolving to let the French King know that he had committed an error, in not keeping the peace made and concluded with him) came to a composition with HENRY the Eight King of *England* (who was enemy to the French King) to enter *France*, and to make warre against him: for performance of which conditions, the King of *England* came to *Calis*; and entering *France*, the Emperor with his Army came and ioyned with him: and although the French King durst not fight in battaille, yet there passed many notable skirmishes betweene them: and notwithstanding that the King of *England* lay two moneths before *Terrouenne*, yet the French King in all that space not daring to come to seee it, the towne was constrained to yeelde: and so the King after the taking of some other places, went to *Tourmay*, which he battered with such fury, that it yeelded, together with the Castles and other townes neere adiacent; whereof the King of *England* being Lord, made great spoyle in the country, without finding any Army in the field to make head against him. The Emperour in like manner by another way, sent VDLRICK Duke of *Wuttembergh*, with great troups of

of Swissers into *Burgundy*, who besieging *Dijon*, and having brought it to that distresse as it was thought the prouince would have been lost; the Swissers (according to the accustomed manner) in consideration of one hundred thousand Ducats, sent them by the French King, and moued with the hope of a promised greater summe, raising the siege, returned home to their houses, maugre the Duke of *Wuttembergh* their Generall: who with his people seeing himselfe abandoned, returned also into his country. It likewise happened, that whilst the King of *England* made warre in *France*, the King of *Scots* (through the instigation of the French King) entered *England*, against whom in person came KATHERINE Queene of *England*, accompanied by some of the Nobility and Commons of that Realme, and fighting with the *Scots* (notwithstanding that the victory was very doubtful and vnequall, by reason of the great multitude of them) yet their King was slaine in the battaille: and the Scots not daring any longer to hold the field, returned home; and the English entering *Scotland*, took certaine places there, in such sort that the King of *England* through his wiues meanes in *England*, and the Emperors ayde in *France*, returned victorious into his country. And the Emperour, for that his presence was very requisite in *Germany* did the like; for in *Wormes* was much debate and contention betweene the estates Ecclesiasticall and Secular. There was also great controuerfie between WILLIAM and LAVRES, Dukes of *Basurie*, the Emperors Nephewes, the sons of his brother in-law ALBERT. Whereupon the Emperour went to them, and in some fort mitigating the contention, brought them to be in peace. In the same yeere 1513, the Venecians made a league with the French King, which was effected by means of BARTELEMY D'ARVIANO their Generall, who was taken prisoner by the King, and ANDREW GRITTI a Venecian gentleman, who was afterwards one of the most excellent Dukes that hath been in *Venice*, who likewise was prisoner.

After this, a peace being concluded betweene *England* and *France*, the French King took to wife MARY the King of *England*s sister, with whom he liued but a while after his marriage; for he falling extremely sick, died vpon the first day of Ianuary, in the yeere of our Lord 1514. and the 17. of his Reaigne; whom succeeded the often named FRANCIS Duke of *Angouleme*, who after his Coronation, procured a league to be made with the Emperour: whereupon the Earle of *Neufass* came to *Paris*, and so a new marriage was concluded between CHARLES who then was Prince of *Spaine*, and RENATA sister to CLAVDIA the new Queene of *France*; which Marriage afterwards took no effect. The Emperour consented, and liked well of the match, as well by reason of the troubles he had in *Germany*, as for the peace and common good which was expected to ensue thereof. And for the better preferuation of the particular peace made with LADISLAUS King of *Hungary* & *Bohemia*, he resolved to marry his niece MARY to LAVRES, the eldest son of the said King, notwithstanding that they both were very young: whereupon in Iuly in the yeere 1515 a meeting was appointed to be held in *Vienna* in *Austria*, whither came SIGISMUND King of *Poland*, LADISLAUS King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, with his sonne LAVRES, the Emperour, the Dukes of *Basurie*, and many other Princes of *Germany*, where the said LAVRES prince of *Hungary* was betrothed to MARI the Emperors niece; and it was also agreed, that FERDINAND of *Castile*, should marrie with his sister ANNE, which afterwards took effect; who reigned in those kingdomes after the decease of his brother in-law LAVRES, which marriages were accomplished after the Emperors decease, in the yeere 1521. The French King FRANCIS knowing the Emperour to be inclined to peace, feasting and banquetting, and hauing a little before confirmed a peace with *England*, and with the Venecians, as he had also done the like with the same Emperour; within short space after he leuied a very great Army of Germans, and Lantzknights, with a resolution to inuade the Duchie of *Milan*; and being with his Army past the Alps, neere to *Turin*, he ioyned with his Vncle CHARLES Duke of *Saoy*; and then coming to *Verselli*, thither came 2000 souldiers sent him by the Genoais, at the request of OCTAVIAN FRIGOSO their Duke: from thence he went to *Nouarra*, which yeilded without assault; and passing on towards *Milan*; and knowing that the Duke had an Army of Swissers sent him by the Emperour; and that he intended to giue him battaille, he sought to haue corrupted the Swissers with money, asking LAVRES did when he took the said Dukes father; but failing thereof (for it was discovered to his enemies) he fought with them betweene *Milan* and *Marignan*, neere to a Village called Saint BRIGHTS: the battaille was so fiercely fought, that before any signe of victory, they were ouertaken by the night, which was so darke, the Moore being down, that when they left fighting, neither party knew how to retire; and so they stood all the night armed, expecting the day; which being come they again renewed the

The battaille of Marignan.

thebataille: at which time, a rumor was spread over the Camp, that *BARTHOLOMEV DALVIANO* was at hand with the Venecian Army, and that he had marched all the night to come to joyne with the French King. Whereupon the Swissers fearing so great succors, fled; and the victory remaining to the French King, a most cruell slaughter was made of the poore Swissers.

GVICHARDINE writes, that the Swissers grew proud of the first daies fight, it being bruited throughout *Italie*, that they had put the enemies Army to flight; and the King was careful to provide for all things fit for his safety. At the breake of day, the Swissers (who not only despised the French Army, but all the forces of *Italie* united) returned to the charge with like fury and rashnesse, and the French entertained them with great valour and discretion: and withall *ALVIANO* commander of the Venecian forces comming with his light-horse-men, charged the Swissers on the back, so that they despaired of the victory, founding the retreat, and retraying in good order towards *Milan*, to the great astonishment of the French men, who durst not follow them. This was one of the most furious batailles that euer was scene in *Italie*.

The King having obtained so notable a victory; Duke *MAXIMILIAN* abandoning the citie of *Milan*, withdrew himself into the castle, whereupon the city yielded to the King, and the other cities did the like. The Duke being besieged and assaulted in the castle, (notwithstanding that the Emperour certified him that he would speedily send him releefe) compounding with the French King for a certaine summe of money, which the king promised to giue him yearly, he resigned the title and state of *Milan*; and so putting himself into the Kings power, he went into *France*, where he afterwards dyed. The French King hereupon was received into *Milan*, and into all the other cities without resistance; wherewith the Emperour being much displeased, made preparation for his comming into *Italy*: whereof the King standing in some doubt, sought to enter into a league with Pope *LEO*; who seeing him victorious was glad of the match; and appointing to meete him in *Bologna*, the league was confirmed, which being ended, the King returning into *France* left the Duke of *Bourbon* with his Army in the state of *Milan*.

At this time vpon the five and twentieth day of January in the yeare 1516, dyed King *FERRDINAND* in *Madrid* heere to *Guadalupe* in *Spain*; and to the government of those kingdomes they called *CHARLES*, (who was afterwards Emperour, being then but sixteen yeeres old) who went thither the yeere following. The Duchy of *Milan* being conquered by the French King, in such manner as is said, within few dayes after the Emperour *MAXIMILIAN* by the way of *Perona*, came into *Italy* with so flourishing an Army, that he would haue bin glad to haue met the French King: and the Duke of *Bourbon* in *Lombardy* not daring to keepe the field against him, shut vp himselfe in *Milan*: the Emperour finding no resistance, held on his way vntill hee came before the citie, and besieged it: which together with all the rest had been soone recovered, if he could haue staid some while in the country; but the treasure and reuenues of this great Capitaine, were not sufficient to maintaine the warres which he undertooke, and to pay the ordinarie troups which he should neede in the action; which was the occasion that he that he oftentimes lost great occasions. Besides this, *LADISLAUS* King of *Hungary* falling sicke and dying, there arose after his decease, such discord, that to establish peace in that kingdome, and for the defence thereof against Turke, the Emperour was sent for; for *LEO* was, sonne to the deceased King, was but a child of little more then thirteene yeares old: wherefore being constrained to leaue the wars of *Milan*, and to returne into *Germany*, the French King continued in possession of that Duchy for a time; as you shall heare.

The Emperour vpon so vrgent occasion being come into *Germany*, could hardlie keepe the peace in *Hungary*: the occasion whereof was, for that King *LADISLAUS* before his death nominated for tutors and gouernours for his son, in the kingdomes of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, the Emperour *MAXIMILIAN*, and his owne brother *SIGISMUND*, King of *Poland*: wherewith the Hungars were very much discontent, for they stood in feare that these two Princes would haue practised to haue had those kingdomes to themselves. But as the Emperours intent was but for the good of the countrie, so he took not so great care to haue the gouernment, as he did that those Kingdomes should be gouerned with equitie, and for the defence of *sinngary* against the Turke, which was put in effect so long as he liued: for he gaue the gouernment to certaine great personages of those Kingdomes: but not without great difficultie and trouble, which plainly appeared, by the calamities which ensued in those kingdomes after his decease.

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A hundred yeeres were now past since the conclusion of the Councel of *Constance*, when *JOHN HUSS* foretold would come a fatal change in the Romane Hierarchie, which no fury nor fire should bee able to prevent. Wherefore this yeare 1517, *MAXIMILIAN* an Augustin Friar, began to impugn the Popes trade of Indulgences, the which were carried about in *Germany* to be sold for little money, (vnder the title of *ALBERT* Archbishop of *Magdeburg*) by *TICELVS* an impudent sycophant. *LEO* being moued with his wicked Sermons published certain propositions concerning Indulgences: against whom *TICELVS* did sett out his poyson, and burnt his propositions, which forced *LEO* to write more copiously for the defence of the truth; yet in the beginning he did not wholly reject Indulgences, but desired some reformation. The Elector *FREDERICK* Duke of *Saxony* having read *LEO*'s writings and duly considered of his authorities, fauoured and supported his doctrine; neither could he be diuerted with any terror or threats, being straightly inioyned by *MAXIMILIAN* and *CHARLES* Emperours and by the Bishops of *Rome* nor to graunt *LEO* any place to teach in: yet he would not of himselfe iudge of his doctrine, but craued the opinions of many learned men. And among others calling *ERASMVS* of *Rotterdam* into him, he said that he had rather the earth should swallow him vp, then he would adhere to any false opinions, inreating him earnestly to deliuer his iudgement freely. To whom *ERASMVS* answered pleasantly, that *LEO* had committed two great finnes, he had been to buffe with the Monks bellies, and with the Popes Crowne, but he added seriously, that *LEO* had iustly taxed the errors, and that reformation in the Church was necessary, and that his doctrine was true, but he wist more mildnesse in his proceedings. After which there were many disputations touching diuers points of doctrine held by the Church of *Rome*, which *LEO* did impugn, whereof diuers haue written, and diuersly, to whom I will referre the impartial Reader.

At this time also it behoued the Emperour to take order for the going of his Nephew *CHARLES* King of *Spain* into his Country: by reason whereof, he was constrained to giue care to a new peace motioned by the French King, which was concluded; and it was also decreed that *CHARLES* King of *Spain* should take to wife the daughter of King *LEO*. This friendship and alliance being made (although the marriage took no effect) King *CHARLES* taking shipping sayled into *Spain*, where he arriued the nineteenth of September, in the yeere 1517. And so Peace being between the Emperour and the French King, and generally through all Christendome, he spent the rest of his time in ministering iustice, and reforming the lawes and customes of the Empire; and so liued in peace and good estate.

This yeere one thousand five hundred eightene, the Emperour called a great and his last assembly of the Princes of *Augusta* (where they treated of the Turkish warres; for *Selim*, having ruined the *Sultans* of *Egypt*) strooke a great terror into all the Princes of the Christian World) and desired to settle the succession of the Romane Empire vpon one of his Nephewes, which he wished might haue been *FERRDINAND* the yonger brother, thinking it better for the supporting of the honor of his house if two personages were great, then one alone: but being otherwise perswaded by some about him, and by the Cardinal of *Spain*, he commends his Nephew *CHARLES* to the Princes Electors, who could not be chosen King of the Romanes in his life time, for that he had not receiued the Imperial Crowne from the Pope. After this he was taken with a *Dysenteria*, which bereaued him of his life vpon the twelfth day of January, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred nineteene, being of the age of nine and fifty yeeres (as saith *CVSPINIAN*) and after others, threescore and three, and in the five and twentieth yeere of his reign.

Thus haue I briefly past ouer the great acts of this Emperour (for as I said in the beginning of his life) if I should at large haue described his prowels and excellency, I should haue been driuen to haue run a long race, and haue needed an excellent wit and much eloquence, whereof I know my selfe as naked and destitute, as this Prince was abundant in all vertue: for he was so bountifull, that if he had been Lord of all the rents and reuenues of the World, he would haue needed them, considering his gifts and expences, according to the greatnesse of his mind; and notwithstanding that what he had was great, yet was it euer too little in regard of his liberality. He was endued with such magnanimitie, that he neuer was seento be timorous what danger sooner he were in; and therewith was one of the most redoubted Princes in the World: he was very devout, and as he liued to he died, he was of a most singular wit, and sound iudgement, as well in Peace as in Warre: and notwithstanding that he was well able to counsell others, yet he neuer disdained to aske and take counsell of such as he thought loued him, and were able

The death of
the Emperour
Maximilian.

The French
King in possession
of the Duchy
of Milan.

able to give him counsell. And as he loved learning, and learned men, so he gave great gifts and pensions to such as were well seen in the Liberal Sciences: and it grieved him much that he had not in his youth been instructed in good Letters, and in the pure elegant Latine tongue: for as he had a barbarous schoole-master, so was that which he learned of him; yet he afterwards, having many learned men in his Court, came to the knowledge of many things. He was naturally inclined to Poetrie, so as he compiled a notable peece of worke in his own vulgar tongue, of the many dangers wherein he had been, and another booke called the price of honour. Besides his excellent wit, he was of a wonderfull memorie: for whosoever had once conferred with him about any businesse, although in long time after he came not into his presence, yet as soon as he should see him he would know him.

He was so honest and bashfull as it was strange, for he never consented that any one should see him naked; neither did he at any time take the Vrinall to make water, in the presence of any Chamberlaine or Page, or any such like thing; neither would he permit that any should see his Vrine, except some few very excellent Physicians. He was of an excellent and strong complexion, and was feldome sick, and then but lightly, where to this was a great help; in that he was very temperate in his diet; yet he kept a very bountifull table, and did take his meate so neatly and comely as it was a pleasure to behold him. He could so well endure traualle, that heate, cold, hunger, thirst, or any other want or discommodity did little annoy him. He much exercised his person in bearing Armes, especially at Tilt and Tourney, besides the warres and battailes wherein he fought in person; and about all he was exceeding milde and courteous in his behaviour towards Princes, and towards all his seruants and familiars; and was so friendly to those which had to deale with him, that with his looks and countenance he wonne their hearts, which put them out of the feare and bashfulness wherein they were, by reason of his presence: for which excellencies and other which I leaue to write, he attained to be the most honoured Prince of his time, and was both obeyed and beloued through the whole Empire, and saw all his sonnes and Nephewes Lords of the greatest part of Christendome. After his death CHARLES the Fifth was chosen Emperor, whose great wars and acts require a more eloquent and exact writer.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES, THE FIFTH OF THAT NAME, AND HUNDRETH AND FIFTEENTH ROMAN EMPEROR.

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The defense of
the Emperor
Charles the
Fifth.

THE Author, writing the life of this famous Emperor, perfect over his memorable acts cursorily, both for that (as he saith) they were then fresh in memory, as also they were related at large by GUYCHARDINE, LOVIS, and other Writers. But, holding it an indignity don to so noble a Prince, to neglect him more in the writing of his life than other his Predecessors, or to fend the Reader to seek satisfaction from other Authors, I am bound somewhat to enlarge the History of his life.

The Emperor CHARLES was by his fathers side of the Imperiall House of Austria; and by his mother he descended from the ancient Kings of Spain, and his grandmother by his father, was of the house of France, in this man-

ner: CHARLES the Fifth, King of France, surnamed the Wise, gave the Country of Burgun-

dy to his younger brother PHILIP. From PHILIP, who had to wife the onely daughter of LEUVIS Earl of Flanders, descended JOHN, who was father to PHILIP which begat CHARLES the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, whose warres with LEUVIS the Eleventh, King of France, are written by PHILIP de Comines, Lord of Argençon. This CHARLES, being slain at the battell of Marston, left his onely daughter the Lady MARY, heir to his whole estate: this MARY was married to MAXIMILIAN the Emperour, father to PHILIP; which PHILIP took to wife the Lady IOAN, the daughter of the Kings of Castile and Aragon, and by her he had the Emperor CHARLES the Fifth. And forasmuch as FERDINAND, King of Castile had neuer a son, hee adopted his son-in-law PHILIP for his sonne; who, after the decease of his father-in-law FERDINAND, became King of Spain: and by these meanes the house of Austria obtained the dominions of Burgundy, Flanders, and Spain. As for his mother, her grandfather FERDINAND, King of Spain, had to wife the Lady ISABELL, the onely daughter of JOHN the Second, King of Castile; and after the conquest of Naples, he gat by her JOHN, ISABELL, IOAN, MARY and CATHERINE; but JOHN and ISABELL dying without issue, the succession of the Kingdome, by the lawes of Spain, came to IOAN, as to the eldest of them; but Austria, by the diuision of the inheritance, came to FERDINAND brother to CHARLES the Fifth; which FERDINAND was afterwards Emperor also; and father to the Emperor MAXIMILIAN the Second.

CHARLES was born in Ghent, a City of Flanders, vpon Saint MATTHIAS day, being the foure and twentieth of February, in the year 1500: which day was noted to be euer very fortunate vnto him; considering that vpon that day many accidents hapned to him in sundry parts of the world, and he obtained vpon that day honourable victories; as by his actions, written by GUYCHARDINE and LOVIS, plainly appeareth. Being come to yeers of discretion, although but a youth (for, his father, dying, left him but sixteen yeers old) he was sent to Mechlin, a citie in Brabant, to school, his Masters name was ADRIAN of Florence; then whom, none in all that prouince was more famous, for many qualities, as the issue of his life made manifest; for he became a Cardinall, and afterwards being made Pope, after the death of LEO the tenth, was called ADRIAN the Sixt. But in his exercise of armes he was instructed by CHARLES de Cheures, a valiant man at arms in that Age. It seemeth that hee profited little in learning, yet hee attained to the Spanish, Dutch, and French tongues, the Latin tongue he vnderstood somewhat grossly. Three bookes onely hee looked to reade, which hee caused to be translated into his owne vulgar tongue; of which, one was the Institution of a ciuill life, which was the Courtier of the Earle BALTASAR de Castillione; the other was of matters of state, which was the Prince, with the discourse of MACHIAVEL; the third was the Order of Knighthood, which was the historie of POLIUIVS. But he most delighted in armes, which besides religion, are the foundation of kingdomes; and hee more esteemed the warres then any man in the world. Hee was skilfull in the managing of Artillery, and very expert in the marshalling of an armie, and lodged the fame very skilfully, and knew all the means and deuices how to batter and assault a City: so as all his attempts, or the greatest part which he undertook, might well haue good success. The constitution of his body was neither fat nor grosse, but of a gallant proportion and strongly sinued. His hands were great and strong, fit to wield weapons and to manage Armes. His legs were straight and of a due proportion, which chiefly appeared when he was on horseback: for, he rode with such majesty when he was armed, and managed his horse so gallantly, that it seemed no gallanter Knight could be found, or more fit to bear Armes than himself. Hee was of a fair complexion, with cleer azured eies, which (although he were angry) were not terrible, but accompanied with a graue bashfulness and manly modesty. Hee was somewhat hook-nosed, after the manner of the ancient Kings of Persia, which was a signe of the greatnes of his minde. He had a long chin, and a yellow beard: his hair was yellow of the color of gold, after the vfe of the ancient Emperors of Rome. It was thought by those which were wise, that neuer was man of better constitution, better aduised, or of siper judgement than he: for, with a certain motion which accompanied his speeches, he made men to wonder at his proceedings. He was very curious in discourse, but double; so as his speeches might haue diuerse constructions: and so hee euer saued himself by the interpretation, fitting it to his purpose; allarging; that his meaning was to be vnderstood in this and in this manner. He was neuer throughly angry; but telling the truth, and grounding his speeches vpon reason, he satisfied the hearers. He was neuer over-hasty in his answers: for, he first consulted, and then concluded; but the conclusion must depend of him onely. He made great account of those which might either plea-

The birth of the
Emperor
Charles.

sure

sure, or annoy him; but made no shew thereof in outward apparance, to the end to maintaine his reputation in greatnes. He was neither bloody nor vindicative vpon his enemies, but reformed them without ruine.

He seldom punished his seruants and officers, but vpheld them in their defects. And although that by his enemies he was noted of cruelty, in the matters of *Rome*, and in the death of the children of *France*, yet was he milde and pitifull, and they of malice slander him wrongfully. As for his friends which were made great by him, he constantly maintained them, and would not endure to heare them ill spoken of; giuing more credit to his owne iudgement then to other mens reports; reputing them to speake of enuy or malice. He was an earnest defender of his Ambassadors, notwithstanding that they did ought that were not tolerable; for he loued to haue good intelligence, and knew all that passed in all parts of the World. He vied to discourse of his affaires the space of foure or fise houres together, and wrote downe the reasons *pro & contra*, the better to consider thereof; and his arguments were so well compounded, and all of one poize, that who so vnderstood the beginning of the matter, might presently comprehend the end thereof.

He knew the naturall inclination of those Princes with whom he had to deale, and spent much money to haue full notice of them; by reason whereof, he negociated with them, with liuely reasons and sound arguments, and not with generalities; and had his busines in all parts in readines, attending opportunity & fit occasion to put them in execution: Hence it grew, that in regard of his affaires, he was mortified in all his pleasures: concerning the lawes, he was iust, and made profession to maintain and hold his word, and to preferre his honour before all things in the World; wherefore who soeuer desired to get his fauour, was to vse the meanes of honour, and of modesty, with shew of Religion: whereto he was so much addicted, as he communicated foure times in the yeere. He was very patient in hearing causes, and gaue audience aswell to the meane as the great, with much attention: and notwithstanding that he was slow to resolve of his owne affaires, aswell as of other mens; yet he concluded very prudently. But he that will blame him may say, that he was remisse and irresolute; and he that will commend him may affirm, that he was well aduised and politicke.

Touching his liberality, he was held rather niggardly and sparing, then bountifull; especially towards his seruants, whom he entertained with hope many yeers; but when he did reward, if enough were enough, he gaue enough; for he had great meanes to giue, of the three orders of Knight-hood which are in *Spain*, besides Bishopricks, Abbeyes, Titles, Offices, and other reuenues: neuerthelesse, it seemed that in giuing he much more fauoured the Flemings then the Spaniards or Italians. He was bountifull to such Capitaines as serued him in the wars, and to such as he loued; but it came but slowly. He made shew to loue peace, and not to desire wars, but when he was prouoked. Briefly, he gaue example for all to follow, and abstained from all such vices as might staine his Conscience, or good name. He effected great matters by negotiation, wherein he was more then in Armes; notwithstanding that in Armes he was inuincible and peerlesse.

He rose late in the morning, and after he was ready (clad in no better then in silke, or cloath, close made, more like a priuate Gentleman then a great Lord, but yet very neatly) he heard a priuate Masse for the soule of the Emperesse; and then gaue audience and dispatched much business; then going out of his chamber, he heard another Masse openly in a Chappell, which being ended, he went to dinner: Whereupon they vsed this prouerb in his Court, From Masse to Messe.

He was a great feeder, and did eate such things as did breede grosse and viscous humors, wherof proceeded the Gowte, and the Pitsick; which infirmities in his later daies greatly tormented him, especially the Gowte; which was of so maligne a condition, that it sent the vapour thereof from the stomack into the head, which put him often in danger of his life, which he assured himself could not be long: but yet when he was wel, he made small reckoning of Physicians, as though he should neuer be sick againe. He did eate little at night, thinking to make amends for disordering himselfe at noone. After dinner he gaue audience, and sometime retiring himselfe into some secret place, he passed the time in drawing the plot of some fortresse, or other edifice; but most commonly he vsed to iest with a Polonian dwarfie which he had, or with one *Adrian* a groome of his chamber; and often with the Baron of *Montaleon* Steward of his house, in whose company he took great delight, for his ready and quick wit. He sometimes rode on hunting, not with about eight or ten horse at the most, and returned often times

times with a brace of Stagges, or wilde Boares. And sometimes he vsed to shoote at Pigeons, at Choughs, and such like birds; and in all these his sports he spent not an hundred crownes in the yeere; so much did he apply himselfe to matters of importance. He vied the like sparing in cladding his court, in his table, in the furniture of his house, and such other ornaments; insomuch that if in trussing himselfe a poynt brake, he would tie it together, and keepe it, not to lose so much time as till another were fetcht. His sparing was such, that there was no man that spent tenne crownes by the yeere, but spent more then he; but for other expences, passing through other mens hands, he did as other Princes doe, which referre the same to other mens trust; yet he vied all possible diligence to vnderstand euery particular, and would know how his money was issued; even to a crowne; so carefull was he for what was his. The vertues and faire conditions of this Prince, together with his power, excelling all the Princes of his time, moued the Electors in *Germany* to create him Emperor.

But before we come to relate what his actions were after he came to the Empire, it shall not be impertinent to make a breefe repetition of the most memorable accidents which happened in his kingdomes of *Spain*. *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon* dying, left *Queene Ioane* his onely daughter to succeed him in all his Realmes and estates: *Charles* Archduke of *Austria* and Earle of *Flanders* her eldest son was to inherit all those great estates after her; by reason of whose absence and the *Queenes* disability (being possessed with a melancholy humor) *Ferdinand* thinking that Prince *Charles* would not come in person to gouerne the Realmes of *Spain*, was desirous to appoint *Ferdinand* his Nephew, brother to Prince *Charles* (whom he loued dearly, hauing bene bred vp with him) to gouerne those Realmes, for his daughter *Queene Ioane*; but he was diuerted by the wise aduice of some of his Councell, shewing the inconueniences that might ensue: wherupon he nominated Cardinal *Francis Ximenes* of *Cisneros* for gouernour, vntill the coming of Prince *Charles*, giuing great testimonies of his fidelity and loyalty: who tooke vpon him the government of *Castile*, with the consent of all the Councell, and Nobility; only the ministers of the Infant *Don Ferdinand*, sought to haue him intrude himselfe into the government of affaires.

The first care of Cardinal *Ximenes* was to make an accord with Doctor *Abrian* of *Florence* who had ben Schoole-Maister to Prince *Charles*, hauing bin sent Ambassadour from him to King *Ferdinand*, touching some negotiation; but with secret authority, that the King dying he should take vpon him the government of *Castile*; but the Cardinal and he made an accord that vntill they had other newes from Prince *Charles*, they should ioynly signe all dispatches.

The Cardinal with the Councell remaining at *Madrid*, there grew some tumult in *Andalusia*, the head wherof was *Don Pedro Giron* eldest son to the Earle of *Pregna*, who entered the Duke of *Medina Sidonia's* country with forces, pretending a title to the whole Duchie: which tumult the Cardinal sought to suppress, proclaiming them troublers of the publike peace and guilty of high Treason, wherewith *Don Pedro Giron* retired for a time; But soone after he returned to his first frenzy, being countenanced and supported by *Don Fernand* of *Velasco*, Constable of *Castile*, by the Duke of *Benmant*, the Duke of *Albuquerque*, by the Earle of *Nadina Celi*, the Bishop of *Segunuen*, with diuerse others, who hating the Cardinal entered into a faction: But by the wise aduice of the Duke of *Infantazgo* (whom they sought to haue drawne vnto them) and by the constant resolution of the Cardinal these practices died; and they returned vnto their first obedience, the greatest of them seeking to insinuate themselves into the Cardinals fauour.

This wise Cardinall knowing that he might be crost in the government of affaires, by the Nobility which did both hate and enuy him, he sought to procure from King *Charles* Letters patents for the confirmation of his authority, and that he might haue free liberty in matters of state to doe what he should thinke profitable for the safety of the kingdomes; requiring the like authority ouer iustice and the treasure; but before the dispatch of these Letters patents, he put one thing in execution which bred some alteration in the State.

The Cardinal after the death of King *Ferdinand* ordained for the defence of the Realme, aswell against forraigne invaders, as home-bred rebels, Legions and bands of soldiers taken out of the citizens and Burgesses of the good townes of *Spain*, men of good fame, hauing both house and family. Some seditious men and desirous of innovation were much scandalized at this edict; and many townes began to oppose themselves against the execution thereof, but especially

The death of Ferdinand King of Arragon.

Accord for the government of Castile.

A tumult in Andalusia.

Cardinal Ximenes institutes legions and soldiers.

Sedition at Valladolid against the Cardinal.

specially at *Valladolid*, where they took Armes against Cardinal XIMENES as against an enemy, offering violence to his officers who were sent to make the inrolments, wherein they were animated by the Admirall of *Castile* who had some hereditary rights in the government of the towne, and the Bishop of *Astorgia* who had been Schoole-Master to the infant, DON FERDINAND. These alterations did much trouble the Cardinal; yet would he not proceed rigorously against them untill that he had received approbation from King CHARLES, the which was sent him the yeere following: so as at the coming of these Letters into *Spain*, the inhabitants of all the murinous townes, submitted themselves and gave over their factions.

A tumult at Malaga.

In the yeere 1517 there grew a mutiny in *Malaga* against the officers of the Admiralty, the rowthemen being desirous to free themselves from that iurisdiction, pretending that it did but hinder the course of iustice, and give way to ill liuers, to avoid deserved punishment. This multitude of *Malaga* having no patience to attend an answer from King CHARLES of *Austria*, did tumultuously chase away the iudges, and defaced all the marks of the Admiralty in their towne and iurisdiction. The Admirall of *Castile* complained to the Cardinal and Councell, who sought by admonitions and threats to suppress the fury of this people: but they persisted still in Armes and planted the Artillery vpon their walles. But the Cardinal seeing no milde courtes could prevaile, sent 6000 of his legionary foot and 400 horse against them, vnder the command of DON ANTONIO de la Cuena, vpon whose approach the Malagins fainted, and sued for mercy: whereof the Cardinal being aduertised, he commanded him to proceede with mildnes and clemency, preserving the Kings honour and dignity; So as there were five of the chiefe authours of this sedition hanged and the rest pardoned.

The State of Queene Iouane of Castile mother to King Charles.

Cardinall XIMENES was much troubled with the pitifull estate of IOANE Queene of *Castile*; for this Princeesse being posselt with a sharpe melancholy humored a most lamentable life in the Castle of *tordeyllas* whereas King FERDINAND her father had lodged her, being a very pleasant place: yet LEVVS FARRIER of *Valencia* who had the charge of her could neuer get her to lodge in any wel-aiired chamber, but she would still lurk in some dark place neere the ground, fit to entertaine her melancholy. She did abhorre soft beds, and would ly vpon the ground, or vpon a boord couered with a carpet by importunity. They could not get her to weare a furred gowne in winter, nor any thing that was rich: She was many times three daies together without eating, complaining often, that she was kept like a prisoner, and that they withheld her from the government of affaires like a priuate person. The Cardinal was much grieved hereat: and somewhat to redresse it, holding that the negligence of LEVVS FARRIER did feed the malice of her infirmity, he removed him, putting in his place FERDINAND DYCA of *Talavera*, a man nobly borne and wise, who by his discretion in a short time did moderate this violent humor in the Queene, getting her to be content to haue her chamber made cleane, which grew vsuall by reason of the meate which she would not suffer them to carry away, and by little and little he perswaded her to ly in a bed and to goe abroad to Church, and he made her to haue some feeling and apprehension that she was a Queene, and so acknowledged. And in time he made her familiar and brought her to a more mild and humane kind of life: The which did much please K. CHARLES her son, who thanked Cardinall XIMENES by his Letters.

Cardinall Ximenes impatient of injuries.

Cardinall XIMENES found many crosses and oppositions in his government: yet he was so impatient of any injury, as whatsoever King CHARLES ordeined touching the affaires of *Spain*, if it proceeded not from him and his counsell, he held it done in contempt of him, and condemned it as a subiect of sedition; accusing the Noblemen & Councell of *Flanders* of rashnes, who being ignorant of the manners of the Spaniards meddled with the government, the which did wholly depend of the Viceroyes authority & of the kings Councell which was in the country: he did much honour ADRIAN FLORENT who was ioyned with him in the government: for that he yielded vnto him.

A third generation sent into Spain.

The Spaniards who are by nature haughty and proud, could not long indure the integrity of Cardinall XIMENES, neither were they well pleased with the Flemmings, who entertaining the King in *Flanders* were too busie with the affaires of *Spain*, so as all things tended there to a combustion. But to prevent all disorders which were feared by reason of the Kings absence, it was resolved to send the Lord of *Chaux* thither to haue the third place in the government with Cardinall XIMENES, and Doctor ADRIAN, who had formerly beene the principall cause of his sending; for that (as he said) he was not sufficient to resist Cardinall XIMENES a haughty man, who did manage all things at his pleasure, and could in no sort indure any companion; His coming was very pleasing to the

the Noble-men and people of *Spain*, who were much discontented with the Cardinal; and they all went forth to receiue him with great honour, being the first that euer had been sent into *Spain* with authority, since CHARLES of *Austria* took vpon him the title of King. But the Cardinal maintained his authority resolutely, and held still the first place in all dispatches; as may well appear by that which follows: for the other two hauing on a time signed certain Letters, leauing a space for the Cardinal to signe vnder them; he tore them in pieces, causing others to be made to the same effect, which he signed aboue: and thus he continued untill the Kings coming. It was often resolved in *Flanders* to haue sent some great man into *Spain* to manage the government, and to check the fowre and haughty disposition of the Cardinal. LEVVS Count Palatine was propounded both to take charge of the State, and of the Infant D. FERDINAND: but the Cardinal could indure no corinall, beseeching the King by his Letter; not to send any one into *Spain* with whom he must bee in continual quarell; but rather to giue him leaue to retire himself to his Diocesse, where he would liue religiously in peace, foreseeing that many would seek maliciously to crosse his good designs to see the Common-weal; they hauing no other end but to breed some great tumults in *Spain*, he desired not to bee engaged therein, but rather to be a spectator; aduertising the King, that the onely means to prevent all dangers, was, To commit the whole affairs of the estates government to his tried faith, and to rely wholly vpon him, seeking to diuide the royall Souerainety betwixt the King and himself: for, he said the Flemmings vnderstood nothing in the affairs of *Spain*, and the King for his tender age could not vndergo so many cares: but the Cardinals proud courtesies hurt him much hatred.

The King much distressed in Spain.

The King was greatly desired in *Spain* by the Nobility, who thought thereby to supplant the Cardinal in his government: and this voyage was much pressed by the Emperor MAXIMILIAN, who held it very necessary; and to that end came to see the King at *Bruxelles*, and to conferre with him, fearing that his long stay in the Low Countries would breed some alteration in the state of *Spain*, where he was much desired. This conference bred some jealousy in the Cardinal; who wrote, that the enteriue of great men did neuer bring profit to themselves, nor to their affairs. The Spaniards, seeing the time spent in vain hopes of their Kings coming, began to grow into mutinies, making great complaints of the greedinesse of the Flemmings, who disposed of the affairs, and wasted the Kings treasure, transporting it out of the Realm. Many of the best Towns of *Spain*, being incensed with these complaints, sought how to prevent the disorders, and to curb the greedinesse of the Flemmish Courtiers. The Cardinal and Councell, knowing well, that what the Towns had desired was just, yet fearing some popular tumults, they perswaded them to forbear all Assemblies till there were certain newes of the Kings coming, who they vnderstood made preparation to imbarke speedily: and in the mean time they aduertised the King of what had past. But the Cardinal and Councell were again importuned for an assembly of the States, promising onely to sollicite the King to come into *Spain*, to maintain the lawes and customes of the Country, and to reforme such disorders as were crept in; or else the people did protest to send Ambassadors to the King, and to provide that the Common-weal should take no prejudice. The Cardinal could not refuse their just demand, appointing the Assembly in September 1517, hoping by that time the King would be arrived in *Spain*; hauing to that end sent him a fleet of ships, and sending Post daily to aduance his coming, the onely means to maintain peace: for, the Cardinal held it a dangerous thing when as people (hauing cause of grievance) presume to complain publicly: for hauing once lost the respect due to the magistrate, there is no more any restraint; and popular complaints are easily beliewed by such as haue a desire to trouble the State.

Pope LEO about this time, by vertue of a decree made in the Councell of *Lateran*, demanded the tenth of all the reuenues of the Clergy, vpon colour to defend the Christian religion against Infidels; for that SELIM, Emperor of the Turks, threatened Christendome, and especially *Italy*: whereupon the Pope sent out his Bulstoe exact this money for three yeeres, with many indulgences to such as should contribute willingly. The Clergy complained hereof to Cardinall XIMENES, being at *Toledo*; who vndertook their protection, and by his authority (which was great with the Pope) freed them from that exaction.

Exactions of Pope Leo increased by Cardinall Ximenes.

At one Instant there were three of the greatest Noble-men of *Spain* conspired together against the Cardinal vpon sundry discontents; which were, the Duke of *Infantazgo*, the Duke of *Alua*, and the Earl of *Vegras*: The Duke of *Infantazgo* had offered violence to a Promoter sent by the Cardinal touching some proceeding at *Guadalajara*, threatening to hang him: The Cardinal gaue it out; that he would call the Duke in question, for that he had violated religion,

Violence committed by the Duke of Infantazgo.

and broken the publike peace : and the Duke, desirous to braue the Cardinall, sent a Chaplain of his vnto him, with a message full of disgracefull reproaches and vain threats. To whom the Cardinall (hearing him quietly without any alteration) answered, Go back to thy master, whom thou shalt finde repenting the foolish words which thou hast deliuered : and in truth before his return, the Dukes choler was past, and he very sorry for his rashnes ; but he was afterwards reconciled to the Cardinall by the Constable of *Velsco*.

The Earl of *Preguas* excelsse was of a higher strain : for Don GVTIERRE of *Quixada* having a sute against him for the restitution of *Villafraite*, a Town neer to *Vailedolt*, and certain officers of justice coming thither by order of the Court to put him in possession, they were outraged & beaten by RODRIGO GIRON the Earls sonne, BERNARDIN of *Velsco* the Constables sonne, BERTRAVD de la *Cuena* sonne to the Duke of *Albuquerque*, FERDINAND HENRIQUES son to the Admirall, with other ill aduised yong Noble-men then present. The Court being much incensed heerat (the Bishop of *Malaga* being President) commanded certain legionary souldiers to arm to assist justice, and to punish those rebels, getting himself in person towards the place. The Constable, foreseeing the danger, posted thither before, and caused them to giue way to the Sentence of the Court : for which good office, the Bishop of *Malaga* gaue thanks to the Constable, and dismisst his souldiers. But the Cardinall was not so tractable, but sent out his warrant to apprehend these yong Noble-men ; who, seeing him proceed criminally against them, returned to their old frenzy, putting themselves again into *Villafraite*, meaning to keep it. This businesse tended to sedition, many blaming the Cardinals severity, whereby the whole Realm might be drawn into combustion : but the Cardinall held it a glory to oppose himself against great men, seeking such occasions ambitiously to shew his magnanimity & courage. Finally, they proceeded against these yong Noble-men by course of justice, and their names were proclaimed, and they cited to appear and to giue an account of the action.

The Fathers of these yong men were much troubled : who knowing the Cardinals power and sower disposition, resolved to pacify him by all faire meanes, sending to intreat him to have regard vnto the youth of their children, complaining notwithstanding by their letters vnto the King of the Cardinals harsh disposition, whereby *Spain* was filled with combustions ; The Cardinall in like manner did aggravate this action vnto the King, complaining of the disobedience and contempt of these Noblemen, who made many assemblies tending to some great tumult : But in the meane time, they proceeded against them, that were within *Villafraite*, who, fearing the Viceroyes power, left the place and dislodged by night. The towne was by sentence condemned to be burned, and the ground to bee sowed with salt : And the Earle of *Preguas* with his sonne and their other confederats were convicted of high treason, which sentence was presently put in execution : The towne was burnt to Ashes and seauen of the inhabitants publickly whipt. This severity bred great hatred against the Cardinall. But the Admirall HENRIQUES coming to MADRID, told him with great mildnes, that hee did himselfe wrong, and the whole Realme (being Archbishop of *Toledo* and Primate so to blemish the honour of the greatest houses of *Spain*, so well deserving, both in these publike executions and in many bad offices which he had done them with the King ; perswading him for the good of the Realme, and the kings service, to temper his austere behaviour, and to intreat men with more equity, and lesse choler. The Cardinall (with a settled countenance) answered, that hee had neuer sought to winne fauour of Kings or to maintayne his reputation in the world by doing wrong to any, but had euer endeavored to acquit himselfe duly, of the gouernment which had been committed vnto him : neither had hee done any bad offices to the king, as many did maliciously publish.

The Duke of *Alua*'s discontent grewe vpon a sute depending betwixt Don DIEGO of *Toledo* his sonne, and D. ANTHONY of *Elmizga*, brother to the Duke of *Bejar*, for the Priory of Saint Iohn of *Ierusalem*. D. ANTHONY, who had it at the first by resignation from his Vncle the which Pope LEO confirmed with consent of King PHILIP, and now againe having siewed at *Rome*, he had wonne his cause, and gotten letters of execution from the Pope, who recommended him with other fauorable letters to King CHARLES, who sent him into *Spain* to Cardinall XIMENES, giuing him charge to sequestrate all the places of the Priory into his hands, commanding the Duke of *Alua* and his son to retire their men, and to refer the cause to his compromise, and if they should refuse then to execute the Kings letters, and the sentence. The Duke of *Alua* was loath to dispossesse himselfe, conceiuing that the Cardinall did not affect his cause ; And therefore hee reiected such reasonable conditions as hee offered vnto him

The court of
Parliament was
lased.

The causes of
the Duke of
Aluas discon-
tents.

him ; and falling into choler and rage, he mustred vp his friends and forces, thinking to maintain that by Arms which was not justifiable by law or reason : wherefore the Cardinall, seeing his furious proceeding, was forced to come to the last remedy, calling together his legionary bands, as well to guard and fortifie the counsell and iustice, as to suppress and disperse the mutinies ; of whom they encountered about a thousand foot and some horse, drawne together by the Duke of *Alua*, and put them to rout. The Duke presently saw his owne error, employing the fauour of his best friends for his reconciliation ; submitting himself vnto the Cardinall, into whose hands he yielded vp the Priory : which controuersie was after ended in friendly manner.

This yeer the Inhabitants of *Algier* (a Town in *Affrick*) being much afflicted by the dissension of two brethren Moors, who contended for the Signory, they had called vnto them FERISCO BARBAROVSS, a famous Pirat, to defend their liberties ; who hauing seized vpon that City, fit for theft and Piracies, he made himselfe king of *Algiers*, hauing slaine CELIM the lawfull Prince, and then he began to spoile the coasts of *Spain*, and to tyrannize ouer the petty Kings of *Affrick*, of his owne sect, seeking to dispossesse ALVZEVAN, King of *Tuniz*, whom hauing slaine, he forced IAHIA his sonne to flee into *Spain*, who imparting his miseries to Cardinall XIMENES, intreated him to assist him in the recovery of his Kingdome. The Cardinall caused men to be leuied to send against this Pirat BARBAROVSS, giuing the charge of the Army to DIEGO VERRA, a rali and indiscreet man. This Army, beeing about eight thousand strong, came neer vnto *Algier* in October, the Moores beeing aduertised, and prepared to hinder his landing. The Town was manned with very good souldiers Turks, which HORVSCO had brought with him out of *Asia*. DIEGO VERRA, coming neer the Town, diuided his Army into foure parts, contrary to aduice : for, the Barbarians were in all places stronger than the Spaniards ; so as the whole Christian Army was chased and dispersed with great slaughter. DIEGO VERRA abandoned all, and hid himself with his sonne among the rocks till the euenng ; when as he found a vessell lying at anchor, with which hee returned into *Spain*, with much disgrace and dishonour, the children singing, that DIEGO was too weak to wraastle with HORVSCO, who had but one arme. Cardinall XIMENES made small account of this losse, saying, that by this means *Spain* should bee purged of a great many of lewd insolent companions.

The Cardinall was much importuned to send a fleet into *Flanders* to transport K. CHARLES into *Spain* : whereupon he prepared a good number of ships, appointing GOMES of *Buiteron* for Admirall. He caused the Ports of *Biscae*, *Affrica* and *Galicia* to be visited for fear of infection, and victuals with other refreshings to bee sent vnto all places where the fleet should arrive : he himselfe went vnto *Aranda de Duero*, there to attend the Kings coming, hauing in his company the Infant Don FERDINAND, Doctor ADRIAN now made Cardinall, and ARMASTOS. Dining at *Boleguillas*, a Borough in the mountaines, it was thought that hee was poisoned, so as hee fell into a lingering consumption. Hauing dined, hee found himselfe very ill, the blood coming out at his eares and nailes : this suspicion was augmented by an unknowne horseman, who that morning hauing neer vnto the village mette with the Prouinciall MARQUIN and other Monks which went vnto the Cardinall, he willed them to make haste and to aduise him not to eat of a great Trout which would be set before him : for, without doubt it was poisoned. If you arrive, said he, too late, then care for the health of his soule, for his body will be past recovery. This message was deliuered late to the Cardinall, who answered, that if his infirmity came of poison, he thought it proceeded from *Flanders*, and that hee had been infected by the eyes in reading of a Letter which came from that Countrey ; since which time he had not been well.

Being in this estate, he caused himselfe to be carried to *Aranda*, and in the meane time, the town of *Vailedolt* fell into a new tumult, the people hauing a conceit, that the report of the kings coming was but counterfeite, and that this great preparation, was to send the Infant Don FERDINAND into *Flanders*, so as *Spain* remayning destitute of her Princes, being in the hands of an old Monke, halfe rotten and neere his end, must of necessity be ruined by home-bred seditions, or become a prey to forraigne Nations : But to pacifie this muriny, and to assure them of the kings coming, the Cardinall sent vnto them, and satisfied them : The Cardinall had resolved to doe one act more which hee held necessary, but was full of enuy, and that was to reforme the Infant Don FERDINAND'S house, and to take from him those which had bred him vp and serued him, either for some priuate dislikes, or for some other considerations which he

Algier assump-
ted by the Spay-
nards.

A fleet sent into
Flanders for
King Charles.

Cardinall Xi-
menes poisoned

A tumult at
Vailedolt.

Reformation of
Don Ferdinands
house by the
cardinall.

pretended, wherewith he acquainted the King, who a little before his coming, sent his Letters of command to the Cardinal, to discharge D. PEDRO NVANES of *Guzman*, the Infants Gouverneur, D. ALVARO ORORIO bishop of *Algora* his Schoole-master, Don GONZALO of *Guzman* his chamberlain, and SANCHE *de Enredas* his steward, and to send them home to their houses, letting them know that the King was well satisfied with their good seruices; but their ages required rest, referring the rest of the Infants house to the Cardinals disposition.

The secret of this packet was divulged before it came to the Cardinals hands, which bred a great alteration in the Infants house, they giuing the Infant to vnderstand that this was a practice of the Cardinals, to debase him and keepe him vnder; whereupon he came in choler the next day to the couent of *Agullera*, where the Cardinal lay sick of his infirmity, to whom he complained euen with teares, of the wrong he did him; seeking without any iust cause to depriue him of such faithfull seruants, and therewithall he intreated him and conured him, by the memory of Queen ISABELLE, not to suffer such an indignity to be done him, as to take from him such worthy personages which had attended him so faithfully, and now to see them so ignominiously disgraced.

The Cardinal sought by milde words, to pacifie the incensed courage of this Prince, laying before him the King his brothers pleasure, which tended to his aduancement, if he would shew himself obedient and tractable; he told him that he loued him dearly, and that he had no will to wrong him: he confessed that he care for the good of his seruants was honorable, but he must withall know, that the king his brother was dearer vnto him: and therefore he exhorted him, that laying aside those passions which his seruants had bred in him, he should wholly rely vpon him who was the greatest king in Christendome, against whose will it was neither safe, nor fit for him to oppose himselfe, vnto many other reasons to the like effect; But the young Prince was not so satisfied, but answered the Cardinal with these words: Seeing you are resolved to ruine me and mine, I must of necessity finde means to preferre our selues. The Cardinal being toucht at these words; Doe (said he) what you please, but I sweare by the life of king CHARLES your brother, that to morrow shall not passe, before his commandments be executed, the which it behooues you to obey before all other; yea, though all *Spain* had conspired to hinder it. Hereupon the Infant went from the Cardinal without any shew of perturbation, and so returned to *Aranda*, where he found himself with the Towne and all the approaches, guarded by two Captaines of the Guard, and their troupes, which bred great discontent in the Infant, but he could not helpe it, nor auoid the remouing of his seruants, as you may reade at large in the History of *Spain*.

King CHARLES hauing taken shipping in *Flanders* in the beginning of September, arrived about the end of that moneth, vpon an vnease coast of the *Asturies*, a Rockie place and not frequented; The mountain-people hauing retired their wiues and children into the Rocks, be- took them to their Armes, and came downe in troupes to take the Sea-shore, thinking there had been some enemies; which the king perceiuing, he caused his royall Standard to be aduanced, that he might be knowne, and the *Asturians* discouering the armes, knew it was their king; so as laying downe their weapons, they came to salute him vpon their knees, accompanying him to *Villa Viciosa*, where he rested himself after his trauel by Sea, being accompanied by his sister D. *Lubnara* then Queen of *Portugall*.

The Cardinal, who lay in his couent very sick, was so much joyed, at the newes of the kings coming, as he left his bed and lang Maffie; and the Flemings, on the other side, were as much discontented, wishing him dead before the king should conferre with him, for they knew well that he sought to chace them from the Councell, and from the managing of all affaires: wherefore they were very inquisiue of his life, and practised delais to stay the King vpon the way, wishing he were dead before the King should see him: There were diuers deuises to haue drawne the king first into *Aravagon*, which the Cardinal hindred, humbly beseeching him not to determine any thing touching his publike or private affaires, before he had giuen him a full information of the estate of his Kingdome: and he also counseled him to send Don FERDINAND his brother as soon as might be into *Germany* to the Emperor his grandfather, holding it the best course both for his owne affairs & the good of the Infant, and to be a means that all or the greatest part of MAXIMILIANS estates might be conferred vpon him, seeing that he was King and Lord of so many Realms and rich estates. This aduise was followed after the Cardinals death: but it seems the Flemings had other designs; for, the Lord of *Cherbourg* sought

Intreaty of the
Infant D. Fer-
dinand to the
Cardinall.

Speech of Car-
dinall Ximenes
to the Infant
D. Ferdinand

Arrivall of K.
Charles at the
Asturies.

Practises of the
Flemings coun-
tiers to keep the
king from seeing
of the Cardinall.

sought to keep him vnder, and would haue had him giue water to the King his brother, who (being discontented to see his brother so debase himselfe) said; that XIMENES counsell was better: whereupon he ordained, that the Infant should be conducted into *Germany*.

The King, vpon his way towards *Vailedolia*, had a desire to go and visit his mother Queen IOHAN at *Tordeillas*, writing the causes which moued him thereto to the Cardinall and to his brother D. FERDINAND: his resolution seemed full of piety; but considering the indisposi- tion of this Prince, it was not needfull to conferre so long with her of affaires and matters as he did.

The Court coming to *Vailedolia*, the Cardinal found that his credit began to decay, and that he was not so respected in the making of his lodging as he ought to haue been, whereto he thought himself to haue been disgraced; saying, that it was a poore recompence after so much toyle and sweat to receiue a wrong, in the place of a reward, blaming the Kings officers, who were ignorant of the customes of *Spain*: But the receipt of the kings Letters touched him neerer, by which he was commanded to attend him at *Meinade*, vpon the way to *Tordeillas*, where he desired to haue his aduice touching the affaires of his Realme and house, to the end he might discharge him of so great a burthen, and suffer him to retire to his owne house to lue in rest, where God would reward him for the many good offices he had done to the Realme, which he thought was not in the power of man to doe, and that for his part, he would euer remember it, and honour him as his Father: He conceiued so great a griefe vpon the receipt of these Letters, to see himself kept back, and; in a manner, disgraced, as within few houres after he died.

The King hauing called the estates of *Castile* to *Vailedolia*, he was there proclaimed king of *Castile*, *Toledo*, *Granado*, and other Prouinces depending in *Spain*, where he receiued and tooke the oath after the accustomed manner: at which there was some question made by some of the *Granadoes*, for that Queene IOHAN his mother was yet liuing, but notwithstanding they proceeded. Hauing there ordained some things touching the Government of *Castile*, he went into *Aravagon* to haue the like assembly called and solemnly performed in regard of those countries and prouinces: during his abode there, he had newes of the death of the Emperor MAXIMILI- AN: for which great dignity, there were two great Princes in competition; FRANCIS the First, King of *France*, and CHARLES King of *Spain*: In the beginning they proceeded with great modesty, each of them labouring by his Authority and means to draw the Electors vnto his side.

The King of *Spain* thought the Empire did belong vnto him by right, as hauing continued by a long succession in the house of *Austria*, and that it had not been the custome to deiprue the descendants of the dead, without apparent cause of disability; hauing diuers other reasons to feed his hopes to attaine vnto the Empire.

The French King on the other side had no lesse hopes, grounded vpon an opinion he had to purchase the Electors voices by money, whereof some were his antient friends and pensioners, to which enterprise they encouraged him, as a matter easie to effect: Hee also knew well that it was very grieuous to many great houses in *Germany*, who held themselves capable of so great a dignity, to see the Empire continue so long in one house, and become as it were hereditary; and that they might call that Election a succession, which durst not leaue the next descen- dents of the deceased Emperour. These humours of the Germane Princes made him hope; that the iealousies among them might helpe his cause.

The Electors were assembled at *Frankford* to agree vpon their election: The French King was still abused by the promises of the Marquess of *Brandenburgh*, who was drawne thereto by offers of great summes of money, for the which he did not onely binde himselfe to giue his voice: but he also promised that his brother, the Archbishop of *Mentz* should doe the like; and the French King was in hope that some other of the Electors were well affected to his party. But the Germane people had no wil to see the Imperiall dignity transferred to a stranger, intrea- ting the Pope that he would not fauour any one in that election, that were not of the Germane Nation; yet in shew he seemed to fauour the French King, but in his heart hee desired not to haue either of them chosen Emperour, fearing their great power, but laboured to cause some other of the German Princes to be elected. During all these practices and the Electors differen- ces about the election, they were aduertised of an Army put to field by the King of *Spain* (who was more ready to leaue Souldiers with his money then to giue it to the Electors) which Army drawing neare to *Frankford* vpon colour to bridle such as should offer to force the Ele-

King Charles
visits his mother

Sight of the Car-
dinall's disgrace.

The Death of
Cardinal Xi-
menes.

Coronation of
King Charles
the first of that
name.

Death of Maxi-
milian, and
consequents for
the Empire.

The German
louers of their
country.

dition gave courage to those Electors which favoured his cause, and drew such as stood doubtful unto them. The Marquess of Brandenburg who stood for the French King, was so amazed, as despairing of the other Electors, and fearing the hatred of the whole nation, he durst not discover his intention; so as coming to the act of Election, CHARLES of Austria King of Spain was chosen Emperor by four of the Electors, only the Archbishop of Treves gave his voice for the Marquess of Brandenburg who was also concurrent in the Election for himselfe.

This election did much trouble the French king, so as many conceived that these two young Princes, between whom there were so many causes of jealousy and debate, upon sundry pretensions, would in the end grow to some great & dangerous warre, as you shall hereafter understand: King CHARLES being at Barcelona, he had newes of his election to the Empire of Germany, by an Embassage sent from the Electors, whereupon he went to make preparation for his journey, and to set order for the affairs of Castile, which were very confused. But he was forced to make haste and to leave many things undecided; being advertised of the conspiracies and leagues betwixt the townes and Noblemen of the Realme, for the defence of the priviledges of the country, against the greediness of the Flemish Counsellors. The king was loath to be engaged in the Spanish mutinies, with whose humors he was not yet acquainted: wherefore he embarked suddenly at the Greyne, leaving for governours Cardinal ALEXANDER and the Constable VELASCO, with whom afterwards he joynted FREDERICK, HENRIQUES great Admirall of Castile: And so passing by sea with a great fleet he landed in England, to see King HENRY the Eighth, with whom he was in good correspondence, where he was very honourably entertained for some daies, and then passed over into the Low countries, from whence he went with an honourable traine to Aix, where he made his entrie with all the Princes Electors, and many other Princes Embassadors and Noblemen, so as some write there were in the traine 15000 horse, and there he received the first Imperial, crowne of Iron.

In the meane time the combustions increased daily in Castile, many townes and Noblemen complaining of the breach of the lawes and priviledges of the Realme, and of the bad government of the Flemish Lords, most of the chief townes fell to Armes and actual rebellion, having joynted with diverse Noblemen and Knights and committing all sorts of riots and insolencies, refusing to obey the Kings officers, but of themselves they set downe a forme of government, which was made by the generall multitude, and they called it, *la Santa Junta*. The governours seeing this generall revolt, leaved forces to suppress the rebels, in the which there were many exploits done, which I omit. But in the end the two Armies met neere to *Villa Lara*, where the rebels were defeated, and thereby all tumults pacified, & the confederate cities labored to recover their former favour. The Bishop of Zamora one of the chiefs of the confederates was taken & strangled, and some other condemned to lose their heads: and thus their civil wars ended, which grew by the excessive and violent government of the Flemings.

During this rebellion in Castile, the governours being weak, were forced to draw the garrisons out of Navarre, and to draw away some of the ordinance out of Pampelona, whereupon the Lord of Asperant brother to the Lord of Laurerch, with some French wel affected to HENRY of Albrer, the right heire of that Realme, entred the country and took some places, and in the end was received into Pampelona: yet being abandoned by the Duke of Nagera, who was Viceroy, and finding no resistance in the whole Country, during the civil warres, he vnaudibly past the river of Ebro and laid siege to *Zagaya*: but the Governours having gotten the victory at *Villa Lora*, marched towards him, and forced him to repasse the river, following the French untill the Armies came neere to Pampelona, where the Lord of Asperant resolved to hazard a battail and would not attend such forces as were to joine with them the next day, in the which the French were defeated, and the Generall taken prisoner; whereupon the whole country of Navarre was easily recovered by the Castilians.

The heart burning betwixt the Emperor and the French King began now to discover it self, for the Duke of Bonillon (having put himselfe vnder the protection of the French) sent to desire the Emperor being at a Diet at Wormes, and his sonne the Lord of Florençes having leaved some forces in FRANCE, went to besiege a small town in Luxembourg; but the king of England dissuaded the French King, from entering into quarrell upon so small a subject, there was nothing done, and the Duke of Bonillon dismissed his Army: but the Emperor raised forces, and took divers places and townes from the Duke, who finding himselfe too weak obtained a Truce for six weekes. After the Emperors coronation the first act he did, was to suppress, if he could by mild means, the doctrine preached by LUTHER the which increased much in Germany. To this end, and

for some other causes of importance concerning the Empire, he caused the Princes and estates to assemble at Wormes, whither LUTHER came, having a passport, and was heard disputing against Doctour ECKIVS and divers others, but there followed small fruites of this Diet.

King FRANCIS being much discontented with the overthrow of the Lord of Asperant's army, he sent the Lord of Bonques admiral of France with a greater power, who entred by Genipsea and besieged FONTARRABIE the which after some daies he took by composition, and manned it with a garrison of 3000 Gascons, vnder the command of the Earle of LYON: and about the same time the Viceroy of Navarre received commandement from the Emperor, to ruine all the walled Townes and forces of Navarre, to prevent another rebellion, the which was executed but at Pampalona and some few other places. Both these great Princes in like manner were in Armes upon the frontiers of FRANCE and Burgandy, where there were diuerse exploits done but of no great moment.

This yere the Emperor hearing of the alterations which had been in Spain against the governours; having consulted with the Princes Electors he disposed of his affaires there and of the Netherlands, and took shipping at Flushing, who finding a prosperous winde he touched in England where he concluded an allyance with King HENRY the Eighth, to marrie with MARY his daughter (being then but seuen yeeres old) when she should come to age but it succeeded not, from whence he sailed into Spain and arrived at Seville the 25 of July. The Emperor being gon into Spain there fell out great combustions in Germany, the Peasants taking Armes against the Nobility, who being assembled in great numbers, made spoile of religious houses, and committed a thousand insolencies having no subiect, but only abused by certaine false preachers, who said, they had a revelation from God, that they should root out that tyrannous Nobility and enjoy their full liberty; but they were defeated, and put to rout by the Count Palatine, the Archbishop of Mentz, and some others. Their leader was publicly executed, and those poore wretches that escaped from the battaile, returned home to their houses.

The Emperor being in Spain, had sent an Army to invest FONTARRABIE: the Earle of LYON the governour wanting things necessary for the defence of a towne of war, which attended a siege hourly, he advertised the king his master, intreating him to relieve him and to send another to take the charge: whereupon the Marshall CHABANES came and victualled the towne, and changed the garrison, leaving captain FRAVOIR, in the place of the Earle of LYON, and the next yere 1524 the Emperor sent an Army to besiege it; and FRAVOIR having neither want of victuals nor endured an assault, yielded the towne by composition, for the which he was degraded of his Nobility, upon a scaffold in the citie of Lyons. In the meane time the warres began to grow hot in Italy, whereas the Pope and the Emperour had made a secret league against the French King, seeking first to supplant him in the Duchy of Milan by secret practices, and then by open Armes, where after many exploits done in the end the Imperialists took the city of Milan. After which the Swissers under the French Kings pay, and vnder the command of the Lord of Laurerch General, would needs go and change the Imperialists at Bicocca where they were repulsed, yet they retired in good order with their Artillery, the enemy not daring to pursue them; in which conflict the Swissers lost 3000 of their best men and 22 Captains: after which they returned home; and the French, into FRANCE. The Lord of Laurerch having given order for the defense of Cremona, Genoa, and some other Townes in Lombardy, in the mean time the Emperor made a league with the Venecians: the Articles were, that between the Emperor FERDINAND Duke of Austria, and FRANCIS SPORZA Duke of Milan, on the one part, and the Senate of Venice on the other, there should be a perpetual peace and league, with diuerse other Articles for the joynt preservation of their estates. And in August following there was another league concluded at Rome betwixt the Pope, the Emperor, the King of England, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the Cardinall of Medici, together with the state of Florence, and the Genoais; where it was concluded, that this league should continue during the confederates lives; and a yere after the death of any of them, reserving place for any other to come in, so as they were admitted by the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of England: the rest of the Articles you may read at large in GUYCHARDIN.

The French King was nothing danted with these leagues, nor the vnion of so many Princes, who being come to Lyons, resolved to go in person with a great Armie into Italie. His Armie passed the mountains: but the King was slaid by the conspiracy of the Duke of Bourbon, who, being

Charles the Fifth chosen Emperor.

Civil warres in Castile.

Navarre entred by the French.

The Lord of Asperant and the French defeated in Navarre.

Duke of Bonillon desired the Emperor.

A Diet at Wormes.

Fontarrabi taken by the French.

The Emperours secret voyage into Spain.

The peasants warre in Germany.

Fontarrabi taken by the Emperours.

Milan taken by the Imperialists.

The income tax of Bicocca.

A league betwixt the Emperour, the King of England, the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Milan, the Cardinall of Medici, together with the state of Florence, and the Genoais.

The French King prepares to go into Italy.

being the greatest officer of the kingdom, and of a noble Family, seeing himselfe in some disgrace, made a league with the Emperour and the king of England, by which it was agreed, that as soone as the king should have passed the Alpes, he should enter Burgundy with twenty thousand Foot; But this could not be brought to passe, before it was discovered to the King being at Lions, who sent to apprehend him, but he was fled away in a disguised habit. This accident of importance stayed the king from his intended journey, who keeping certaine troupes about him prepared for the new warre, he sent the Lord of Bonnaville Admiral of France, into Italie, with one thousand eight hundred Lances, and thirty one thousand Foot, of several Nations, with which he drew neere to the confines of the Duchie of Milan, where he took some Townes, but attempted Milan in vaine.

The Duke of Bourbon, not able to doe the Emperour any seruice in Burgundy, for want of money to pay his Lance-knights, retired to Milan, where the Emperour (having no will he should passe into Spaine, to marry his sister the widow Queene of Portugal) sent to intreate him that he would stay there, giving him the title of his Lieutenant general in Italie; the Emperours affaires were not successful upon the coasts of Spaine, for having a great desire to passe in person into France, and thither to transport the warres, hauing to that end sent his Army vnder the Pirenean hills, the which had taken *Dolmaterra*; But his desires were greater then his power, being unable for want of money to entertain such great forces as were necessary for such an enterprise: for which cause he could not draw his Army together before the later end of the year, which bred him great difficulties in that cold season, for which consideration together with the want of victuals he was forced to dissolve his Army.

But to return to Italie, the Emperours Army was now on foot, vnder the leading of the Duke of Milan, the Duke of Bourbon, the Vice-roy of Naples, and the Marquesse of Pesquera; what successe these three Armies had, I leaue to the relation of GUY CHARDIN: part of this Army was sent in France, vnder the Duke of Bourbon, and the Marquesse of Pesquera, they entered Provence and took Aix, the chiefe City of that Prouince, with some other townes. The Duke of Bourbon would gladly have passed the riuier of Rhone, and entered farther into France, giuing diuers reasons for his aduice: But the Marquesse and the Spaniards desired rather to take *Marseilles* a haven of the Sea, lying very commodious for the Emperours passage out of Spaine, into Italie, the which they went to besiege, lying forty daies before it; but despairing to be able to take it, and fearing some great danger if the King should approach, they raised their siege: the king being commended to Adrian with his whole Army, and marched with all speed towards *Marseilles*: the French King, seeing a faire occasion offered him for the recovery of the Duchy of Milan, hauing a puissant Army; and his enemies being weak, he resolved to embrace the occasion; wherewith he acquainted his Captains; saying, I haue resolved to passe in person into Italie, and whoeuer shall aduise me to the contrary shall much displease me. Let every man therefore looke carefully to his charge; for God is a lover of iustice, and the rashnesse of our enemies, hath at last laid open a meane for vs to recouer that, which hath been violently taken from vs.

After which he caused the Army to march immediately, shunning to meete with the Lady Regent his mother, who came to perswade him not to passe the mountains in person: But he went on, and encamped with his Army before *Pavia* (having first taken the City of Milan) during which time, the Pope did mediate a Peace betwixt those two great Princes, but it took no effect.

The French King continued still his siege before *Pavia*, which was reduced to extremity, but the Imperialists drew all their forces together to relieve it; and the Armies lying neere together, they ioyned battaile vpon the four and twentieth day of February, where the French Army was ouerthrowne, and King FRANCIS, fighting valiantly and long in the middelt of the battaile, had his horse slain vnder him, and himselfe lightly hurt in the face and the hand, being fallen to the ground, he was taken prisoner by five soldiers who knew him not: But the Vice-roy changing to come he discovered himselfe vnto him, who gaue him his hand with great reuerence, and received him prisoner in the Emperours name. In this ouerthrow there were many Princes and Noble men of France slaine and taken prisoners, the particulars wherof I omit for breuities sake.

The Emperour being aduertised of this ouerthrow, and of the kings imprisonment, the news were very pleasing vnto him, yet he made no shew of pride for this great successe, but carried himselfe very modestly; For, being informed of the victory, and receiuing Letters of the

French Kings own hand, which were humbly written, rather in the condition of a prisoner then of a king: He went forthwith to the Church to giue God thanks, and the next morning received the Sacrament with great deuotion, and so went in procession with his whole Court; but he would not suffer any Bells to be rung, or bonfires made in signe of ioy; saying, That it was fit to reioyce for victories obtained against Infidels, and not for those which were gotten against Christians. Whereupon he called his Councell together to aduise in what sort he should deale with the French King, and to what ends he should vse the Victory, commanding euery one to deliuer his minde freely in his presence: Whereupon the Bishop of Osmas, who was his Confessor, making a graue speech & shewing three deliberations which might be taken, touching the French King; the first to keep him a perpetuall prisoner; the second, to deliuer him friendly and brotherly without any other conditions but such as might settle a perpetuall Peace betwixt them; and the third to deliuer him, but to draw as great profite thereby as hee could, concluding that the safest course was to binde the king vnto him by a free and brotherly deliuerance. But on the other side the Duke of Alua perswaded the Emperour to make as great profit of this Victory, as possible he could, whose aduice was applauded by the whole Councell without any reple, the which the Emperour himselfe also approved: Whereupon there were certaine Articles drawne and sent with all speede vnto the King, who rectified them as vnreasonable.

The Vice-roy doubting of the Kings safe keeping within the Duchie of Milan, he resolved to transport him to *Castel*, whereto the King was much grieved: He was conducted to *Genoa*, and from thence to *Portofeo* where he should imbarke, but the Vice-roy hauing certaine French Gallies, sent him by the Queene Regent, he changed his aduice, and transported the King into Spaine. The Emperour, hearing of his arrival, gaue commandement, that he should be receiued with great honour in all places as he passed: what followed during his imprisonment vntil his deliuey, you may read at large in the French history.

In the year one thousand five hundred twenty six, after many consultations, in the end was attreay concluded for the deliuey of the French King; but the Emperour tyed him to such conditions as were very vnreasonable: yet he promised vpon his oath to obserue them faithfully, hauing left his two sonnes in Hostage, and contracted himselfe to Queene ELIZABETH the Emperours sister. This accord held all the Princes of Christendome in suspence, for they considered that if he obserued the treaty of *Madrid*, all Italie being vnable to defend it selfe, would fall into seruitude, but the world was soone satisfied of the French kings intention; For, being arrived at *Bayonne*, he was required to ratifie the Accord, which he had promised to doe when he came to a free place, but he delayed it with many excusis: giuing the Emperour to understand that before he proceeded to such an act, it was necessary he should pacifie his subjects, who were discontented with bonds which tended to the diminution of the Crowne of France: But notwithstanding all difficulties he would obserue what he had promised; notwithstanding the Pope and the Venecians sending messengers vnto him, he complained much of the Emperours inhumanity vnto him, during his imprisonment, not vRING him like a Prince, nor with that commiseration of his calamity that befitted a Prince. That he had not found him any milder disposed towards others, but perceived by his speeches vied at *Madrid* that he affected nothing more then how to bring the Church, Italy, and all other Princes into seruitude: and therefore he wished them to be carefull of their owne safeties: which if they did, he would concurre with them for the common good, and make a league with them against the Emperour, not that he had any intent to recouer the State of Milan, or to adde any thing to his own greatnesse, but only by warre to recouer his children, and assure the liberty of Italie, seeing the Emperours great couctousnesse had left him no colour to binde him to obserue the treaty: For that both at the first when he was in the Castle of *Pisqueton* and afterwards in Spaine, he had often protested to the Emperour, by reason of his exorbitant demands; that if through necessity he were driuen to compound vpon vnjust conditions, or such as were not in his power to performe, that not only he would not obserue them; but holding himselfe wronged in that he had forced him to make impossible promises, he would be reuenged if euery occasion were offered, and that he had often told him, that it was not in the power of a French king, to binde himselfe to the alienation of any thing depending of the Crowne, without the consent of the generall estates: that the Laws of Christians did not allowe, that he which was taken in warre should be detained in perpetuall prison, which was a punishment proper for malefactors, and not for such as had been beaten with the cruelty of fortune; that all men knew that bonds made by constraint in prison were of

The Emperours moderation upon the news of the Victory.

The French king transported into Spaine.

The delivery of the French king.

His complaint against the Emperour.

The Emperours desire to go into France made frustrate.

The Duke of Bourbon enters into Provence with an Army.

The French king resolves to passe the mountains and follow the enemy.

The battell of Pavia where the French King was taken prisoner.

The French King's moderation upon the news of the Victory.

no value; and that the capitulation being of no force, the faith likewise which was but accessary, and the confirmation of the same, could not be bound; that by the oath which hee had taken at *Rhemes* at his coronation, hee was bound (according to the custome of other Kings of *France*) not to alienate the patrimony of the Crown: and therefore for these reasons he was no lesse free than ready to abate the Emperors pride.

The Emperor, growing jealous of the Kings delays for the ratification, sent one vnto him to be certified of his intent, who found him very vnwilling to leaue *Burgundy*; which, beeing very prejudiciall to the Crown of *France*, he said was not in his power to obseue: but desiring much to entertain the amity begun with the Emperor, and to giue perfection to the marriage, he would be contented (observing all other Articles) to pay him two millions of crownes for the resignation of *Burgundy*.

The Emperor, hearing this answer, was much troubled in minde, yet he resolved not to alter any thing touching the restitution of *Burgundy*, and rather to accord with the Pope, and to consent to the reintegration of *FRANCIS SFOUR*; being more fitting for him to pardon a Prince lesse than himself, than by yeelding to the will of a powerfull Prince, and one that enuied his greatness, to make as it were a confession of fear. But the French King hearing that the Emperor would alter nothing touching the Articles of the capitulation, he presently began to hearken to the treaty of the league, the which was concluded the tenth of May 1556. between the French King on the one part, the Pope and the Venecians on the other; that between the Pope, the French King, the Venecians, and the Duke of *Milan* (for whom the Pope and the Venecians assured their ratification) should bee a perpetuall league to restore *FRANCIS SFOUR* freely to the Duchy of *Milan*, and the French Kings children to their liberty; that the League should be signifi'd to the Emperor, to whom was given power to enter into it within three moneths, with condition to deliuer the Kings children, receiving a competent ranfome, such as the King of *England* should arbitrate, and also to leaue the whole Duchy of *Milan* vnto *FRANCIS SFOUR*, and the other estates of *Italie* as they were before the last war began: there were many other Articles touching the managing of this warre, which I leaue to *GYRCHARDINE*.

The Army of confederates being in field, they came and sate down before *Milan*, and soon retired again without any effect: and in the meane time the poore Inhabitants of *Milan* were wonderfully oppress'd by the rigour and cruelty of the Spaniards; and the face of this City appeared very miserable and almost naked of Inhabitants, many beeing wasted by the plague, and many fleeing away daily to auoid the fury of those merciles Spaniards. They were somewhat reuiued by the coming of the Duke of *Bourbon*, perswading themselves, that seeing hee had brought some prouision of money, and that the confederates Camp was retired, their necessities and dangers would decrease, and they should not bee so much oppress'd and cruelly handled: furthermore, they had a conceit, that the Duke (to whom it was said the Emperor had given the Duchie of *Milan*) would prouide for his owne profit, that they should be no more so miserably afflicted. Wherefore, assembling themselves together, they came to the Duke, and deliuered their grieuances vnto him by the mouth of one of their company, with tears and lamentations. The Duke seemed to be much grieued for their miseries, promising to doo his best to releuee the City, which had been so much oppress'd contrary to the Emperours will and pleasure: he told them, moreover, that he had brought some prouision of money, but not so much as might content the souldiers; yet if the City would furnish him with 30000 Ducates for the pay of one moneth, he would cause the Army to retire out of *Milan*; assuring them, that hee would not break his faith and word, vpon which they might confidently rely; praying God, that if he failed of his promise, his head might bee taken from his shoulders by the first shot of Cannon from the enemy: whereupon, the poor Citizens with great difficulty began to make prouision of the money. But the Duke of *Bourbon* made no reckoning to keep his word and promise, or at the least it lay not in his power to curb the pride and insolencie of the souldiers.

The Castle of *Milan* was all this time besieged by the Imperialists and reduced to great extremity for want of victuals, the confederate army vnder the command of the Duke, promising still to relieue them, and they came and planted their Camp within a mile of *Milan*: but they delayed the execution so long, as the Duke of *Milan* was forced by extremity of hunger, to yield it vp vnto the Duke of *Bourbon* vpon certain conditions, the which were very ill obserued. The Emperour began to fortify himselfe in *Italy* against the confederates: hee sent the Viceroy

The Emperor sends to the French King touching the treaty.

A league concluded between the Pope, the French King and the Venecians.

The miserable estate of Milan.

The Castle of Milan yielded to the Imperialists.

Prisoners of the Emperour against the confederates.

of *Naples* out of *Spain*, with 6000 foot, Lanceknights, & Spaniards, and he sent directions into *Germany* for new succours of footmen: but by reason of the want of money that *Leuy* came slowly.

After the successe of these matters in *Italy* with diuerse euent, Embassadors came vnto the Emperor in September from the Pope, the french king & the Venecians, to signifie vnto him the league which they had made with the libertie which was left to him to enter, according to the conditions: at which at the Embassador of *England* being present, hee deliuered a Letter from the king his master, who perswaded him to enter into the League. The Emperour hauing heard their charge, answered, that it agreed not with his dignity, to enter into a league, made principally against his estate and honour: but hauing been alwaies desirous of the vniuersall peace, he made offer to accomplish it presently if they had sufficient commissions for the same.

This yeere the Duke of *Bourbon* went out of *Milan* with part of the Imperiall Army: being perswaded by the Duke of *Ferrara* to adresse himselfe to the head, and attempt *Florence*, or *Rome*: and in like manner the Viceroy of *Naples*, who also had an Army for the Emperor, was desirous to inuade the territories of the Church: the Duke of *Bourbon* marched neere to *Bologna*, where he was in great danger of his life by reason of the mutinie of his souldiers for want of pay: But the Pope seeing these stormes approach, began to faint and to lose all courage, so as he resolved, to make an accord with some whom the Viceroy had sent to *Rome*, to that end: which was, That there should be a surceasing of Armes for eight moneths, the Pope paying to the Imperiall Army 60000 Ducats, with diuerse other Articles. The Duke of *Bourbon* was perswaded by the Viceroy to accept of the truce: the which he refused, saying that the Army could not bee staied but by the aduancing of a greater summe of money, so as hauing no means to entertaine the Army longer without money (for vntill that day he had carried them through many difficulties, with fair promises and vain hopes) being constrained either to trie his fortune or to perish, he resolved to march with all possible speed to surpris *Rome*: where the reward of the victory would be incalculable; and he was encouraged with hopes of good successe, for that the Pope had vnadvisedly vpon the treaty of the accord dismissed his troups. The Duke of *Bourbon*, leaving his artillery and baggage behinde, marcht with incredible speed, and drew neer to *Rome*, the Pope being scarcely aduertised of his coming: what passed within the City, I omit for breuities sake. On the sixt of May he sent a Trumpet to demand passage through the City of *Rome*, to go with his Army to the Realm of *Naples*; and the next morning at the break of day he resolved either to dy or vanquish, giuing a furious assault to the suburbs; in which hee was much fauoured by a thick mist. At the beginning of the assault, the Duke of *Bourbon*, beeing in the head of the troups to draw them on, was shot through the head with a bullet, and slaine. This did nothing daunt the resolution of the souldiers, who after a little resistance forced the rampiers, the Defendants all fleeing away: whereupon Pope *CLEMENT* with certain of his Cardinals fled into the Castle, and the same night the souldiers entred the City, where they made a pitifull spoil, without respect of person or place, were they holy or profane. The spoil was infinite for the wealth and riches which they found, and for the quality and number of the prisoners, who were to redeem themselves with very great ranfomes.

On the sixt of Iune the Pope compounded with the Imperialists: the conditions were, that he should pay to the Army 400000 Ducats, that he should deliuer vp to the Emperor the Castle *Saint Angelo*, the Forts of *Ostia*, *Ciuita vecchia*, and of *Ciuita Castellana*, with the Cities of *Parma*, *Placencia* and *Modena*; that the Pope, with thirteen Cardinals which were with him, should remain prisoners within the Castle vntill the first payment were made of 15000 Ducates, and then they should go to *Naples* or to *Caietta*, and there attend the Emperours pleasure; that for assurance of the other payments he should giue in hostage certain speciall men whom they named. This sack of *Rome* drew all the souldiers of the Realm of *Naples* thither; so as there were at that one Instant 24000 men, who liued there tumultuously and insolently, and would not depart: but a great number of them were deuoured by the plague.

Matters being created of before for the preparation of a new war, in April a league was concluded betwixt the Kings of *France* and *England*, vpon certain conditions set down: and it was resolved, that either of them should send Embassadors to the Emperor to acquaint him with the league they had made, and to summon him to restore the Kings children, and to enter into the peace with honest conditions; which if he would not accept within one moneth, then to denounce war.

This league being concluded, the two Kings sent two Gentlemen in poste to make this summons

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The Pope makes an accord with the Imperialists.

The Duke of Bourbon slaine at the assault of Rome.

Rome taken and sacked by the Imperialists.

A league betwixt the Kings of France and England.

mons to the Emperor, which all the two Ambassadors performed. And in like manner, on the fifteenth of May 1527, the French King (having newes of the sack of *Rome*, and the death of the Duke of *Bourbon*) contracted with the Venecians and the Duke of *Milan*, for the leuying of an Army in *Italy*. Of this Army of the league, *MONSIEUR de Lautrec* was made Captain general, who, having passed into *Italy*, took *Genoa* and *Alexandria*, and sackt *Pavia*. After which he was importuned by the Pope to advance with his Army: whereupon the Imperialists, fearing his descent into the Realm of *Naples*, which they were of necessity to defend, made an accord with the Pope. The Articles were, that the Pope should make no enterprise against the Emperor, either in *Milan*, or the Kingdom of *Naples*; that hee should grant him a Croisade in *Spain*, and a Tenth of all the Clergy-revenues in those Realms; that he should leave in the Emperors hands (for assurance of the obseruation) *Ostia*, *Civita vecchia*, *Civita Castellana*, and the Castle of *Pavie*, and give for hostages his nephews, *Hippolito* and *Alexander*; that he should pay to the Lance-Knights 67000 Ducats, and to the Spaniards 35000: which being performed, they should release him with all his Cardinals: and they should goe out of *Rome*, and the Castle, conveying the Pope in safety to *Orvieto*, *Spoleto* or *Perusia*, untill the rest of their money were paid.

The night before the tenth of December, which was appointed for the Popes departure, he fearing that some sinister accident might happen unto him, stole, in the closing of the evening, secretly out of the Castle in the habit of a merchant; being attended by *Levvus de Gonzaga*, who was in the Emperors pay, and conducted him safely to *Orvieto*: from whence he wrote a Letter to *MONSIEUR de Lautrec*, thanking him for that which he had done touching his deliury.

Most part of the former yeer there had been treating of a peace betwixt the Emperour and the Kings of *France* and *England*; and taking no effect, the Ambassadors being retired, their Heralds came to denounce warre against the Emperor: whereto (as some write) hee made this answer, that the French King could not denounce war against him being his prisoner, although he were at liberty, having given his sonnes for hostages: if hee could not observe his promise which he had solemnly sworn, being hindered by his subjects, he should return again to prison; and that he could not by the law of Nations, being not yet freed from his oath, denounce war against him: and *GUYCHARDIN* writes, that hee could some of the Kings ministers, that he would end all quarels with the French King by single combat of both their persons, and that he had dealt villanously and cowardly with him in falsifying his faith. The King, hearing heerof, held it a dishonour to passe it over in silence: and therefore on the twentieth of March, in a great assembly of all his Princes, all the Ambassadors and his whole Court, calling for *PERRET* the Emperors Ambassador, after some speeches hee desired him to carry a Letter and deliuer a message to the Emperor from him of this tenor; that whereas the Emperor had told his Herald that he had falsified his faith, he had spoken an vntruth; and that as often as hee had spoken it, so often he had lied, and not to deferre the triall of their quarels, that hee should assigne him the place where they might together perform the combat. The Ambassador refusing to carry this Letter or deliuer the message, told him hee would signifie as much to the Emperor by an Herald: and although he were not ignorant that he had spoken against the honour of his brother the King of *England*, yet hee would say nothing therein, knowing that the King was well able to defend himself: but if through the indisposition of his body he had any lawfull impediment, he offered to aduantage his body for him. But not many daies after, the King of *England* gaue him the like defiance with the same solemnities. The Army of the league vnder the command of *MONSIEUR de Lautrec* their Generall, entred into the Realme of *Naples*, being still followed by the Imperiall Army, cutting off their vituals: but in the end of April he came to *Naples*, which he resolved to besiege both by sea and land; where in the beginning there was a great fight at sea between *PHILIP DORIA* who serued the French, and the Imperialists, in which *Don Hernando* Viceroy of *Naples*, with about 1000 Spaniards, were slain, and many Noble-men and others taken prisoners. The siege of *Naples* proved very fatal for the French: for *ANDRE DORIA* with his galleys left the Kings service, and fell to the Emperor, whose Army was fortified with new forces. The French Army was distressed for vituals, and much infected with the plague, whereof many great Commanders and Captains died, and in the end *MONSIEUR de Lautrec* the Generall himself, which was the overthrow of the French Army in the kingdom of *Naples*, having as bad successe in *Lombardy* vnder the command of *MONSIEUR de S. Pol*, who was overthrowne and taken prisoner by *ANTHO-*

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ix de Lena, at *Laudiano*. These many crosses caused the French King willingly to giue care to a treaty of peace, the which was debated at *Cambrey* in the yeere 1530 by *Levvus* of *Sauoy*, the French Kings mother, and *MARGARET* of *Austria* the Emperours Aunt; where after much debating the two Princes were reconciled; by the which the Infants of *France* were to be deliuered in regard of two millions and 500000 crownes, payable at severall times, whereof part was in discharge of the Emperour to the King of *England*, that the King should renounce the Soueraigntie of *Flanders*, & *Artois*, and his pretensions to the Duchie of *Milan* & *Naples*, with diuerse other Articles which did not hold. During the negotiation at *Cambrey*, the Emperour passed into *Italy* with great forces, which amazed all the States of *Italy*: he landed at *Genoa*, and went to *Bolegna*, whereas Pope *CLEMENT* attended him and receiued him with great honor, and lodged him in the same palace with him, where by their outward demonstrations they seemed to haue been alwaies in great amity. There he receiued the imperiall Crowns, one of Iron, which the Emperours haue bin accustomed to receiue at *Milan*, and the other of Gold which he should haue taken at *Rome*: and during his abode there, by the Popes mediation, the Venetians, and the Duke of *Milan*, vpon certaine conditions, were reconciled to the Emperor, who returned to *FRANCIS SPORCE*, *Milan*, with the whole Duchie: from whence he passed into *Germany*, to an Imperiall Diet which was held at *Ausbourg*, where assisted *FERRINAND* King of *Hungary* his brother, with the Princes of the Empire. There the Protestant Princes, Noble-men, and Imperiall townes besought the Emperor to heare the confession of their doctrine, where were many disputations by the Doctors on both sides: where the Protestants seeing they could not preuaile any thing, made a protestation that they could not contribute to the warres against the Turke who threatened to besiege *Viena*: After which, King *FERRINAND* was chosen King of the Romans, with whom the Emperor went to *Aix* where he was solemnly crowned, in January 1531. And from thence the Emperour went into the Low countries, where he made a very seuered Edict against them of the reformed religion; and then he returned into *Germany* and went with his brother *FERRINAND* to a Diet at *Ratisbim*, where the Councill of *Ausbourg* was allowed vntill a Councill were called: and so a peace was concluded in *Germany*, vpon certaine Articles, so as the Protestants for their parts, being seuen Princes and 24 townes, offered obedience to the Emperor, and promised him succours against the Turke.

This treaty was ratified by the Emperour the second of August 1532, commanding the Imperial chamber and all other Iudges to obey it. The Emperour leauing *Germany* returned into *Italy*, and had an enteriue with the Pope at *Bolegna*, in shew to treat of a generall Councill, which was nothing pleasing vnto the Pope: but the chiefe end was, to make a league betwene them and the other Potentates of *Italy*, for the assurance of their estates against the enterprises of the French: which done, the Emperor returned to *Genoa* and from thence passed into *Spain*.

The Emperour being in *Spain*, he was solicited by *MULEY HASSEN* King of *Tunis* who had been dispossessed by *HARADIN BARBAROSSA*, to restore him to his Realme, promising to hold it of the Crowne of *Spain*. This occasion was willingly embraced, as necessary for the good of Christendome, and very honourable for the Emperour in particular. Having resolved vpon this enterprise, he aduertised all Christian Princes, inviting them to contribute men, money and ships to this warre, whither hee would go in person: the *Kendee* was in *Sardinia*, where he shipped his Army being nere 40000 men, with the which he landed happily within six miles of *Tunis*: he first assaulted *Gouletta* which was a strong Fort set vpon the mouth of the lake, the which was taken by assault, in which there were slaine in fighting or in flying away above 1500 Turks and all *BARBAROSSA*s ordinance and Galleys taken. There was great consultation touching the enterprise of *Tunis*, which some held difficult and others made it easie. It is written that *BARBAROSSA* being much grieved for the losse of *Gouletta* was once in minde to haue slaine all the Christian slaues: from which cruell resolution he was deterred by some, shewing him that so foule a fact would not onely blemish his name perpetually, but bring him in disgrace with *SOLIMAN*, who was a generous Prince, and hated all such base actions, as to kill people imprisoned which could not offend him. The Emperour marched with his Army towards *Tunis*, and *BARBAROSSA* came forth of the citie in shew to giue him battaile, having (as some write) twenty thousand horse, 100000 foot, Moores and Arabians, with 7000 Turks on whom he did chiefly rely. The two Armies drawing nere, the charge began: but the Barbarians vpon the first charge, fled away basely, neither did *BARBAROSSA* shew any courage that day, but fled speedily to the City, where the slaughter in this battaile

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The Emperour makes a peace at *Cambrey* with the French King.
Coronation of the Emperour at *Bolegna*.

Ferrinand chosen King of the Romans.

A peace betwixt the Emperour and the Protestants in *Germany*.

A league betwixt the Pope and the Emperour.

Muley Hassem restored by the Emperour.

The Emperour forces going to *Tunis*.

Gouletta taken by the Emperour.

Battaile betwixt the Christians and *Barbarossa* at *Tunis*.

Accord betwixt the pope and the Emperours agents

1528
Answer made by the emperor to the French King.

The French King gives the Emperour the ly.

1528
Naples besieged.

The Spaniards defeated at sea.

Death of *MONSIEUR de Lautrec*.

was not great, the Barbarians flying presently. BARBAROVSSIE being in *Tunis* entred into a new resolution to murder the Christian slaves, which moued those Renegados (much fauoured by him) to compassion, who opened the prison doores to these wretches, who (as some write) were 10000: and they having broken their chaines, got staves and such other weapons and became maisters of the Castle, driving away those few Turks which were left there in garde, seizing vpon the treasure, victuals and Armes which BARBAROVSSIE had left there, who posted to the Castle seeking to be let in, but they chased him away with reproches. This happened the day after the bataille, when as those slaves made signe vnto the Emperour to approach, but by reason of the distance they could not be seene: yet the Emperour finding there was some alteration sent to discover it. In the meantime BARBAROVSSIE fearing the inconstancie of his Moores, left the citie, and went towards *Bona* with his 7000 Turks: the Christian Army marching towards *Tunis*, they were met by Embassadours from the city, who offered to yeeld vnto the Emperour vpon what conditions he would prescribe, so as he would secure them from sack, the which was granted: But soon after the Emperours entrance the Spaniards and Germanes fell to spoile and kill, committing all acts of hostility. After all this MYLE HASSEN was restored to his kingdom by the Emperour, vpon certain Articles: set downe, doing him homage: and then the Emperour dismissing part of his Army from *Gouletta* he returned with the rest into *Sicily*, and so came to *Naples*.

The Emperour being returned to *Naples* there began a new warre betwixt him, and the French king, for the Duke of *Savoy* brother in law to the Emperour, whom the French fought to dispossesse of his estate. The Emperour consulted with his captaines of the manner how he should begin this war, whether he should stay in *Piemont* or passe presently into *Provence*: where after diuerse opinions it was concluded to invade *Provence*: for the which enterprize he made preparation of a mighty Army, hauing (as some write) 24000 Germanes, 14000 Spaniards, 12000 Italians and 5000 horse, with which he marched into *Provence*, where he attempted *Marselles* in vaine, neither did he any thing in that voyage worth the memory, but was forced to retire with his Army with great losse and dishonor, the particularities you may reade at large in the French historie. After the Emperours retraite out of *France* the warre being still hot in *Piemont*, Pope PAVL considering what miseries it brought vnto Christendome, and foreseeing the ruine of *Italy* if it continued, he labored an enterview of these two Princes and himselfe at *Nice*, where they could not be reconciled, there being a truce onely for tenne years concluded.

The Emperour returning towards *Spain*, was staied by fowle weather about *Marselles*, where the King sent to intreate him to enter and to rest himself vntill the winde were faire, for which he gaue him thanks, letting him vnderstand, that he desired they might meete at *Aligues martres*: whereupon the king went thither from *Alignon*, where the Emperour landed, and dined with the king, and he afterwards entred confidently into the Emperours Galley where they conferred long together, and parted with great shewes of friendship.

In the yecare 1539. the Gantois in the County of *Flanders* began to mutine: the Companies of Trades and occupations, assembled in their severall Halls, and then went to Armes, seeking to extort many things from the great Bailiffe, and the Magistrats of the Towne; they committed many to prison, and one they publicly beheaded of their owne authority. The Emperour hearing of this rebellion, (vpon the French Kings word and safe conduct) he posted from *Spain*, to come by land, into the Netherlands through *France*. The Prince Dolphin and the Duke of *Orleans* were ready to receive him at the foot of the Pyrenian mountains, who conducted him to *Paris*, being in great late, in all the townes where hee passed; approaching neere vnto *Paris* the King met him hauing a godly traine of Princes, Noblemen, and Gentlemen; and being come to the *Louvre* both the King and Queene ELIZABETH his sister, gaue him a very Royall reception, from whence hee was conducted to *Valencienne* in *Flanders*: and from thence he went to *Brussels*, where hearing many complaints of the Gantois rebellion; he went thither with 4000 men, where comming neere the towne the Magistrats met him, and brought him into the towne with great honor. Being duly informed of all matters, he caused many Burgesses to be apprehended: and their procees being made, there were nine of the chiefe beheaded, and the inhabitants were forbidden to cary kniues, vlesse the points were broken: and the better to keepe the towne in awe, the Emperour caused a strong cittadell to be built: their priuiledges were taken away, and many other indignities were donethem, which I forbeare to relate.

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The warres continued hot betwixt the Emperour and the French King, who had entred *Brabant*, and spoiled the Countrey vntill they came to *Antwerp*, being assisted by the troups of the Duke of *Gelders*. The Emperour having settled his affaires in the Netherlands, he went to *Ratisbona*, where he had appointed an Imperiall Diet; as well to provide for the warre against the Turke, as to bring the Protestants vnder the obedience of the Church of *Rome*: and vnder the colour of Religion, he thought to stay the French King, from making varre (being much incensed, for that his Embassadours had bene murdered going to *Venice*) by vndertaking the Conquest of *Algier*, for which attempt hee assembled his Forces, teicting the wise counsell of his best Captaines; who aduised him to deferre the enterprize vntill the Spring following: but the enterprize proved very fatall, for the Army was not onely annoied by Land by the Barbarians, but his Fleet was miserably come and spoyled at Sea by Tempest, whereby the Armie was driven to great extremity for want of victuals; and the Emperour forced to retire; embarking his Armie in those few ships and galleys that remained; himselfe shaping his course for *Spain*, where he found himselfe engaged in a difficult warre against the French King, who pretended the treuche had bene broken, by the murder of his Embassadours; whereupon (as I haue said) he had sent troups into *Brabant*, and the Duke of *Orleans* into *Luxembourg*: the Dolphin HENRY went with a goodly Army to besiege *Perpignan*, but hee prevailed not: hee also made warre in *Italy*, and sent the Duke of *Vendome* into *Picardie*.

The Emperour tainted not for all this, but that which troubled him much was to heare that SOLTMAN had newly repult the forces of the Empire from before *Buda*, and that hee prepared to returne this yecre into *Hungary* with a mighty Army: and that which did afflicke him more, was to vnderstand that BARBAROVSSIE was at sea with a great fleet, meaning to invade his countries of *Naples*, and *Sicily*, or *Spain* if hee could: To prevent all these mischiefs hee past into *Italy* and made a league with the King of *England*, from whence he went into *Germany*, and so into the Lowe Countries, and then began the warre in those parts betwixt the two Princes: for after many encounters, and sieges of townes, the two Armies being neere, and ready to giue bataille, by the mediation of some good men, a peace was concluded betwixt them, and the Emperour retired to *Brussels* in October, whither came in the same moneth Queene ELIZABETH the French Kings wife, with the Duke of *Orleans*, where they were receiued and entertained with great state and magnificence.

The Emperour went from thence to an Imperiall Diet at *Wormes*, where he meant to treat of matters of Religion; Pope PAVL and hee hauing made a league in Iune 1546, concluding, that seeing the Protestants would not allow of the Councell of *Trent*, nor submit themselves vnto it, the Emperour should force them by Armes, and if he entred into any treaty with them, he should not preiudice the Church of *Rome*: That the Pope should consign 100000 crownes at *Venice*, besides 100000 Crownes which he had already payed, to be employed in this warre; that he should also inttaine 12000 foot, and 500 horse, for six moneths; That the Emperour might for this warre, take the one halfe of the reuenew of the Clergie, and sell of Abbey Lands, to the value of 500000 crownes: And if any Prince should seeke to hinder their resolution they should ioine their forces together to resist them: Then they began to make preparation for this warre, both in *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*.

The Emperour (as it seemed) had a further designe; *Viz.* that hauing ruined the protestants, which made the greatest power of *Germany*, he would subiect the states of the Empire to his will, that he might keepe the Empire in his family, and make it hereditary: and for some proofe of this absolute power which he did affect, he had mad a truce with the Turke the better to attend this warre, without taking the aduice of those Princes and States, who had contributed great summes of money; to make warre against the enemy of Christendome.

Finally, after many conferences, and refusal of peace, which they had demanded; the confederate Princes raised a mighty Army, whereupon the Emperour proclaimed them guilty of high treason. The two Armies lay neere together, and the protestants offered bataille to the Emperour, but he would none, assuring himselfe that they could not long continue together. The protestants Army had two commanders, the D. of *Saxony* & the *Landgrave of Hessen*, who did not concurre wel in their consultations, besides they wanted victuals, and money; so

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The French enter into Brabant.

The Emperours voyage to Algier.

His returne from that misfortunate attempt.

The French king invades the Emperours territories.

A league between the Pope and the Emperour against the Protestants of Germany.

The Duke of Savoy defeated and taken.

Christian slaves set upon the Castle of Tunis.

The Emperours returne into Sicily.

The Emperours passage into Provence.

An enterview between the Pope, Emperour, and French King at Nice.

The Emperour and French king meet at Aligues martres.

The Emperour passes through France to suppress the Gantois.

The Gantois rebellion punished.

as they were forced to dislodge and retire further off: whereupon, diuerse protestant Townes compounded to pay money, and to receiue garrisons. The Emperor pursued the Elector, and forced him to fight with disadvantage, where he was defeated and taken. Within few dayes the Emperor gaue Sentence of death against him, which was reuoked vpon suit made; yet vpon condition, that he should resigne the dignity of Elector; which was given to MAVRIC, with all his Lands. There were many other conditions imposed vpon him, all which hee signed; onely he would not promise to obey the decrees of the Councell of Trent, protesting constantly, that he had rather dy than yeeld to it: whereupon the Emperor caused that Article to be left out; yet for all this, FREDERICK continued prisoner to the Emperor.

D. MAVRIC being now Elector of Saxony, and the Marquess of Brandenburg, sons-in-law to the Lantzgrau of Hessen, were suters for him; who obtained a promise from the Emperor to pardon his life, to remit all other punishments due to the Rebels, to leaue him his Countrey, with one Fort furnished with artillery, so as he did renounce all leagues which did prejudice him or his brother FERDINAND, obey the Imperiall Chamber, deliuer vp the rest of his Ordinance, pay 150000 crowns within foure months for the charges of the war, and deliuer the prisoners which he held, and come and craue pardon of the Emperor. The Lantzgrau accepted these conditions, and presented himself to the Emperor vpon his knees, who returned him an ambiguous answer: yet, thinking that all went well, hee thanked the Emperor. Then going to sup with the Duke of ALBA, and thinking after supper to retire with his two sons in law, he was detained prisoner, and giuen in guard to Spaniards, the which ministred matter of great discontent, Duke MAVRIC and Brandenburg charging the Emperor with breach of his promise. This act deprived the Emperor of the fruits hee pretended of his enterprises, and was a means to chase him out of Germany.

Prince PHILIP, being sent for by the Emperor his father, came from Spain into Italy, and so passing through Germany, arrived at Brusselles, the Emperor inuesting him in the Duchie of Brabant, the County of Flanders, of Henalt, and of Artois, and afterwards of the Town of Antwerp, and the Marquisate of the holy Empire: all which was performed with great pomp and ceremonies. In May 1550, the Emperor parted from Brusselles with the Prince his sonne, to go to an Imperiall Diet held at Ausbourg, where he prest his brother FERDINAND to re-signe to Prince PHILIP his sonne his right and dignity of King of the Romans; whereupon they grew to a quarrell: all for the pacifying whereof, MARY Queen of Hungary, their sister, was forced to return to Ausbourg. He pursued this resignation by all means possible: but FERDINAND would neuer yeeld, thinking that if he made his dangerous alienation, all his sons (hauing many) should remain without estates: and he had sent into Spain for MAXIMILIAN his sonne to come to the Diet, being a milde and courteous Prince, and very pleasing vnto all Germany. Prince PHILIP, hauing failed in this attempt, returned towards Spain the same way he came;

Duke MAVRIC and Brandenburg, being assisted by the king of Denmarke, the King of Romanes, and by many other Princes, who had written their Letters to the Emperour for the Lantzgraues deliuey: But it seemed the Emperour respected all these Princes little, referring the answer of their request, to the comming of Duke MAVRIC, whom he said he expected to come and treat with him. WILLIAM eldest sonner to the Lantzgrau did importune him much: But Duke MAVRIC and the Marquess of Brandenburg much more, speaking very boldly vnto him, and putting him in minde of their bond and promise.

The Emperor, being puffed vp with his good luccesse in Germany, gaue distaste to all, as well Catholics as Protestants, by his exactions, vpon diuerse pretences: of some to be satisfied for the charges of the warre, which he pretended to haue made for the liberty of Germany; of other by the way of chastisement, for that they had reuolted: wherein he said he proceeded mildly, quitting much of his right to ease and spare them. By this means there was neither Town nor Country, estate nor condition amongst the Germans which were not vexed by taxes, and by fowre speeches and threats, if they presumed to put him in minde of his conuention and promises. It is said, that he wrested from those Princes and protestant Towns, about 500 pieces of great Ordinance, wherewith he furnished his Forts in Italia, Spain and Flanders. Duke MAVRIC remembering the captivity of the Lantzgrau his father-in-law (whom hee had brought to the Emperor vpon a promise that he would not detain him prisoner, yet notwithstanding he carried him vp and down as it were in triumph) resolved to compound the wars with the town of Magdeburgh, which had been straightly besieged for that they resisted the Emperors edicts;

so as they had means to free themselves vpon honest conditions; Duke MAVRIC becoming the chief in that action: who seeing the Emperor reject his many motions vnto him for the Land-graues deliuey, he entered into league with ALBERT of Brandenburg, the Land-graues children and others, and all they ioyntly with HENRY the Second, the French King (sonne to FRANCIS the First, who died before in the year one thousand five hundred forty seuen) who marched speedily with a great Army towards the Rhine, publishing that it was to restore the Germans, his good neighbours, and ancient friends, to their true and ancient liberty, which was taken from them by CHARLES of Austria, tearming himselfe Emperour: the Protestant Princes went also to Armes, and took many Townes in Germany, into their protection, yet forcing them to furnish both money and artillery: inioyning the townes of vpper Germany, to meet at Ausbourg in the end of April.

Duke MAVRIC had taken Ausbourg, finding small resistance; from thence he marched towards Inspruck, to ouertake the Emperour, who (seeing this new taking of Armes in Germany) had retired thither to draw men out of Italia. Hearing that the enemy approached, he sent some few souldiers to defend Chiusa, a very strong passage in that Countrey, but it was soone forced by the Germans; whereof the Emperour being aduertised, he parted suddenly from Inspruck, in the night by torch-light, in a rainy season, and retired to Vlatca, a Castle belonging to the house of Austria, vpon the confines of Friuly. It was a miserable thing to see the Emperor and his Court depart in such haste, at such time, and in such a season, hauing left behinde them most part of their baggage, many walking on foote for want of Horses, whom the Emperour comforted what he could. Duke MAVRIC came the same night to Inspruck, but followed the Emperour no further, making spoile only of what the Court had left there. But this warre had an end by the Land-graues deliuey, and by a peace concluded by FERDINAND's mediation at Nassau, the which the Emperour himselfe signed.

The French king was discontented with this accord, yet hearing that the Land-graue was in great danger, if it had not been concluded, he yeilded, sending back the hostages (which the Protestant Princes had giuen him) safe into Germany, and retired with his Army, retaining for his charges, Metz, Thoul, and Verdun, Imperiall townes. The Land-graue was set at liberty according to the accord, hauing been a prisoner five yeers at Macklin in Brabant, and returning homeward, he was againe stayed by the Queene of Hungaries commandement, who pretended that the Peace was broken.

The Emperour set LOHN FREDERICK Duke of Saxony at liberty, hauing first deprived him of his Electorall dignity, and his estate: And in September the Land-graue was absolutely discharged, and returned to his house: And the Emperour finding himselfe bound to recover those townes which the French had taken, came with a goodly Army, and laid siege to Metz, in November, the which he battered with 40 Cannons. The winter was very sharpe, and the town well mand, and valiantly defended, by many good captains, Princes, and others of great houses, vnder the command of the Duke of Guise: so as seeing his Army ouer-toyled, and diminished daily, through hunger, cold, nakedness, and want of all things, being pressed by necessity, he retired his Army with losse and dishonor; from whence the Emperor returned to Brusselles, and the warres continued betwixt him and the French King, vpon the Frontiers of Artois and Picardy, where there passed many encounters and taking of townes.

In the yeere one thousand five hundred fifty foure, HENRY the French king, sent three Armies against the Emperor, the first into Vermandois vnder the Prince La Roche sur Yonne: the second towards Creily led by the Constable, and the third was commanded by the Duke of Nevers, who entered the Ardennes, took Orchimont, and burnt many villages, and passing into the countrey of Legee, he assured the passage of the Riuer of Menue, by the taking of some strong Forts. The Constables Army took Marreimburg, and Rocroy, with diuers other places; The Prince of Roch sur Yonne, with the Duke of Nevers, entered Henalt, and Brabant, where they burnt all the villages, and carried away a great Prey, leauing the countrey miserable and desolate; They besieged the Castle of Remy, which the Emperor came in person to relieue, whereupon the French retired their Army.

During the warres in Germany and the Lowe Countreies: the Turkes and Pirates of Affrick, spoiled the Coasts of Naples, Sicily, and Spain: whereof the chiefe commander was DRAGARAY a famous Pirate, who surprized the towne of Affrick, which then was well peopled and of great traffique, whereby he made himselfe fearfulfull toall the Coasts of Italia and Spain. So as the Emperour was daily importuned to dislodge him from thence, who gaue

Conditions proposed to the Lantzgrau.

Prince Philip takes possession of the duchie of Brabant.

The Emperour facilitates King Ferdinand to recover the dignity of the Romans for his son Philip.

The Germans begin to grow discontent with the Emperour.

A league betwixt the Princes of Germany and the French King against the Emperour.

The Emperour flies to Pilsna for fear of Maurice.

The Duke of Saxony and the Land-graue set at liberty.

Metz besieged by the Emperour.

Three French Armies against the Emperour.

Affrick, a Town in the Realme of Tunis taken by the Spaniards.

charge to Don Iohn de Vega, Viceroy of *Sicilie*, and ANDREW DORIA, to gather an Army together with all speede for this action, who came in Iune, one thousand five hundred fifty two, with 54 Gallies well man'd with souldiers and mariners, and landed neere to the towne of *Affrick*, but they first attempted *Ministeria* a little towne neere it with a good Castle, the which DRAVOT had fortified with a good Garrison of Moores, and Turkes, the which they hauing battered in the end, after a long defence they took it, all the Turkes being either slaine, or taken prisoners: Then they turned towards *Affrick*, the siege whereof they found to be of greater difficulty, it being inuironed on three parts by Sea, where they could not easily batter it, and the fourth side vpon the Land, was very well fortified, yet they planted their Cannon against a raelin and made a breach which the Spaniards entred with great courage and resolution: but there being no diuision made by the Gallies, as it was ordered, they were oppressed by all the forces of the Towne, and repulst with great losse, the which did much afflict the whole Campe, there being small hope in this siege, for the Moores and Turkes were growne proud, and in the Campe they wanted both men, munition and victuall; but sending to *Genoa*, they were supplied with 1200 Spanish foote from *Milans*, and the Duke of *Florence*, and the State of *Genoa*, fortified them with munition and victualls.

DRAVOT was resolu'd to relieue them by Land, hauing gathered together many Moores, which he ioyned to *seuen* hundred Turkes, who making often attempts, did much annoy the Christians: But in the end, hauing lost many of his men in a furious skirmish, he despaired, and retired himselfe to *Gerbe*; after which they concluded to make three batteries, one by Sea, and two by land, where hauing made sufficient breaches, they came to the assault and took it, the Turkes hauing defended it very valiantly: In which Towne (some write) there were 10000 prisoners taken; it was afterwards to be razed by the aduice of the Emperors Council, being held a place of great charge, and not guardable.

1555
An assembly to treat of a peace.

After all the warres vpon the Frontiers of *France* and the Netherlands, betwixt the Emperour and the French king, they sent their deputies, who met in a Plain betwixt *Ardes*, *Calais*, and *Graveling*, hauing Tents set vp for that purpose, whither came Cardinal POOLS from *England*, to assist as a mediator and vmpier betwixt them: The demands on either side were so excessive, as they could not agree, and so the assembly proued fruitlesse.

The death of Queen Ioan the Emperours mother.

This yeer, on the ninth of May, newes came to the Emperour of the death of Queen IOAN his mother, in the Town of *Tordesillas*, hauing been alwaies troubled in her senses and distracted since the death of King PHILIP her husband, vntill she was 75 yeers old. This Princesse troubling herself infinitely for that she thought she was contemned and kept as a prisoner, this ambitious humour of command would not suffer her to take any rest; so as this sharp and violent humour of melancholy (which she had as it were by inheritance from Queen ISABELL of *Portugall*, her grandmother, wife to IOHN the second King of *Castile*) was continually augmented in her: her funerals was deferred vntill the coming of King PHILIP, who was then in *England* with Queen MARY his wife, who arriued at *Brussels* in September. At what time the funerals were celebrated with great pomp and state.

The Emperour signs his government to his Son K. Philip.

This yeer the Emperour performed an act, which bred admiration in all the World; for, being broken with the toiles and cares of the World, and willing to free himselfe of so great a burthen, he renounced the absolute Government, with all the titles of those Realmes and Estates, except the Empire, in the which his brother FERDINAND was to succede. And to this end he called all the Knights of the order of the Golden-fleece to Court, in whose presence he pulled the Coller of the saide order, from his owne neck, and put it about his sisters; saying, I doe now make you Soueraigne of the noble order of the Golden-fleece; and maintaine it in the like dignity that I my Father, and predecessors haue done. Then turning to the knights he said, Prince my sonne, these are the faithfull seruants, which haue been the support of my Empire, by whom I haue ouergone many perils and dangers, and therefore I haue loued them dearly. If you doo the like, I assure my self they will carry you the like affection and obedience: but if you intreat them otherwise, they will be the cause of the ruine of your estate; wherefore loue and honour them.

On the twenty fift of Nouember, all the States being assembled in the great Hall at the Palace of *Brussels*, the Emperour came thither, being accompanied by the King his sonne, Queen MARY the Regent, with many other Noble-men; whereas the Queen caused all men to depart, of what degree soeuer, but such as were called to this solemn Act.

The Emperour, King, Queene and all the deputies being set according to their degrees,

PHILIP

An Oracion in the States in the Emperours name.

PHILIBERT of *Brussels* the Emperors Orator, made a long speech to them in his Maiesties name; giuing them to vnderstand, that he had gouerned those his hereditary countries long, and had alwaies endeouored to maintain the publike equite; that he had vndertaken many painful and dangerous voiaiges to come vnto them; that he had beene carefull to gouerne them with iustice, to maintaine their rights and priuiledges, and to doe all other things whereunto a good Prince is bound; All which he held well employed, being done for such faithfull, dutifull, and obedient subiects. But his age and the weakenie of his bodie making him vnable to vndergo his forperall toyles, he was resolu'd to giue ouer that burthen and to commit it to another; who might continue as he had begonne; and so retire himselfe into *Spaine*, from whence hee had been long absent, the climate being more agreeable to his health then any other; wherefore he resolu'd to substitute in his place, his deere and only sonne, and their Lord and lawfull Prince, to whom they had giuen their oath; his maiesty knowing well, that the king his son was not only sufficient to vndergo the charge, but also had a will and a desire to imploy himselfe for the good of those countries: wherefore his Imperiall maiesty trusting that they would like thereof, and that for the loue of him, they would willingly accept in his place the king; their Lord and Prince; he did then glue ouer those Countries, and resigne them into his sonnes hands, intreating them earnestly to receiue him willingly and cheerefully. And accordingly he did freely acquit and discharge them of their oath of fealty and homage, that they might take the same vnto their king at the reception of their estates and offices.

His Maiesty did also intreate them to take in good part the affection which he had shewed by the effects, hauing omitted no traualle nor care belonging to his dutie, confessing withall that they had been good and loyall subiects, and had assisted him faithfully and dutifully. He vied many words more, admonishing them of diuers things which concerned their estate. After which speech the Emperour began to speake vnto them in French, saying;

The Emperors speech vnto the States.

That he had forty yeers fine in the same place beene emancipated by the Emperour MAXIMILIAN his Grand-father, and put in possession of those Countries; since which time he had runne through many fortunes, and endured much as well in *Spaine*, touching the affaires of Queene IOAN his mother, and the gouernment of her kingdoms, as in his other estates: he shewed also how many troublesome, long, painefull and dangerous voyages he had made in passing and repassing the Seas, as well into *Spaine* as into *Italie*, to the great perill of his person; namely in the voyages to *Barbary*, *Tunis* and *Algier*; he shewed also into what daunger he had willingly thrust himselfe, passing through *France*, to preuent the troubles which were like to grow in the Nether-lands, which he euer had in great recommendation. And as they had alwaies been to him louing subiects and faithfull vassalls; so he intreated them to be the like vnto his sonne, into whose hands he had resigned those Countries. In speaking of which words he shewed such passion, as sighs interrupting his speech, the teares trickled downe his cheekes; which moued many to the like compassion: hauing made a little pause, he tooke his Spectacles, and looking vpon a remembrance which he had in his hand, he said that his sight and memorie were not so good as they had been, and that he felt himselfe to decline, and grow weake hourly, vnable to endure the traualle that was requisite for the preservation of the Countrey and of them all, the which did moue him chiefly to returne into *Spaine*, and not to prolong his life, the which he referred into the hands of God. Lastly, he intreated them to continue in the Christian Religion, as they had done, and to obserue iustice. After these words, the king kneeling downe before his Father, said vnto him that he was vnworthy of so great fauour: but seeing it was his Maiesties pleasure; he humbly thanked him, accepting the charge, protesting to be so carefull to gouerne his Subiects with iustice, as he hoped they should rest satisfied with him, referring to make manifest by his deedes the loue which he bare them: And turning to the assembly; he spake in French, saying; I would, my Lords, that my skill in this language were more then it is; to the end I might make you the better vnderstand what affection I beare you; but for as much as I cannot expresse it in such tearms as were fit, the Bishop of *Ayas* shall speake for me; who rising vp, deliuered the Kings minde at large: which being ended, King PHILIP retired to his seat. After which, Doctor MAREVS an eloquent Orator, deputed to that end by the States, made answer to the former speeches, saying; that they knew well his Imperiall Maiesty had for many yeers gouerned that estate carefully and religiously; that he had vndergone great and many toils in many accidents; that notwithstanding his Maiesties great and vrgent affaires; yet he had alwaies carried a fatherly loue and affection to those Countries of his inheritance, whereof the people had tasted the fruit whensoever they stood in need: all which duly considered,

The Deputies answer to the Emperour.

dered, they found that his Majesty was well aduised in that which he had propounded. And therefore the Nobles, Prelates, and Deputies of Townes there present (although it were a sword which did wound their hearts to hear of his Majesties departure, yet desiring to conform themselves in all things to his good will and pleasure) did humbly thank his Imperiall Majesty for the great honour and fauour he had done them; euerie one being very ready to consent irrevocably to the said Cession or resignation made by his Imperiall Majesty of all those Netherlands to the behoof of the King there present, whom they did acknowledge for their naturall Lord and Prince, the lawfull sonne and only heire of his Imperiall Maieity, being ready to renew the oath which they had formerly made vnto him, with all other duties requisite in the like case: and so, after thanks giuen, he ended his speech.

During this action, *Queen MARY of Hungary*, the Emperors sister, and Gouvernesse of those Countries, rising from her seat, said reuerently to the Emperor, that she had euer endeavoured to govern those Countries in such manner as she thought most expedient for his Majesties benefit and the publicke good: but if peradventure, according to his desire and her good intent she had not attained thereto, she humbly besought his Majesty to pardon her. To whom the Emperor, both with his hands and his countenance, made great shew to be well pleased: and then she, turning herself towards the States, vsed in a manner the same words which shee had done to the Emperor.

After all these speeches, the Emperor by a publike Act resigned to his son K. PHILIP the Kingdoms of *Spain, Sicily, Sardinia, Maiorca, Minorca*, the *Indies*, and all others depending vpon the Crowne of *Spain*, reseruing onely a small yearly reuenuer for the maintaining of himselfe and a few seruants. The next morning the Deputies of the Duchy of *Brabant* coming to Court, King PHILIP in their presence renewed the oath which he had formerly taken in the year 1549, to keep, maintain and preserue them in their ancient rights, priuiledges and customes, without breaking them, or suffering them to be broken in any sort whatsoeuer. And the Deputies of the chief Towns of *Brabant* did also take the oath of fealty and homage to him, as to their Lord and Duke of *Brabant*.

About this time there ended an Imperiall Diet held at *Ausbourg*, where king FERDINAND did preside in the Emperors name; in the which, after much debate, it was concluded, that neither the Emperor, King FERDINAND, nor any other Prince, or State should doe wrong to any of the Empire, in what sort soeuer, by reason of the cession of *Ausbourg*; that from thenceforth they should not force by edict or other meanes, the allies of this cession, to abandon their Religion; but should suffer them to enioy it freely with their goods, rights, and possessions, with many other priuiledges, granted in fauour of their Religion. It was thought that the Pope was wonderfully discontented with this decree, and that he did sollicite the Emperor to disannull it. Before the Act of the Emperors resignation, he gaue instructions to his sonne PHILIP, touching the government of his person and estate; the which being very long, would take vp too much roome in this Volume; but I will only make mention of the reasons which moued him to this resignation, who speaking vnto him, said:

I haue resolu'd deer sonne, to come to the point of resigning into your hands, the absolute government of all my Realmes and estates; wherefore my pleasure is, that against the morning you giue order for the performance of this Act, with all due Ceremonies: you shall giue order with speede, that all Governours, Magistrates, and all other persons, acknowledge you for their superior; that all persons (except the subiects of the Empire) take the Oath of allegiance: the more rare this president is, the greater are the signes, both of my loue to you, and of the assurance I haue of your good inclination, and also of the great care I haue to see your estate settled. I could deferre this Act (as most Princes doe) vntill my death; but hauing a desire rather to imitate the smaller number of Fathers in this point, I haue chosen willingly by this Act in my life time, to make my selfe a superior, rather than a companion to any. It is a weak trial of the valour and resolution of a Prince, to subdue kingdoms by force, in comparison of conquering himselfe, being not only content to bridle all ambition and desire of Rule, but to submitte himselfe to a certain kinde of obedience: Against this course, sensuality doth strive with all her force, and in exchange of all worldly satisfactions, which are enioyed by the prerogative of absolute authority, setteth before our eyes the rigor of the Lawes; to which (Princes setting their authorities aside) must leuell all their actions, as well as priuate men. To blinde our vnderstanding with like veiles, the same sensuall consideration stirreth vp, by way of admonition, a prouident forecast of diuers inconueniences, wherinto many fall, which haue made them-

themselves subiect to the will of other men, by the diuersity of their conceits and censures, the which by the corruption of the care of priuate interest, are apt to swarue from the right rule of integritie. It may be that some will be terrified with this common supposition, that Princes which are once possessed with authority, may resigne it at their own pleasures, but they must resume it at the pleasures of other men: yet fatherly loue and affection hath preuailed more with me, then all these worldly considerations, and dutie also in some sort; for, finding my selfe now aged (which may be accounted greater, in regard of my sickly estate) my satiety of glory in this World, and wearinesse of royle; finding moreover that by my continual trauaile vnto this day, I could not satisfie in any part the dutie which belongeth vnto the profession of a Christian; I finde my selfe enflamed with a most earnest desire to free my selfe from so many troubles and incombrances, and then retire to a more religious kinde of life, and more fit for a Christian. On the other side the consideration of your age being now ripe, and fit for government, together with the expectation which you haue gotten in the World, by managing the greatest affairs of *Spain* with great iudgement, moue me now the rather to proceed in my resolution. Being incited with all these good considerations, I haue thought it fit to lay this wayty burthen vpon your shoulders, and to ease mine owne, which time and trauaile haue now weakened and disabled. I doe confidently hope, that the subiects of all my countries, shall haue cause to thanke God first, and then me for this resolution, in respect of the gracious vsage they shall receiue at your hands, succeeding in my place: neither is it hurtfull vnto your selfe, that by this occasion, during my life, you shall settle your selfe more firmly in my Dominions. And so hee proceeded to his aduice and counsell, touching the government of his Estates.

After that the Emperour had resigned all his kingdomes vnto king PHILIP his sonne, and disposed of his affaires in the Netherlands, being desirous to free himselfe from all temporal cares, and to spend the remainder of his daies in peace, applying himselfe wholly to the seruice of God; he resolu'd to retire himselfe with his two sisters, ELENOR the French Queen, and MARY Queene of *Hungary into Spain*: But before his departure, he would also dispose of the Empire, the which he would resigne vnto his brother FERDINAND King of the Romanes, and to that end he wrote his Letters vnto the Princes Electors and States of the Empire, giuing them to vnderstand, that finding himselfe ouercharged with age, and continuall infirmities, which had disabled him for the managing of affaires; hauing long before resolu'd to resigne all his Realmes of *Spain* to the Prince his sonne, hauing taken leaue of the Court, being ready to imbarque with the first prosperous winde; and seeing that by his absence, the government of the Empire did of right belong vnto his deere and welbeloued brother FERDINAND king of the Romanes, of *Hungary and Bohemia*, as his lawfull successor in the said qualitie of King of Romanes, which government he had for many yeers well deferred in his absence, supporting the burthen with a brotherly loue and affection; wherefore lest the holy Empire should fall into some dangerous inconuenience, he had resolu'd that his said brother, king of Romans, should haue absolute and irrevocable power to treat, negotiate and command in all things that he should finde requisite and necessary for the greatnesse, prosperity and increase of the Empire, as absolutely as he himselfe being Emperor might doe; and for that he could not come vnto the Imperiall Diet at *Ratisbone*, there to haue resigned the government of the Empire vnto the king of Romanes, as he had intended; he thought it good by those Letters to acquaint them with his resolution, inioyning all men by his Imperiall authority to shew all loyalty and obedience vnto the King of Romanes, and to honour and respect him in all his commandements, and Decrees, without any contradiction, as they would doe himselfe, if hee were there in person.

After this, the fleet being ready in *Zeland*, he took his leaue of PHILIP his son, and of all the Princes and Noble-men: then he imbarqued with his two sisters, and arriued within fewe daies in *Spain*; where, after some daies rest, he retired to a Monastery of Saint *Isidore* the Hermite, in *Esfremadura neer Placencia*, an vnfrequented place, and fit for heavenly meditations, where he liued not about two yeers, spending his time in holy and godly works. And the better to attend the seruice of God, he would haue his sisters to liue from him at *Valledolit*, that they might not trouble him. He reserued but 100000 crowns a yeer to himselfe, whereof hee employed 4000, for his diet and entertainment: the rest he disposed of, for the marrying of yong maids, and to relieue widdowes and orphanes, and for other works of Charity.

This

The words of
Queen Mary to
the Emperor.

King Philip
takes the oath as
Duke of Brabant

Resolution of the
Imperiall diet
held at Aus-
bourg.

The Emperors
speech to his son.

The Emperor
writes to the
princes Electors

The Emperor
departeth with
his two sisters
out of the Ne-
therlands.

Diverse opinions
touching the
Emperors
nuptials.

This Act of renunciation, being one of the rarest precedents, that had bin seen for manie ages, ministred occasion vnto the world, to discoufure of the reasons that might induce him to deprive himselfe of so great a dignity. Some held opinion that his infirmity of the gowt being very grievous, and foreseeing that it would shorten his life, was the cause that moued him to that resolution. Others said that he did it vpon discontent, seeing himselfe bearded and ouermatched, by HENRY the French king: and some affirmed that to auoide the crosses of fortune, which (by the relation of certaine Astrologians) he knew would befall him, he with great iudgement resolved to retire himselfe before it should in that sort obscure the brightnesse of that glory, which he with so much toile had gotten. There were also some which said that fortune began to frowne on him when as he made his retreat to *Vienna* and went to besiege *Metz*: so as some commending and others blaming his resolution all did censure diuerfely thereon.



THE
LIFE OF FERDINAND,
ONLY OF THAT NAME, AND
HUNDRETH AND SIXTEENTH
ROMAN EMPEROR.
(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



His present life of the Emperour Ferdinand, containeth his country, his parentage, his education, and where he was brought up; how he became Lord of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and Transilvania; his warres with Iohn Sepulchus, the taking of Buda; with the siege of Vienna; when he was created King of the Romanes, his agreement made with the said Iohn, the difference betweene Friar George and him; the often coming of Soliman into Hungary; the Insurrections in Germany against the Emperour Charles the Fifth; the displeasure of Pope Paul the Fourth, threatening of Maximilian King of the Romanes; his conuersation and behaviour, and the children which he had by his wife Anne, sister to Lewes King of Hungary.



Among many Townes worthy respect, in the Kingdom of *Toledo* in *Spain*, it is certaine (as it appeareth by the Chronicles thereof) that *Alcala Henares* in ancient time, euer hath beene, and still is, one of the chiefe; wherein besides the men of singular valour which in time past haue liued there, in the yeere of the incarnation of the sonne of God 1503. vpon the tenth day of May, in the same yeere, FERDINAND of *Austria* of that name the first Emperour of the West, was borne; whose father was PHILIP the first of that name, King of *Castile*, and sonne to the Emperour MAXIMILIAN: his mother was IOANNE, daughter to FERDINAND and ISABEL, King and Queene of *Spain*, who by reason of the vnexpected sodaine death of his Father (which hapned in the yeere 1506) remaining vnder the tutelle of his Grandfather FERDINAND (commonly called the Catholike.) was by him (by means of the ex-

cellencie

cellencie of his wit, besides the exercise of Armes) carefully instructed, in diuers languages; principally in the puritie of the Latin tongue; wherein, in short space he profited so much, that to the great admiration of all men, he procured a most active Knight in Armes, and a perfect Orator in the Latin, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, Hungarian and Bohemian tongues; so as all men did prognosticate him to proue a Prince of singular valour: and this made him the more accounted of, for that by all men generally which knew them, he was likened to FERDINAND the Third, who by force took *Seuil* from the Moores, from whom by his mother, he descended. That FERDINAND for his many vertues, was no lesse numbered amongst the noblesse, then reputed happie amongst all the Kings of *Spain*, for being father of King ALONSO, who for his rare knowledge in Sciences, was furnished the Sage: who in the long schisme of the Empire, in the yeere 1528, being by the greatest part of the Princes Electors of the Empire chosen Emperour; by the perswasion of Pope GREGORY the Tenth, for the common quietnes of Christendome, voluntarily resigned, and gaue vp his right, after that he had enioyed the name of Emperour the space of sixteene yeeres, approouing and ratifying the successeful election of ROBERT the First of that name, from whom from father to sonne this FERDINAND lineally descended.

This FERDINAND being brought vp in *Spain*, vnder the Catholike King, was for his rare qualities so much beloued by the Spaniards, that his brother CHARLES in the yeere 1520. remaining (through the death of his Grandfather FERDINAND, which happened in the yeere 1516.) heire generall of the kingdoms of *Spain*, of both the *Sicilies*, of the West *Indies*, of *Burgundie*, and *Austria*, and in the yeere 1519. through the death of his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, chosen to weare the Imperiall Diadem, was by those which (tumultuously mutinying vnder the name of the holy assembly) rebelled against his brother CHARLES, by reason of the vnmeasurable oppressions laid vpon them by his polling officers, instantly requested and entreated to make himselfe King of *Spain*; whereto not consenting (much more esteeming the preservation of his faith, by refusing those estates, then the greatnes of them, by violating the same to his eternall infamie) with singular integrity of minde, he not onely refused their offer, but vied all meanes possible to retaine those kingdoms in his brothers subiection: for which, he was euer after entirely beloued by him. Who returning into *Spain*, in the yer 1529. not onely reconfirmed vnto him the donation of the Archduchy of *Austria* (the ancient patrimonie of their family) made ouer to him by testament, by their Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, by his brother CHARLES his consent, to whom as to the eldest sonne it did appertaine; but he also freely gaue him the Countries of *Stiria*, and *Carinthia*, with the Counties of *Tirol*, *Salzburg*, and *Hassia*; hauing first in the Diet at *Wormes*, declared him (to the good liking of the Princes Electors) his Lieutenant, and Imperiall Vicar in *Germany*; whither, within a while after this graunt, going in the yeere 1521. hee was honorably receiued by the Germanes; and as Vicar of the Empire, was with great magnificence, met by all the Potentates: where making no long abode, he went to take possession of his dominions, to the great good liking of that people.

In the same yeere he celebrated his contracted nuptials, with ANNE sister to LEWES king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; renewing the oaths sworne in the yeere 1515. betwene his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN, and LADISLAUS father to King LAVRES; which were, that LAVRES dying without issue, FERDINAND, or any other begotten by him, and his said sister ANNE, should succeed in his kingdom. But either through the iust wrath of God kindled against the manifold iniquities of the Hungars; or what other occasion I know not, the two brothers in-law had scarcely enioyed the beloued fruit: of the established succession two moneths, but FERDINAND being molested by the instability of fortune (seldome constant in prosperity) was aduertised that SOLIMAN Emperour of the Turks, being victorious, hauing subdued GAZELLES in *Soria* in the yeere 1516; and also for that his father SELIM, had in three seuerall battailes, with incredible fortune, first ouerthrowne CAMPSON, and some after TOMORBY, Souldanes of *Egypt*; GAZELLES giuing place to fortune, and voluntarily yeelding himselfe into the power of his victorious enemy, was with great fauour receiued into grace: so that notwithstanding that the Empire of the Souldanes was extinguished in *Egypt*, yet he hauing liberty was made Gouverneur of *Soria* (not without much murmuring of the Turkish Captaines, his Lieutenants in that country). Neuertheless GAZELLES in the yeere 1519. being certified of the death of SELIM, thinking himselfe now discharged of the oath of fealtie which he had sworne vnto him onely (without any mention made of his successors) and therewith earnestly desiring to requie the ancient dominion of the Souldiers,

Egypt taken by
the Turks.

The birth of
Ferdinand,
when, and who
was his father.

This Tabell
together with
her husband
Ferdinand
drewes the
Moore out of
Granada out
don. 1492.

levied the greatest forces of Mamalukes, Arabians, and Syrians that he possibly could; with which, rebelling, he made himselfe Lord of sundry Cities in *Soria*: against whom in the yeere 1520, SOLIMAN sent FARAAZ Basha with a great Army; who fighting with him neere to the City of *Damasco*, GAZELLES being slaine in the battaile, he obtained a notable victory, which happened in the end of the yeere 1520. FERDINAND (as I said before) advertised that SOLIMAN putt up with pride by reason of his victory, refused to make warre in *Hungary*; where through the negligence of King LEVVS, and want of reliefe from the Emperour CHARLES, or his Lieutenant FERDINAND, the Turkes (making sundry roades and incursions into the Country) in the end besieged, battered, and tooke the strong City of *Belgrade*, in ancient time called *Zaurinum*, situated in *Angularis Ferme*, between the rivers *Sauus* and *Danubius*, the which was held the buckler of Christendome, and in the time of MATTHEVV King of *Hungary*, it had been twice assaulted in vaine by MAMORT his great Grand-father, and AMVRATH father to the said MAHOMET, and now by the negligence of King LEVVS, who did not relieue it in time (although he were much importuned thereunto by FERDINAND) after some moneths siege, it was forced by SOLIMAN, and a great slaughter made of the Christians.

But FERDINAND as it seemeth taking more care to suppress LEVTHERR'S doctrine, then for the defence of *Hungary* against the Turkes, in a Councell held at *Norimburch*, vpon grievous penalties, prohibited the reading of the Bible, which LEVTHERR had translated; but yet LEVTHERR neuertheless being countenanced by IOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony* published his booke, wherein he toucht all the Romish Princes of *Germany*, but chiefly FERDINAND. Hereupon FERDINAND summoned a Councell to be held in *Ratisbone* in the yeere 1523, whither from Pope CLEMENT the seuenth, who succeeded ADEIAN the sixt, came Cardinall LAWRENCE CAMPREVS, to procure (although in vaine) the suppression of LEVTHERR'S doctrine. About which matter FERDINAND hauing spent the yeeres 1523, and 1524, had intelligence that SOLIMAN after the taking of the Isle of *Rhodes* (which he vpon composition entred vpon the fift and twentieth day of December, being Christmas day, in the yeere 1522, after that it had been by the Knights of the order, held and valiantly defended against the whole forces of the Infidels, for the space of 214 yeeres, from the yeere 1280 at which time it was taken from the Infidels until then; and after that it had been now besieged the space of sixe moneths, in which time the Turke lost the greatest part of his Army; for besides those which were slaine at the many assaults which were giuen, about 30000 died of the sick) threatned to bring greater calamities vpon the Christians: among which a man would haue thought, the long troubles of the former wars, in the yeere 1525, would haue ended. For the imprisonment of FRANCIS the first King of *France*, who by the Emperours Captaines, vpon the foure and twentieth of February in the same yeere, was taken at the battaile of *Pavia*, made most men to thinke that the Emperour would not haue released him, without an assured peace with *France*; by which means, he might not only haue been able to haue performed any great attempt, but also haue made frustrate SOLIMAN'S desires. But as men in future accidents are most commonly deceiued in their opinions, so the affaires of the Christians fell afterwards into farre worse teermes; for the most part of the Christian Princes being moued against the Emperour, either through griefe for the French kings aduersitie (a Prince for the worth of his person, and the greatness of so flourishing a kingdom highly esteemed) or else for feare of their owne particular interest, doubting that he would haue aspired to the absolute Monarchy; the state of Christendome came to be so confused and out of order, especially in *Italie*, that mens iudgement proued not only vaine, but the troubles continued a long time after.

Italy being by reason of the warre betweene CHARLES the fift, and FRANCIS the French King miserably afflicted, the one enuying the others greatness, most of the Princes and states in Christendome were by the one or other (to the great enfeebling of the whole Christian Common-wealth) drawne into the action; which SOLIMAN the great Turke perceiving, was thereby encouraged with an Army of two hundred thousand men to invade *Hungary*; into which (hauing *Belgrade*) he had an open passage, thinking withall that he might easily oppress the young king of *Hungary*, who was ill obeyed in his kingdom, by the discord of his Barons; hauing also small experience in the art of war, by reason of his young yeeres. King LEVVS, who in regard of his tender age, was but weak of iudgement and terrified with the fame of so powerfull an enemy, sending in vaine to all places for succors; hee called a Diet of Hungarians, which was according to their custome of armed men, who were bound to assist him

in the wars. The Nobility of *Hungary* (who had neuer seene the campe of a Turkish Emperour, but had only encountered them in light skirmishes) despised the Turkes in such sort, as they bragged vainely, that if they came to fight they would cut in pieces huge Armies of Turkes: Among the which PAVL TOMORRVS Archbishop of *Colossa* shewed himselfe most vaine, assuring himselfe confidently of the victory, bragging that he would be the first that should charge the Turkish troupes with his lance. The King had not in his Army about 26000; and yet TOMORRVS would needs presse him to fight: whose presumption all men of iudgment condemned; and the old soldiers said that it was the part of desperate men, to ioyne battaile with such an enemy who had neuer eight times as many fighting men in his Army: wherefore some were of opinion that the king should retire himself, and STEPHEN VEREBSITS General of his Army perswaded him to go into the Castle of *Buda*; but the obstinate soldiers opposed, saying that they were not to fight vnlesse the King did lead them: TOMORRVS prevailed, and the king refused to go and meete the enemy: yea, TOMORRVS madnes was such, as he would not stae for IOHN SEPVSVS gouernour of *Transilvania* who marcht with an Army to ioyne with the king. The Armies ioyning, the Hungarians were in halfe an houre ouerthrowne. And the poore king seeing his whole Army in rout, thought to saue himself by flight; but passing through a marshy fenne, his horse falling, he was smothered in the mud, there being not halfe a foot of water: his page escaped and obserued the place, so as many daies after the enemies retreat, the Kinges bodie was found, and buried in *Alba Regalis*. After the victory it is said that SOLIMAN wondred at the beastly humor of the Hungarians; and that the kings Counsellors should be posselt with such madnes, as with so small forces to encounter so great an Army. Hauing seene the pictures of the King and the Queene his wife, he was grieved (he said) for the disgrace of that young king, who hauing had such foolish counsellors, in a matter of such importance, had grossely made halfe to ioyne battaile; adding withall that he came not into *Hungary* to deprime him of his kingdom, but to reuenge the wrong done him by the Hungarians; and if he had escaped from the battaile he would only haue imposed a tribute, and restored him to his kingdom: and that he would haue held it a glory to haue preferred one who was son to a brother of SIGISMUND King of *Poland* his friend, and so strictly allied to the Noble house of *Austria*: which words he deliuered with great maiesty. This battaile was fought in October 1526.

For the infortunate death of King LEVVS, FERDINAND was very sorrowfull: for besides the losse of his friend and brother-in-law, he was advertised that SOLIMAN besides other places, without one blow striken, had taken the city of *Buda*; and that from thence, besides the most excellent Artillery which he found there, he had carried the statues of HERCVLES, APOLLO, and DIANA, most exquisitely made in brasse, and left there by the great MATTHEVV CORVINVS: and that with an infinite number of captiues and laden with prey and bootie, he was returned to *Constantinople*.

After SOLIMAN'S departure, King FERDINAND went into *Bohemia*, and there was crowned together with his wife, who a little before was deliuered of a daughter called ISABELLE, which afterwards was married to SIGISMUND King of *Poland*: and being in peace King of *Bohemia*, he challenged to be King of *Hungary*. But knowing that IOHN SEPVSVS Valiude of *Transilvania*, after the celebration of the sumptuous obsequies of King LEVVS, notwithstanding FERDINAND'S former election, aspiring to the kingdom, had made himself to be crowned King of *Hungary*; and at the same time had bestowed vpon those Lords which had assisted him in the action, the principall estates of that kingdom, to the end that being obliged to him for receiued benefits, they should not after their accustomed manner practise ought against him; FERDINAND made himself in *Bohemia* to be crowned King of *Hungary*, in the presence of Doctor STEPHEN, and other Hungarian Lords his friends, which after the death of King LEVVS came to see him.

After this coronation, FERDINAND hauing leuiad an Army, presently marched therewith against IOHN SEPVSVS: who by reason of the inequality, of their powers standing in some feare of him, departed from *Buda*, which after SOLIMAN'S departure was againe recovered by the Hungarians; and retired himself on the other side of the riuier *Tysa*, to *Toccy*, a place both by nature and Art very strong; where, sending to his friends in sundry parts for aide, he wrote two Letters, one to the Princes Electors, entreating them to giue no aide to FERDINAND against him: the other to the Emperour, therein exhibiting sundry complaints against FERDINAND. But FERDINAND pretending the kingdom of *Hungary* in right to be his;

Gazelles overthrown or slain by FARAAZ Basha 1520.

Belgrade taken by the Turke.

The Hungarians ouerthrowne by the Turke.

Death of Lewis king of Hungary.

John Sepulius Princes of Transilvania crowned king of Hungary.

Ferdinand in Bohemia crowned king of Hungary.

Solimán the great Turke entered Hungary with an army of 200000 men & the rest.

Ferdinand entering Hungary with an army against John Sepulchus, who had fled.

The battle of Törczy fought between John and Ferdinand, both pretending to be King of Hungary.

King John fled into Poland.

Stephen Viceroy of Hungary for King Ferdinand.

Pope Clement the Seventh released out of prison.

Marching forward, with his Army, without any resistance took *Buda*, and other principall places in that kingdom; and being unwilling to give his enemy time to recover heart and courage, he without any great difficulty, passing the river *Tisza*, upon a bridge made of boates brought thither for that purpose upon carts, went to seeke him at *Törczy*; and within sight of the castle making an Alt, made *VALENT TYRAC* General of his Army; who in the day of battaile diuided the Caualery of *Stiria* and *Austria* into two squadrons, in the midst between which he ranged his maine Battaillon, which of both the one and other Army, were Hungarian footmen. Which order when *FERENC BODO*, who was General of King *JOHN*'s Army perceived, he marshalling his troups in the like manner, perswaded King *JOHN* with certain troups of choise horse, to withdraw himselfe to some place from the Army, where he might, notwithstanding any sinister accident, saue himselfe. After whose example *PHIL BARCHIT* a Seruan, one of the chiefe Captaines of King *FERDINAND*'s Army, retired himselfe to a close place, a good distance from the Army, with a determination to charge his enemies in flanke. To be briefe, the two Armies ioyned in a battaile, wherein for a space the fight was very doubtfull: for the left wing of King *JOHN*'s battaile charging the right of the *Stirian* horse, and gallantly overbearing them, had put King *FERDINAND*'s people to rout, had not the men at Armes of *Austria* in rescuing them, with such furie charged the enemy, that they were constrained to retire fighting.

In the meane time the footmen, which of either side were almost all Hungarians, fought with such obstinacie, that it was hard to iudge whether partie should haue the better. So as, if *BARCHIT* with his troupe, which vntill then lay close in an Ambuscado, had not risen and suddenly charged at vnawares, *FERDINAND* (as the report went) had had the worst of the bargain; but *BARCHIT* giuing a fresh charge, *BODO*, notwithstanding that he that day, shewed himselfe no lesse a valiant Souldier then a prudent Captaine, often attempting in vaine to haue rallied his squadrons, being overborne by his enemy, was taken prisoner together with many other very excellent Captaines: and their campe being assaulted, their Ordinance and Colours were likewise lost; and the whole troups were so much disordered, that they running away, left all their baggage to the Austrians. Which when King *JOHN* perceived, he as fast as his horse could beare him, fled: and not holding himselfe in safetie in his owne countrie, he fled into *Poland*, where by *IEROM LASKY* a Noble-man of that countrie he was honorably entertained. And *FERDINAND*'s Captaines entering *Transilvania*, all the countrie, together with what in *Hungary* held for him, without any resistance yielded to be at his deuotion. But forasmuch as *BODO*, vpon promise of liberty, would not renounce his oath made to King *JOHN*, and so beare Armes against him, he was by King *FERDINAND*'s commandement cast into a dungeon, where of griefe and sorrow he died miserably.

After this victory *FERDINAND* made himselfe together with his wife in *Alba Regalia*, to be solemnly crowned King of *Hungary* by the Archbishop of *Strigoniun*, who forsaking King *JOHN* came to *FERDINAND*, bringing with him the Crowne of *STEPHEN* King of *Hungary*, which amongst the Hungarians was held in great veneration. Shortly after, *FERDINAND* leauing *STEPHEN BATOR* for Viceroy of that kingdom (to be assisted by the Bishop of *Strigoniun*) went to *Bohemia*, and thence into *Austria*, where vpon the first day of August in the yeere 127. his Queene bare him a son, who was christened *MAXIMILIAN*, and in proceesse of time coming to be Emperour was called *MAXIMILIAN* the Second. *FERDINAND* hauing so happily gotten the kingdom of *Hungary*, was very earnest with his brother *CHARLES* the Emperour to release Pope *CLEMENT* the Seuenth, taken prisoner by the Duke of *Burbon* General of the Emperours Army in *Italy*, the same yeere, vpon the sixth day of May, a fatal day in antient time in *Rome*; which he did to the end to auoide further cause of discontentment amongst the Christian Princes: for the greatnes of the house and state of *Austria* being growne odious and suspect to all Christendome, it seemed that by long detaining the Pope, the hatred and ill will conceived against it, would daily encrease: which reasons induced the Emperour after seven moneths imprisonment to set Pope *CLEMENT* at liberty, although vpon hard conditions.

King *JOHN* after the battaile of *Törczy*, being expelled his kingdom, fled as we haue said to *IEROM LASKY*, a Noble-man of great account amongst the Polonians, by whom he was most honorably entertained, with the consent of *SIGISMUND* King of *Polonia*, who notwithstanding their affinity was nothing pleased with *FERDINAND*'s greatnes. To be briefe, *IEROM LASKY* counselling King *JOHN* to craue aid of *SOLIMAN* the Emperour of the Turks, went

John Sepulchus fleeth to the Turks for ayde.

Ferdinand's father the Duke of Austria, but in vaine.

Soliman with an Army of 140000. men entered *Buda*, &c.

Soliman's conspiracy to his purpose, put to the sword all the Souldiers in the Castle of *Buda*.

Vienna besieged by Soliman.

Solimans loss at the assault of Vienna.

went himselfe Ambassadour (King *SIGISMUND* winking therat) to *Constantinople*, where he so behaued himselfe amongst the Bassas, that *SOLIMAN* taking *JOHN* into his protection, with promise to restore him to his kingdom, proclaimed war against *Hungary*. Wherewith *FERDINAND* seeing himselfe destitute of sufficient forces to withstand the Turkish power, and that by reason of the war amongst the Christians, chiefly in *Italy*, he could not haue such aid from his brother the Emperour as the necessity of the cause required, he was much grieved: neither thelesse to cleere himselfe from blame, acquainting the Emperour with all matters, he sought means to obtaine of *SOLIMAN* (according as *LADISLAVS* and *LEWES*, Kings of *Hungary* had done) truce for some yeeres; and to that effect sent *JOHN OBERDANSKY*, a very wise man, to *Constantinople*; who after many practices could bring no other answer from *SOLIMAN*, but that if *FERDINAND* did not restore *JOHN* to the kingdom of *Hungary*, he would make him to know how much the Turks power was to be feared: with which answer, *OBERDANSKY* being driue out of *Constantinople* returned into *Hungary*, where relating *SOLIMAN*'s proud answer to the Councell, he went to *Spire* to *FERDINAND*, who at that time was besieged at the Diet, about matters of Religion.

FERDINAND, vpon this answer, standing in great doubt of the Turkes forces, made all the piousition that the breuity of the time would permit: but the yeere 1529 being come, in the beginning of the Spring, *SOLIMAN* commanding his Bassas to draw his Forces to an head, came in person with 140000. men to *Belgrade*; where, by means of his favourite *LEWES GRITTI*, sonneto *ANDREW GRITTI* (at that time Duke of *Venice*) and of *ABRAHAM* Bassa, gently receiuing *JOHN* with many other Hungarian Lords, he againe promised to restore him to his Kingdom: wherewith *JOHN* being very ioyfull, with many his friends followed the Turkish Armie; which marching from *Belgrade* was already before *Buda*. Those in *Buda* being in extreame feare, presently yielded to *SOLIMAN*; who entering the City, fought with as great speed to haue had the forrest, guarded by *THOMAS NADASKY* a Captaine for *FERDINAND*; who valiantly resisting the enemy, was within few dayes (to the great reproach of Christian Souldiers) betrayed by those Germanes which *FERDINAND* left there in garriison: who perceiving that the enemy with Mines & other Military stratagems, sought to force the place, willing to provide for themselves, and to the end that *NADASKY* should be impeded vnto them, bound him; and then yielding to *SOLIMAN*, with their liues and goods saued, gaue up the Fortresse. Wherinto when the Turke came, knowing the treason of the Souldiers, and moved with a noble disdain, he presently set *NADASKY* at liberty, and made his Souldiers cut all those in pieces which had committed so shamefull a villany, making no conscience to break his faith with men so base and so unworthy to liue.

SOLIMAN hauing (without effusion of blood) gotten the citie of *Buda*, presently sent his Army towards *Vienna* in *Austria*; and coming before the same vpon the fix and twentieth day of September that present yeere, he besieged the citie in five parts, hauing first by the way taken *Alteneburg* and the five Churches. From thence with great speed he made his horse troups to pueruen the countrie as farre as *Lintz*, (many miles distant from *Vienna*); where doing much harme, and laden with bootie, and many prisoners, they returned to the campe, which being diuided into many parts, continually infested *Vienna*. The Count Palatine of *Rhine*, with many other excellent Captaines, being therein for the defence thereof in the behalfe of *FERDINAND*, used all means to frustrate the enemies attempts; who besieging the City by land, had intelligence that the Fleet which came vpon the River *Danubius* with great store of Ordinance to batter the City, was for the most part by *WOLFRANG* of *Osse* Governour of *Pelson*, beaten, and sunk in *Danubius*, which then was swollen extraordinarily high, by reason of much rain which fell at that time. Whereof when *SOLIMAN* was certified, he with the rest of the Artillery which escaped *WOLFRANG*'s furie, so beat *Vienna*, vpon the fifteenth day of October, that he might but little so haue taken it: but he was repulled by the valour of those which had the guard thereof.

SOLIMAN lost at the assault in this one day thirty thousand Turkes, with many famous Captaines: who thinking with himselfe, that if he should haue the like successe in two other assaults, he should haue a small Army remaining; hearing withall that *FERDINAND* came with a great Army to succor them, and that he was not farre off, he resolved to retire from that enterprise, sending word vnto them of *Vienna*, that if they would yeeld, he would not enter into the City, and their goods should be saued, giuing them a perpetual exemption, for that he was not come to doe them any harme; but only to meet with *FERDINAND*, to the end the

quarrell for the possession of the kingdome of *Hungary* by battaile : whereat, the people of *Vienna* made a scorn, so that the day following being the thirtieth day of the siege, he was constrained (after that he had giuen many fierce assaults) to retire with the losse of 80000 men, and the sooner, hauing intelligence that *Ferdinand* with a great number of Bohemians and Morauians came to the reliefe thereof. Which making him to doubt that his people being weakened with the wars, would be vnapt to make head against *Ferdinand's* fresh troups he resolved to raise his siege and to depart. And being departed with so great losse of his people, and hauing in vaine fought to allure those of *Vienna* to giue vp the City vpon composition, he went to *Buda*, where confirming King *John* King of *Hungary*, calling him his friend and vassalle, and leauing *Lvves Gritti* with him for his counsellor, he with a determination to return againe the next Spring with greater forces, leading with him about 4000 captiues, returned to *Constantinople*.

Shortly after *Soliman's* departure, *Ferdinand* came to *Vienna*: from whence aduertising his brother the Emperor of all what had happened, he tooke order for the reedifying of the City, which together with all the countrie round about was in a manner wholly ruined, and then shortly after returned into *Germany*, very ioyfull for the news of the peace, concluded between the Christian Princes, hoping that the Emperor being free from warres, would now haue suppressed *Lvves's* supposal heresie, which daily encreasing, was in such manner dispersed, that many Princes of that countrey were of his opinion; by reason whereof there was nothing but Councils in *Germany* concerning Religion: which to abolish was *Ferdinand's* chiefest care. But the yeere one thousand five hundred thirty, being comm, and *Charles* being with the Imperiall Diademe, by the Pope solemnly crowned in *Bologna* in *Italy*, vpon *Saint Mattheus* the Apostles day (an auspicious day to him) and afterwards going into *Germany*, and there celebrating the *Amburg* Diet, he took such order, that *Ferdinand* by the Electors (after some contradiction) was chosen King of the Romanes, who being crowned in *Aken*, and the Emperor being gone into *Flanders* to visite those Countreies, hee went for feare of *Serviss* to *Vienna*: for *Serviss* by the counsell of *Lvves Gritti*, daily incensed the Turkes against *Ferdinand*, who in the end of the yeere coming into *Hungary*, spoiled such countreies as held for him: but King *John* being desirous to bring those troubles to an end, he in such manner solicited *Gritti* to be an intercessor for him, that *Soliman* in the yeere one thousand five hundred thirty two, much displeased with *Ferdinand*, proclaimed open warre against *Hungary*; and coming shortly after thither with an Army of three hundred thousand men, he committed such spoiles in the countrie, that more could not be done. Which *Ferdinand* vnderstanding (who at that time was with the Emperor at the Diet at *Ratisbone* about matters of Religion) was greatly troubled: and hauing no sufficient power to resist the Turkes forces, imploring aide of all the Potentates in Christendome, he (by the Emperors means) obtained some of the German Princes: and the Emperour causing a great number of his footemen to come into *Germany*, resolved with the assistance of other Christian Princes, in person to ioyne with him; particularly with the aide of Pope *Clement* the Seuenth, who with nine thousand men paid, sent his Nephew the Cardinal *Hippolito de Medicis*, with all the succours that possibly in time of such discord (especially between *France* and *Italy*) could be gotten. And in such sort the matter was handled, that the Emperour and his brother *Ferdinand* hauing ninety thousand footemen, and thirty thousand horse, taking their way towards *Vienna*, resolved to fight with *Soliman*, who proudly reiecting *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors sent to treat with him of a league, he with such furie assailed in many parts, such places as held for *Ferdinand* in *Hungary*, that he did infinite harme; for besides the delolation of townes, he in person with great furie bent his forces against the City of *Guinz*: The charge of which siege, was giuen to *Abraham* Bassa, Captain generall of the Turkes Army, who vnderstanding that *Nicholissa* (a man well knowne to him) was Governour within the Towne, he sent to perswade him not to hold so weak a place against him, promising him all honest conditions: but *Nicholissa*, who was a souldier, hauing resolved either to die or winne honor in that seruice, answered him courteously that he could not doe it: whereupon the place was battered many daies, and valiantly defended, but the Turkes had no great Ordinance, *Soliman* giuing it out that he came only to fight a battaile against the Christians, and therefore had brought none but field peeces.

Abraham, seeing what difficulty there was to force this place, he draw *Nicholissa* to

to his Campe vpon a safe conduct: where hauing much commended his valour, he laid before him the great danger wherein he was, if he attended the great Ordinance which was neere, perswading him by the friendship that was betwixt them, to yeeld him the place, the which he must for his honour take. The gouernor seemed to esteeme his words little, telling him that his garison was strong, and that he had many Germanes and Spaniards within the place, who would not accept of any accord: but through the importunity of *Abraham*, he suffered some few Turkes to enter, to giue him some satisfaction for his honor, and so *Guinz* was brauely defended against this mighty Army: and *Abraham* retired to *Soliman's* Campe, from whence he dismissed *Ferdinand's* Ambassadors, to whom he wrote that he was come into *Hungary*, to reuenge the wrong done vnto *John* his friend and tributary, and that he would be soone with him to giue him battaile: wherewith he was not much troubled.

Lvves Gritti (left in *Hungary* with *Serviss* after the siege of *Vienna*) likewise assailing *Strigonium*, and making incursions by his Captaines into the countrey, did put the Hungars in such feare, that many of them abandoning their houses, retired to the Christians Army lying intrenched without the walles of *Vienna*; whither it was thought that *Soliman* in the end would haue come: but he failing of his purpose to get the City of *Guinz*, and fearing the Emperors fortune; after that he had harried the countrey, and taken many prisoners, retired to the other side of the Riuer *Mura* into *Carinthia*; and from thence leading his Army in great disorder, and with dishonor to *Belgrade*; and there not holding himselfe fully in safety, hee shortly after went to *Constantinople*, being first greatly annoyed by the Christian Cavallery, which then did followe his Campe to *Belgrade*, and did often fall vpon his rewerd.

Soliman being departed out of *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* vsed all meanes to draw the Emperour to attempt the recovery of *Buda*; but for as much as he could not perswade him to stay in that Countrey, he obtained of him to leaue the Italian foot-men, together with Cardinal *Hippolito* there in Garison, against the Turkes: but they vnwilling to stay any longer, mutinying, by the perswasion of one *Marke de Volterra* putting themselves in order, in a great rage returned into *Italy*: with which their departure *Ferdinand* was so discontented, that coming to a composition with *John Serviss*, he granted him during his life, peaceably to enjoy such part of *Hungary* as then was at his deuotion; by reason whereof the wars for that time being ended in *Hungary*, *Ferdinand* bent his forces against the Lantgraue *Philip*: who being an enemy to the house of *Austria*, induced *Vlrich* Duke of *Witemberg* (assisted by *Francis* the French King) to take Armes against *Ferdinand*, for the recovery of his estate taken from him by the Emperor, and giuen to *Ferdinand* at the Diet at *Ratisbone*; in which action the Duke so valiantly behaued himselfe, that to *Ferdinand's* great losse and preiudice, he recovered his Duchie: in whose behalfe sundry Princes in *Germany* carried themselves so towards the Emperor and *Ferdinand*, that they permitted the Duke peaceably to enjoy his estate: Yet vpon condition, that from thenceforth the Duke should neuer take Armes against *Ferdinand* or the house of *Austria*.

After this peace, *Ferdinand* received Letters from *Lvves Gritti*, importing a request, which was, that if *Ferdinand* would be content to permit *Gritti* during his life to enjoy the Kingdome of *Hungary*, he would so deal with *Soliman*, that hee should confirm the same after *Gritti's* decease to *Ferdinand* and his heirs: which his demand, refused by *Ferdinand*, did much offend *Gritti*, who had been sent into *Hungary* by *Soliman* who fauoured him very much; so the end hee might assist *John Serviss* as his Protector, and haue a care of the confines of that Kingdome against *Ferdinand* and the incursions of the Christians; giuing him full authority both in peace and warre: *Lvves Gritti* parted in great pomp, *Soliman* hauing giuen him certain companies of Ianitories, with seven thousand other souldiers, bringing with him two Hungarian Captains his friends, who were in *Soliman's* pay; called *John Doccia* and *Vahan* *Bacciano*, with two companies of horse for his guard.

Being come into *Transilvania*, he made a publick proclamation, that as absolute Commissioner for *Soliman* he was come into that Kingdome to compound all differences. *Amario* Bishop of *Farradine* was Gouverner of *Transilvania* for King *John Serviss*, a Noble Gentleman, endued with many vertues, of great iudgement and generally beloved of the people; with whom he had great credit; who came not to meet and honour *Gritti* as he

Soliman raised his siege from before *Vienna*.

Guinz freed from the Turkish Army.

Soliman came into *Hungary* with 200000 men.

The Emperour *Charles* lost the wars against the Turkes in *Hungary*, 1526, so to war against *Christians* in *Italy*.

Lvves Gritti sent by *Soliman* into *Hungary*.

thought he was bound, representing the person of SOLIMAN. JOHN DOCCA, one of his Hungarian Captains hated this Bishop of *Varradine*, of whom hee had spoken much euill in their voyage, and that he was in secret a capital enemy to SOLIMAN and all his ministers, whereof hee had alwaies shewed effects, speaking much of his haughtinesse and pride: And GRITTI, seeing the Bishop stay long before he came vnto him, did easily beleue his malicious suggestion, who being of himself proud by nature, and very glorious, desired to be honoured at his first entrance into the Kingdome: whereupon, he grew much discontented with the Bishop, which DOCCA perceiving, hee thought it then time to bee reuenged of AMARIO, telling him, that he should neuer gouern wisely during this mans life, offering to go and kill him, or to bring him bound: whereto GRITTI consented. AMARIO was then vpon the way to meet with GRITTI, marching softly with 12000 men to do him honour: for, the season of the yeer was very hot, which caused DOCCA to breed more ielousie in GRITTI, saying, that he came for no good intent with such forces: whereupon he grew into choler, and gaue him order to go and do the effect, so as taking with him some companies of horse, he came in the night to the Bishops Tent, his people lying scattered abroad, and cut off his head. Then going to horseback, hee returned and presented it to GRITTI, whose choler being now past, and he better aduiled, repented the fact. The Bishops Tent with some others were spoiled by the Turks; and his people rising at the noise, found him dead, and vnderstood the manner: so as he being greatly allied in that Country, many of the chief Barons conspired against GRITTI, and resolved to be reuenged for that Noble Prelate: for whose death all the Transiluanians were so much grieved, that they ran generally to Arms without calling; so as in an Instant there was an Army of neer 40000 men, horse and foot. GRITTI hearing hereof, retired himself to *Mega*, into which he was receiued with some difficulty, where he meant to defend himself. The Army coming, the multitude ran rashly to giue an assault without battery, but they were repulsed with losse. MAIALATO (who was Generall of this Army, and a great friend to AMARIO) resolved to take it by siege, knowing they had no store of victuals. GRITTI seeing no succours come, both for that the Turkish Captains which liued on those frontiers, excused themselves that they could not leaue their charges without expresse commission from their Generall, who was farre off; and King JOHN (who hated him much, both for that he was come to be his competitor in the gouernment of the Realm, as also for his great cruelty committed vpon his Gouerner, and so worthy a man), in words made shew that he would assist him, and began to leuie ment to send him; but they came not in time.

GRITTI seeing himself thus abandoned, and all things desperate, fell sick and had recourse to the Moldauians who were in the Camp, intreating them to receiue him and his sonnes into their Quarter; which, PETER, their Prince promised: so as, coming forth at a little Port the next night, he was encountered by MAIALATO and the friends of AMARIO, who laying hold on him, they led him to the Generals Tent, where they caused his head to be cut off by a hangman; his children were taken, and (as some think) were secretly put to death by PETER, the Moldauian. DOCCA (who was the cause of this foule fact), was tormented and cruelly slain, with most of the Turks. Some write, that when as the hangman stript GRITTI, he found in his breeches a bag of iewels, to the value of 100000 crowns: His death of GRITTI was pleasing to many, especially to FERDINAND, for that he might now with more facility contend against King JOHN, his enemy, being no more supported by him.

After the death of GRITTI, King JOHN entered into Transilvania, and within fewe daies became Lord thereof; but being still molested by FERDINAND, he was forced to succor SOLIMAN for aid; who, hearing of the miserable death of GRITTI, was much displeased: but being certified that KING JOHN had no hand in it, and supposing that King FERDINAND had been the author, he sent MAHOMET, ATAGOLI, an old expert fouldier and wise, to defend the Frontiers of King JOHN against FERDINAND; who being very diligent, had in short time taken many places, ioyning with the Sangiac of *Bosna*, FERDINAND being unable to resist him for his many hinderances. Among others, they took a Castle in the Province of *Pozsac* called *Esfecchio*, very commodious for the passage of the Riuer of *Draua*, to enter into Hungary, the which he fortified very well, and manned with a good garrison: from whence he made incursions into FERDINAND'S Countrey, notwithstanding that there was a truce betwixt SOLIMAN and him, made before the coming of GRITTI, whereby he was content that JOHN SAPYSIO should be called King, and enioy that which he held, during his life. FERDINAND seeing the spoils which the Turks made, and being importuned by his

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subiects, he drew an Army together of eight thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot, and gaue the charge of Generall to JOHN CATTIANIER an old fouldier, who had won much honour at the defense of *Vienna*; and the Earl of *Ladron* was Generall of all the foot. This Army marching towards the enemy, being much staid vpon the way by their great Ordinance, they began to growe in distresse for victuals, their Commisaries failing them; yet being a little supplied, they marcht towards the enemy, their foot companies being much decayed: so the younger men cried out to fight; whereto the Generall CATTIANIER consented: so as they marched neer vnto the enemy lying at *Esfecchio*, where there passed many skirmishes betwixt the two Armies.

The Turk, seeing the Christian Army in great distresse of victuals, would not suffer his soldiers to go out of their Camp: wherefore the Commanders consulting together, they resolved to rise and march to *Ermano*, a Castleten miles off, whereas MAHOMET had drawne together much victual, the which they thought would satisfie their hunger; but hauing yielded, they found little corn and some wine, which would not suffice the Army two daies: wherefore they resolved to passe the riuer of *Bedrego*, and to go to *Valpiano*, where they heard there was great store of victuals. The Turks pursued them, and annoyed them continually with skirmishes, and the Christian Army grew into a general amazement. At night the Captains went to counsell, to consult what course they should take, and which way they should go. CATTIANIER was of opinion they should part that night towards *Valpiano*, a place of safety not farre off, where was store of victuals to refresh the Army, giuing order for the troops to march away at midnight: but there fell out great disorder, diuersle troops going away vpon the first watch before the word was giuen, euery company taking his owne way. CATTIANIER hearing this, was much amazed, and thinking that all the troops had taken the same course, he went away vnarmed and without his baggage. They write, that these unfortunate newes being deliuered to the Earl of *Ladron* (who slept, being oppressed with toil and watching) he returned to his rest vntill that some of his Captains awaked him, assuring him that their Generall was fled: wherewith this valiant man being troubled, he stood for a time in doubt, and could not beleue that a man practised in so many wars, and who had neuer yet deserved the name of a base coward, should with so great impiety do an act contrary to his honour. Then calling the Captains and chief of the companies together, he comforted them, and exhorted them either to dy gloriously, or to winne perpetuall honour by the victory: and being intreated by them all to take charge of the Army, he gaue order for their march, that they might recouer *Valpiano* if it were possible. Being ready to march, at the break of day they discovered the enemies troops, with whom they continually maintained skirmish, and continued their march: but being oppressed still with fresh troops of Turks, hauing lost many men, the footmen being tired with fighting, and almost dead with hunger, they were in a manner all cut in pieces. Count *LODOVICK*, being fore wounded, retired himself into a narrow lake adioyning, with three companies that remained: being oppressed with his hurt, and intreated by the Turks to yield, hee submitted himself.

MAHOMET, growne proud with this victory, sent the Earl of *Ladron*'s head, and many of the chief Captains, with a great number of their noses which were slain, vnto SOLIMAN. FERDINAND, hearing of this unfortunate successe, was wonderfully grieved, considering that it hapned by the basenes of his Generall, and other fugitiue Captains who were growne a scorn both to women and children. CATTIANIER, hearing hereof, wrote to FERDINAND, that he vnderstood his honour was much blemished in Court by his aduersaries; desiring, his Majesty would be pleased to giue him a safe conduct to come to Court to iustifie himself; the cause of this great ruine proceeding not from him, but from the Commisaries who had not according to their duties brought victuals to the Camp. FERDINAND granted his desire, and CATTIANIER came; but he had such cold entertainment from the King and the whole Court, that he repented his coming. He spake much in his owne excuse: but not able to defend his going from the Army, and hauing giuen no signe to depart, the rest were slain, euery man called him a base Traitor. FERDINAND hauing committed him to custody to punish him as he deserved, fearing with the losse of his honour, his life would bee in question, he made an escape by night, and fled to MAHOMET; who receiued him kindly, promising him great entertainment if he would bring *Austria* vnder SOLIMAN'S command: the which hauing promised, he parted and went to *NICHOLAS SADRINIO*, a man of great power in that Country, seeking to drawe him to serue the Turk: but *NICHOLAS*, hauing giuen him

Ferdinand
sends an Army
against the Turk

The flight of
Cattianier.

The Christian
overcome by
the Turks.

The death of
the Earl of Ladron.

The Bishop of
Varradine slain
by order from
Lewis Gritti.

The death of
Lewis Gritti.

The Turks enter
into Hungary.

him good words, flew him. Having cut off his head, he carried it to FERDINAND, making an ample relation of his wicked designe: for the which the King honoured him much, and rewarded him with the estate of CATTIANBR.

Peter, Prince of Moldavia, was constant and faithful.

About this time 1538, PETER gouerned in *Valachia* or *Moldavia*: he was nephew to DRACOLA, who had made the league with King MATTHIAS against AMVRATH. This PETER although he were a Christian of the Greek Church, yet was he a man of an ill disposition, faithlesse, inconstant, greedy of spoil, and without any conscience, to make his owne estate great. He was Tributary to SOLIMAN: but he carried himself so, that when any occasion was offered whereby he might annoy him for his owne good, he had no respect so as hee might do it covertly, or haue any colour to excuse it. He had friendship with King JOHN, and likewise with FERDINAND, and yet he laid wait to murder them. He assaulted FERDINAND'S Camp traitorously, neer to *Brassovia*: for which, King JOHN gaue him great thanks, thinking he had done it for his relief. PETER (who neuer took Arms but for his owne profit) growne proud by that former victory and the artillery which he had taken, soon after he invaded *Transilvania*, took many places, and spoiled the Countrey. King JOHN sent to expostulate with him, why he did him wrong vnder the colour of friendship; requiring restitution. The Moldavian answered, that he meant to be his friend; whereof he had giuen him good proof when he relieved him against FERDINAND. And if hee had made vse of VESTRICK, it was to secure CIZOUIO, against whom FERDINAND had a practice. He invaded the confines of *Poland* often: but at the last he was encountered by JOHN Earle of *Tornau* a valiant Captaine who fought with him, and ouerthrew his Army, and took forty peeces of Ordinance with FERDINAND'S Armes; he himselfe was wounded and fled into his countrey. King SIGISMUND was importuned by his subiects to make warre against him, and to ruine him, the which he would not doe without SOLIMAN'S leaue, being his tributary; who at that time hated PETER much, for that vpon his faith, LEVVS GRITTY had gone forth, and was slain, and also he had murdered his innocent children with great cruelty. And moreouer he paid not his tribute due.

Soliman hated Peter, Prince of Moldavia.

They write, that SOLIMAN took this request of SIGISMUND very kindly, shewing him such respect: to whom he made this answer. That he knew well the defects of the Moldavian, but it did belong to him as well to punish his seditious and wicked tributaries, as to defend the good; and soon after he entred *Valachia* with an Armie, but PETER fled out of the countrey: whereupon SOLIMAN made STEPHEN his brother, Prince in his place; and then returned, freeing both King JOHN and FERDINAND from the fear of his Armes. PETER being fled into *Cizovia* with his wife and children and chiefest treasure, King JOHN (who hated him very much) went to besiege the place; which being very strong, and well furnished with men and victuals, continued foure months, vntill that he had withdrauue the *Transiluanians* who were his subiects: whereat PETER being amazed, and seeing the danger, yielded himself and the place. King JOHN (who was pitifull by nature) although he knew his treacherous disposition, yet had he compassion of his miserable state, and received him courteously. Soon after, SOLIMAN wrote his Letters to King JOHN to send PETER to *Constantinople*: to whom JOHN made an humble relation in what manner PETER had yielded, and that he had promised him his life; beseeching him, that, as he was a Noble and generous Emperor, he would not suffer him, being his vassall and tributary, to fall of the faith he had giuen to that wretch, promising so to keep him as STEPHEN should haue no cause to fear. But SOLIMAN was not so satisfied, sending sharper Letters for him; and King JOHN, fearing to incense him, resolved to send him; but in such sort, that SOLIMAN, being a generous Prince, should bee forced to vse him with all clemency: and therefore being well accompanied, hee wrote, that he had sent him as an Ambassador, not as a prisoner; recommending him much. SOLIMAN vpon his submission, and the faith which King JOHN his friend had giuen him, was moued to mercy, and confined him onely to *Pera*. STEPHEN his brother, who reigned in his place in *Moldavia*, began to growe odious to all his subiects for his couetous disposition and cruell extortion of money; whereupon they slue him, which gaue good hope to PETER to recover his Countrey again: but the Nobility made choice of a young man called ALEXIVS, of the same house of DRACOLA. But soon after, those Noble men which are called Boiari, who made choice of him, cut off his head, and sent it to PETER, who was vpon the confines with an Army of Turks, to restore him into his estate; who by degrees put all those traitorous Boiari to death.

Peter restored to his Countrey.

In

In the beginning of the yeer 1538, DEVEL'S ASSEMBLER (a man of great account in *Bohemia*) seeing the negligence of SUPVSIVS his people, gathered together certain companies of foot and and horse; and going towards the Countreies guarded by the Turks garrisons, particularly to the City of *Treacy*, situate on the other side of the river *Tissa*, there hauing easily surpris'd those which had it in guard, in fewe houres took it: and hauing almost sacked it, he went through to the Citadell against a Squadron of the Turks horse; who vnderstanding of the surpris of *Treacy*, came to relieue the garrison: and coming to blowes with them, hee so distressed them, that they were constrained to retire; whereupon, returning to the City, and making an end of sacking it, loaden with the spoil, and hauing gotten certain peeces of artillery, he returned: whereat FERDINAND greatly rejoycing, bestowed many gifts vpon him. The Emperor, the Pope, and the Venecians being ioyned together in league against the Turk, he was comprised in the number of the confederats, in the yeer one thousand five hundred thirty nine. FERDINAND helping his brother the Emperor to suppress the *Cantois*, which rebelled against him, and tired with the continual warres of *Hungary*, he came to an agreement with King JOHN vpon condition, that each of them should continue in possession of what he held in *Hungary*, and that JOHN should freely enioy the title of king: and if that JOHN should haue no heires, that then the kingdome should fall to FERDINAND and his heires: provided alwaies that king FERDINAND should conceale this agreement from SOLIMAN, of whose displeasure JOHN stood highly in feare.

The matter was not so secretly handled, but that SOLIMAN had full notice of all their agreement. Whereupon being angry with JOHN, he often times charged him with ingratitude; and had it not been for his friends, and (that which did more import) the waite with the Persians, he had without doubt troubled him for it: who either for feare of SOLIMAN, or vpon some other occasion, being a while after displeased with FERDINAND, he took to wife ISABEL, the daughter of SIGISMUND King of *Poland*; who within fewe months appearing to be with childe, induced him to seeke to driue STEPHEN MALATO and BALASSO out of *Transilvania*, both gouernors of that Prouince: the one of which, which was MALATO, notwithstanding that he knew that SOLIMAN deadly hated him; yet he sundry times instantly sued to haue been by him crowned King of *Transilvania*: whereof JOHN being aduertised by SOLIMAN himselfe, who hated traitors and treason wonderfully; he sent to king JOHN the Letters which MALATO had written, blaming him for his carelesnes, to haue giuen the gouernement of his Prouinces to so faithlesse a man, exhorting him to repaire it, and to be more aduised hereafter when he should haue any occasion to make choice of the like gouernors: And to MALATO (whom he hated for the death of LEVVS GRITTY, and the Turkes which were slaine with him) he gaue a fowre answer, more by his countenance then his words; MALATO seeing himselfe rebuffed by SOLIMAN, and his treachery discovered to King JOHN, he entred into practice with King FERDINAND, who easily entertained it, by means of THOMAS NADASKY, brother in law to MALATO: who being receiued into FERDINAND'S protection, were assisted by him against King JOHN; but neither of them being of equall power to him, they were constrained, the one which was BALASSO, to retire himselfe; and the other being in *Megess* (a most strong place) was by King JOHN'S souldiers besieged: but King JOHN vnderstood that his wife Queen ISABEL in the meane time whilest he was about *Megess* had borne him a son.

During this siege, King JOHN lay at *Sabin*, being fallen into the relapse of a former sickness. The Captaines of the Army whom the King fauored most (being but a daies journey off) came to him to reioyce with him. Vpon this happy newes of hauing a successor to his kingdom, the king would needs be brought forth of his bed vnto the banquet, where eating more then was fitte, in the regard of the feuer which had neuer left him, his stomack hauing no strength to digest it, he fell againe into a feuer, whereof he died. By his testament (contrary to the Accord made with FERDINAND) he left his sonne heire to his kingdome, giuing him for tutors PETER VICENYO his kinsman, whom he had left for his Viceroy in *Buda* with the Queen; and Frier GEORGE Bishop of *Varradine* a man very faithfull and wise, vnder the protection of SOLIMAN. Who being nobly born in *Croatia*, after some time spent in the seruice of King JOHN, became a Monk in *Buda*, where hee had not long remained, but waxing weary of the Monastical life, he retaining still the habit, went out of the Couent, and returned to the seruice of JOHN in *Polonia*: to whom (being expelled his kingdome by FERDINAND, and remaining with IEROM LASKY) he did many seruices of importance; so as being very highly

highly respected by him, he created him after the recovery of *Transilvania*, and the rest of *Hungary*, Bishop of *Varadin*; and at his death, left him together with the Queen (mother vnto the child) Governer of the Kingdome: who in the year 1540, compounding with *MALETO*, in the name of the Queen refused to stand to the agreement made between *JOHN* and *FERDINAND*; and temporising with him, leuied certain companies of horse and foot: and to the end to be in the more safety, suing to *SOLIMAN* for aid, as to the Protector of the pupill, hee together with the Queen and the yong King retired to *Buda*: wherewith *FERDINAND* being highly offended, and therewith hoping to recouer that Kingdome, he leuied an Army: and in the mean time, sending Ambassadors to *SOLIMAN*, hee offered to giue him that tribute which King *JOHN* was wont to pay; but he first perswaded Queen *ISABELL*, that she contenting herself in peace to enioy *Transilvania*, should resigne the rest to him, according to the agreement made between him and her husband. But seeing that hee could obtain neither the one nor the other of his demands, he sent *LEONARD VELSCH* one of his Captains, with a great number of men of war, to molest the Queen. *VELSCH*, entering the Countrey of the yong King, went from *Strigonium* to *Visegard*, which he took without any difficulty; and hauing taken it, staid there certain daies to refresh his Army.

Then passing the river *Danuby*, and with the like celerity hauing taken *Pesthe* and *Vaccia*, he presented himselfe before *Buda*; wherein *VALENTINE DYRAC* (who in former time had serued *FERDINAND*) lay then in Garrison. This *DYRAC* to his great credite, without standing *VELSCH* defended the City, vntill that constrained by the Turkish souldiers, sent by the Saniaque of *Belgrado* to the reliefe of the yong King, *VELSCH* retired to *Visgard*; where hauing in few daies space taken the Citadel, and garrisoned it; in the name of King *FERDINAND*; and wintred his souldiers in the same place, without any molestation by the Turkes, vntill the end of that year: in the year one thousand five hundred forty four, the Turkes took the field with such furie, as hauing suddenly taken *Vaccia*, they sundry times attempted *Pesthe*; where being resisted by the valour of the defendants, they departed, fearing that *FERDINAND*'s Army (which being much increased, was come to make head against them) would haue defeated them, whose assaults they could not so well auoid; but being in ill plight, they lost many of their Arierguard. By reason of which good successe, *FERDINAND* hoping to haue taken *Buda*, gathered together 40000 men, which he sent vnder the conduct of *WILLIAM ROCKENDOLPH*, a Captaine of great worth, to take that City. *ROCKENDOLPH* comming thither, gaue many attempts: but being euery valiantly repulsed by the besieged, he saw that by assault he could not take the City, he therefore resolved to try what he could doe by siege: and besieging it round, he so kept victuals from the City, that had not *FRIER GEORGE* vied great diligence, the City doubtlesse had yielded. Neuertheless *ROCKENDOLPH* with words and threatnings frustrating the deuices of some seditious persons, continued the siege, till it was freed by *SOLIMAN*.

The Queen, being thus distressed in *Buda*, sent her Ambassadors to *SOLIMAN* to craue aid; who calling them into his presence, said vnto them, that hee had inuested King *JOHN* in that Realme of *Hungary*, the which should passe to his heirs; and that hee would, his promise should hold perpetually, as long as the heirs should remain obedient to him, and perform that wherunto they were bound: wherefore he confirmed his vassall and tributary. *STEPHEN* the pupill, giuing to the Ambassadors the Ensignes of the confirmation of friendship with the Infant; which were, a round shield, an iron mace with the handle of gold, a Semitar with a scabbard enriched with iewels, and a long robe of crimson veluet and gold; saying, that by those Ensignes which he sent him, he took him into his protection. These Ambassadors being thus happily dispatched, *LASCO*, sent by *FERDINAND*, arriued, and demanded the inuestiture of that Kingdome for him, with an offer of tribute, shewing the agreement which hee had made with King *JOHN*; but he could not be heard: and for that hee did often name the Emperor *CHARLES*, magnifying his power, *SOLIMAN* disdaining it, caused him to be put in prison. *SOLIMAN* vnderstanding that *Buda* was in great distresse, sent *MAHOMET* Basha with many men of warre, and a great quantity of victuals, to the reliefe thereof; promising to follow himself in person, as within fewe daies after hee did. Which so much troubled *ROCKENDOLPH*, that they forced him to retire into the Ile of *Comer*: for *MAHOMET* hauing victualled *Buda*, and being incamped within sight of *FERDINAND*'s Army, after many skirmishes he so much prouoked his enemies, that they ioyned with him in battell; wherein, after sundry accidents, *ROCKENDOLPH* being ouerthrowne, was constrained to flee; and many

of his Captains were taken prisoners. And *MAHOMET* Basha, sending to visit the yong king and Queen mother, perswaded her to hope well of *SOLIMAN* the great Turk; who, coming from *Adrianople* into *Hungary*, shortly after came to the Camp, bringing with him a great number of souldiers, with a resolution to free himself from troubles, and wholly to put *FERDINAND* out of all hope euer to recouer that estate.

SOLIMAN being come neere vnto *Buda*, he sent vnto the infant king three goodly hoiftes, with their furnitures of gold, set with iewels, and three Royall Robes of Gold, and to euery Hungarian Baron a Robe with a chaine of Gold: by his Ambassadors he sent word vnto the Queene that she should send the child with those Barons, vnto the Campe, excusing him that he came not to see her, being not the custome of the Otomans to see women in another house; neither would he in respect of her honor (being young and beautifull, the daughter of a King his friend, and the wife of his confederate) that she should goe into his campe. The Queene (they say) was much amazed, fearing for her son: but *FRIER GEORGE* perswaded her to send him speedily, least she should shew any distrust of that great Emperour. Being brought to *SOLIMAN*'s pavillion he embraced him louingly, the Hungarian Barons were honoured, and dined with the Basha; but in the meane time *SOLIMAN* had giuen order, that some of his captaines (making shew to visit the city) should seile vpon a port and draw in their men; the which they did before it was discovered; whereupon they disarmed the citizens, and lodged their troupes, but with great modestie and shewes of friendship.

SOLIMAN being aduertised that the city was at his command, he sent the Infant back vnto the Queene, but retained five of the Barons, which were *FRIER GEORGE*, *PETER VICCHIO*, *VALENTINE STEPHANIO*, *VERBESIO* the head Chancellor, and *VREAN BASHIAN* who had the guard of the city. The Queene seeing the city taken by fraud, and her Barons deteyned, sent humbly to intreate *SOLIMAN* that he would not blemish his great name of clemency and magnanimity, but obserue the faith giuen; and send back her faithfull Barons, who had alwaies deserued well of his greatnes and of the Turkish name. *SOLIMAN* was three daies in counsell touching this action. Some perswaded him to put the Barons to death and seile vpon the whole state. But *ROSTAN* Basha his son-in-law whom he fauored much, was of a milder disposition, aduising him to restore vnto the Queene the city and the Barons, and that *SOLIMAN* being a iust Prince should not vniuilly take from that poore pupill his kingdome, seeing that the father was his tributary and the Queene had offered it for her sons; that he should remember he had taken the Infant into his protection, and had confirmed him in that Realme with the vssuall ensignes and ornaments, the which if he should now take awaie, he should purchase himselfe perpetuall infamie with the world, to haue by fraude vsurped the Realme of a poore pupill, who had recommended himselfe vnto him, and had been confirmed by him; giuing many other reasons to the like effect. *SOLIMAN* took a middle course, sending word vnto the Queene, that she should part from *Buda*, for that he meant to hold it as a Bulwark against *FERDINAND*; and that she should go and raigne at *Lippa* beyond the river of *Tisus*; that he would receiue nothing of that kingdome, but his ordinary tribute, and defend the city and castle at his owne charge, whereupon all the Barons were sent back, but *VALENTINE* whom she could not obtaine by any suites; yet he promised he should haue no harme, and withal he assured that the yong king should be no sooner able to gouerne, but he would restore what soeuer belonged to him and was in his power.

The Queene departed from *Buda* to *Lippa* with her son and all her Royall furniture, accompanied with all her Barons, except *VALENTINE*, cursing the infidelity of such a Tyrant, and repenting in her hart, that she had not accepted the conditions offered by *FERDINAND*, to giue the prouince of *Sepuska*, and other places which he had taken, where she might haue liued with more quiet of minde, then to haue her son king of the whole Realme, subiect to so perfidious a Barbarian, as she might doubt howeuer he would deprime him. She said that this happened for her sins, to haue rather trusted in the friendship of a ciuel Mahometan then in a Christian King; who was milde, iust, and of the same faith: but she durst not discover her thoughts. *FERDINAND* hearing of the defeat of his Army; in fear of some greater losse, being allso sorry for the losse of *Buda*, a place of great importance for the defense of Christendome, he resolved to send Ambassadors presently to conqueering *SOLIMAN*, with conditions of peace, who were dispatched vnto him with very rich Presents, and falling down the river of *Dinnow*, they came to the Camp lying before *Buda*, and were honourably entertained by *ROSTAN* Basha, and brought into the presence of *SOLIMAN*: to whom they deliuered their Amba-

The city of *Buda*,
taken in the power
of *Soliman*.

The Queene de-
parts out of *Buda*.

Conditions pro-
posed by
Ferdinand to
Soliman.

sage, requiring in the name of FERDINAND; that he would grant him the Realm of Hungary for the same tribute which King JOHN had paid; promising to satisfie the Queen in the behalf of her son, shewing also that the said KING JOHN moved in his conscience, who told him he had no title to that Kingdom, having vniuſly vsurpt it, had promised it him after his death; whereof they produced the contract: by reason whereof, FERDINAND made war.

After two daies pause, SOLIMAN gaue answer to the Ambassadors by ROSEY, that hee was content to giue peace to FERDINAND whensoever he should restore the Forts, Cities, and places in Hungary; and for that he had been often prouoked to war, and spent much, yet he would impose no other penalty, but the payment of a small tribute yearly for the Arch-duchy of Austria, and that he should quit his pretensions to Hungary; threatening that if FERDINAND did not accept of these conditions of peace, he would not fail to take those places by Arms which were vniuſly vsurped. The Ambassadors said, that FERDINAND could not resolve to accept of these conditions without the priuity of the Emperor his brother, and therefore they craved some time of truce that he might write to him, and receive his answer. But SOLIMAN knew well that their designe was onely to win time, to the end that winter might approach, and the war be deferred; assuring himself, that FERDINAND would neuer accept of such unreasonable conditions, and therefore hee would not grant any truce. After twentie daies stay at Buda he retired to Constantinople, having giuen charge to the Sanguac of Belgrade to make an incursion into Austria, and to put all to fire and sword; and hee commanded CAÇON General of the Adventurers to spoil Moravia; but God had compassion of his people; for there fell such abundance of rain, that they could not do any thing to annoy the Christians.

This yeer 1542, King FERDINAND lost Marano, a place of great importance, and a Port of the sea vpon the Adriatick Gulf, neer to Aquilugia and the confines of the Venecians: it was treacherously surprisid by BELTRANIO SACCIA of Vienna who pretended to be a great friend vnto the gouernour, promising to bring him two barks of corne, whereof the Castle was in want: by which colour he brought in diuers fouldiers and became master of the Castle, and put the gouernour his wife and sonne in prison: but soon after, SACCIA himself was shut out of the Castle by his companion TURCHETTO da Neme, and forced to flee to Venice. It was besieged by FERDINAND'S forces which lay at Gradisca and thereabouts. TURCHETTO did pretend to hold it for the French King, sending to PETER STROZZI (who was then leuying of men for the King) to send him some troops. FERDINAND, being aduertised hereof, caused men to be leuiet in the County of Tirol and the bordering places, for the recovery of Marano, sending also a little Army of Barks, besieging it by sea and land. Having after a long siege reduced the Castle to extremity for want of victuals, in the end there appeared certain Venecian Gallies; who gaue the Commander to vnderstand, that they should depart from thence, for that the Segnory of Venice had bought the place of the French: and so the Venecians entred presently, and it was yielded vnto them.

The Emperors Ambassador complaining hereof to the State, they answered that they had bought Marano (that is to say, the circuit as it stands in the water, not meddling with the firm land) to auoid a greater scandall, the French King being else resolved to deliver it to the Turk; which they hoped FERDINAND being a wife Prince would not take in ill part. And thus Marano continued in the hands of the Venecians, and doth to this day.

This yeer 1543, there was a great Assembly of Princes and Noble-men at Noremberg, where they conferred touching the aiding of FERDINAND in his Turkish warres; soas they had drawne together from the Noble-men and free Cities 30000 foot and 7000 horse, all Germans. GERRARD HASSIUS commanded the foot, and THEODORIC VOFANGO the horse; and IOACHIM Marquess of Brandenburg was General. Coming to Puenza, the Gouernor of Stiria came to them with ten thousand horse; and ther were almost 15000 Hungarians on horseback, vnder the command of PETER PERENO, who had alwaies commanded the old bands. The Councell being now assembled at Trent, King FERDINAND sent his Ambassadors thither to demand aid: whereupon Pope PAUL sent him 3000 foot commanded by ALEXANDER VIARELLI and SPORZA PALEVICINO; and fearing the Turke he had great forces on the frontiers, before commaded by the Marquess of Marignian.

The Army being assembled at Vienna, they marched in good order along the banks of the river of Danaw, and went to besiege Pestaneer vnto Buda; where were many encounters and skirmishes, with great losse of either side, but especially of the Turks. The Towne was battered, and a furious assault giuen by the Italians and the Hungarians; but in the end they were re-

repulst with the losse of 700 men. It is written by VILLOA, that vpon their retreat a lanizary cried vnto them in the Italian Tongue, saying, You valiant Italians, retire and saue your selues, and let come those cowardly Durch-men: for, we desire to drawe the wine out of their heads, and to giue you all possible respects. After this repulse, the Commanders and Councell hearing of the coming of ACCOMAT Sanguack of Belgrade, and winter growing on, they refused to retire the Army, and returne to Vienna, much against the will of the Hungarians, the Marquess of Marignas and Viella; who perswaded them to batter it again the next day without giuing any assault, to the end it should not seem that the amazement of the former dayes success had made them depart: which done, they withdrew their artillery; and the Armie marched away in good order, being sometimes annoyed by the Turk, but still to their losse: and thus ended that shamefull enterprife.

At this time PETER PERENO, a Noble-man of Hungary, of great account, who had alwaies commanded the Hungarian horse, and done great seruice, being accused that hee practised to make himself King of Hungary, was by FERDINAND'S commission taken in the Castle of Strigenium by LESCANO a Spaniard, and giuen to MARIAN, who conducted him to Vienna, where he was put in prison, and could not be admitted to iustifie himself publicly. Which much discontented the Hungarians, seeing he was a valiant Captain, greatly beloued of them; som thinking he was falsly accused by such as were neer FERDINAND and enuid him.

FERDINAND, imploying himself to the affairs of Germany, vsed all means to hinder the meeting of the Princes of Germany in Smalcald, with the Ambassadors of the free Towns, who (as the same went) were assembled to the prejudice of the Emperor. Which for that he could not effect, he assaid to make peace between the Emperor and the French King, notwithstanding that both in the one and the other he found great difficulty: neuertheless, hee so handled the matter, that in the beginning of the next yeer they agreeing vpon sundry conditions, in the yeer 1544 the articles of peace were confirmed by them both.

In the beginning of the yeer 1545, FERDINAND sent his Ambassadors to the Councell of Trent, to the end that the disagreement in matters of religion in Germany might be reconciled according to the Emperors desire: but hee seeing the ill will which the Assembly at Smalcald bare to the Emperor, and that the same increased, by his Lettres hee perswaded each of them to quietnes: which perswasions taking no effect, the Emperor came from Flanders into Germany; where he obtained aid from the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Ferrara, and from euery Potentate in Italy some, but chiefly from Pope PAUL: who seeing that the warre should be waged against the Lutherans, countenners of his Holiness, sent him twelve thousand footmen and six hundred horse, commanded by his nephew OCTAVIUS FARNESSE the Emperors son-in-law, with his brother the Cardinall ALEXANDER FARNESSE, Legate à Latere for his Vncle the Pope. With which supplies, the Emperor having in the yeer 1546 and 1547 distressed his enemies, he restored the Duke of Brunswick to his estate; who from the yeer 1543, had by the Lantzgrau, and JOHN FREDERICK Duke of Saxony, liued depriued of his duchy; and notwithstanding the promise made to Duke MAYRICK, assuring him that the Lantzgrau should be restored to his Countries; yet he neuertheless was likewise taken prisoner the same day that according to the agreement they spake together, soas Germany being in short space in quiet, Duke JOHN FREDERICK was depriued of the dignity of Elector, and together with many other Captains of the league committed to prison in the yeer one thousand, five hundred, forty seuen.

In the yeer 1545 SOLIMAN came again into Hungary with a great Army, sending to besiege Palponia, a Town belonging to PETER PERENO (who at that time was prisoner with FERDINAND) in the which his wife was, with a garrison of Hungarians: but hee yielded the place vpon good conditions, the which were duly obserued. After which, they besieged Sals, another Town belonging to this Lady; the which was valiantly defended, and many Turks slain: but being forced in the end by their continuall assaults to retire into the Castle, they offered to compound. ACCOMAT who commanded that Army, disdainig that so little a place should make such resistance, said, that he would accept of no other conditions, but discretion: whereupon, yielding they were all slain, to terrifie the rest. SOLIMAN being come to Buda, he sent to besiege Strigenium: in the which, SALAMANCA and LESCANO, two Spaniards, commanded for FERDINAND; the one hauing charge of the City, the other of the Castle: where, after many exploits of warre and assaults giuen, the Commanders began to faint, and resolved to yeeld (as it was thought) to saue the wealth which they had gathered together; which

Solimans answer to the Ambassadors.

Marano treacherously surprisid.

The words of a lanizary.

The end of the war of Pest.

Petero imprisoned by Ferdinand.

Peace between the Emperor and the French King.

The Pope sent 12000 foot and 600 horse to aid the Emperor against the Protestants.

Ferdinand's preparations against the Turk.

Solimans comes into Hungary, Palponia taken.

Pest besieged, and the Christians are repulsed.

the souldiers discovering, cried out, that they might yet defend it valiantly; but they could not prevail: whereupon, the Town was yeilded to SOLIMAN, vpon condition to haue their liberties and liues.

From thence the Turks went to *Tatta*, a Castle neer to *Gomora*, the which was commanded by HANNIBALL TASSO of *Bologna*, and ANTONIO German, with a garrison of 800 men; who despairing to defend so small a place against so great an Army, yeilded it without fight, being sufficed to depart freely. The Earle of *Tornello*, who commanded in *Gomora*, put these two Captains in prison, and cut off TASSO's head, leauing ANTONIO to FERDINAND'S censure, who referred him to the same Sentence which *Tornello* had giuen of the Italian Captain: and so they died both of one death. Then the Turks went to besiege *Alba Regalis*; which they battered, and gaue diuerse assaults: but in the end it was yeilded to the Turks by the wilfulness of the Citizens, contrary to the will of the Commander and souldiers, vpon condition to haue their goods and liberties: the like was granted to the Italians and Germans, but not to the Hungarians; and they departed without the losse of any thing. After which, the Turk retired with his Army to *Constantinople*.

FERDINAND went against the Bohemians, which in the behalfe of the Duke of *Saxony* had rebelled against him: and being com into the Kingdome, after much resistance and apparant danger of his person, he at length got the Castle of *Prague*, wherein being entred, hee put the Bohemians in such fear, that notwithstanding the many difficulties, yet hee subdued them in such manner, that they yeilded themselves absolutely to his mercy. And so hauing accomplished this enterprize, he sent his eldest sounne MAXIMILIAN with certain gallant troops of horse to the aid of his brother the Emperor; and hee himself in the mean time neuer desisted, together with Duke MARYCIE, to trouble Duke JOHN FREDERICK. In the day of the battell beyond the Riuer *Albis*, he not onely assisted his brother with his forces, but with certain very good troops of horse came thither in person; where hee shewed himself no lesse a valiant man at Arms, than a most prudent Commander. After which victory, returning into *Bohemia*, he celebrated the obsequies of his wife ANNA, who in the beginning of the year died in child-bed: which obsequies he could no sooner solemnize, by reason of the wars in *Germany*, and the insurrections in *Hungary*.

FERDINAND, hauing ended the wars of *Bohemia*, and helpen his brother to suppress his enemies, in the year 1548, holding a Synode with the Emperor in *Ausburgh*, there were sixteen Institutions published appertaining to religion, with expresse order, that the same should be obserued till the dissolution of the Councell of *Trent*; which ordinance was called an *Interim*: wherein was contained what was commanded to be beleued till the determination of the said Councell. After which publication, the Emperor desirous that his son PHILIP, Prince of *Spain*, should be acknowledged by the Netherlands for their legitimate and naturall Lord, he married his daughter MARY to MAXIMILIAN Arch-duke of *Austria*, eldest son to his brother FERDINAND, to the end that they should make their residence in *Spain* vntill the return of PHILIP: and purchasing a dispensation from the Pope, hee publishing the nuptials, sent him into *Spain*, accompanied by the Cardinall of *Trent*, and the Earle of *Mansfeld*, and many other of the German and Bohemian Nobility. But first, before his departure, he obtained for him of his father FERDINAND the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, to the end that he should come into *Spain* with the greater dignity; where, as Gouverner of those Countries, he remained till the return of Prince PHILIP.

In the year 1551, FERDINAND receiued Letters from SOLIMAN the great Turk, wherein shewing himselfe discontent both with FERDINAND and the Emperor, for that *Andræw Doria* had taken the town of *Africa* from DRAVOT Ratis a Pirat, he protested, that if it were not redressed, he would cruelly reuenge the injury don to his Captain DRAVOT. Whereunto FERDINAND made answer, that for as much as Pirates were not comprised in the Articles of agreement, neither hee nor his brother were bound to anything. With which answer dispatching the messenger, in the month of May hee sent JOHN BAPTISTA CASTALDO into *Transilvania*, to assist Frier GEORGE against Queen ISABELLE who hauing in former time drawne great part of the *Transilvanians* to her deuotion, and sought to preferre that Province for her sonne, fell at open variance with the Frier: who, ambitiously desiring to continue his government, gaue FERDINAND to understand, that the Queen hoping by the Turks means to hold that Country, was again risen against him, and sought to driue him out of that estate: which for that he knew to be very preiudiciall to all Christendom, he had aduerted

fed him thereof; therewith entreating him, that for the preferuation of the country, he would be pleased to relieue him against the Queens inuasions, which daily troubled him.

FERDINAND, induced by these reasons, sent (as before is said) Castaldo to the Frier: who as his Lieutenant General comming to *Agria*, leuied 5700 foote-men, and 1700 horse; with which passing the riuer *Tissa*, he went to *Debrezen*, where finding Andrew Batur, and Thomas Melaidi, principall Lords of that kingdome, he went into *Transilvania*: where hauing for the space of three months besieged *Colofuarre* in the behalfe of the Frier, he was aduertised that the Frier through a new composition with the Queen, hauing taken *Alba Iulia*, was retired from the warres; and that he had neuertheless sent him word, that if he would meet him at *Egnet*, he would speake with him. Whither Castaldo being come, after many discourses and treaties past between them, obtaining of the Frier the Citie of *Alba Iulia* to winter his people in; he had word from the Queen, that she would come to an agreement with FERDINAND, according to the covenants made with her husband: so that after many conuentions, comming to *Colofuarre*, whither were already come the most part of the Lords of that kingdome, ISABEL in the name of her sonne renounced, and gaue vp the kingdome and estate of *Hungary* to Castaldo, who in the name of FERDINAND accepted the same. After which renunciation, she granted to the most insatiable Frier all his demands, which were vnreasonable, together with the Archbishoprick of *Strigoniun*, being at that time voide. Castaldo accommodating that Province according to the order receiued from FERDINAND, and as he thought most expedient, celebrated the nuptials between one of FERDINAND'S daughters, and John, at the first called Stephen, the Queenes sonne. But the ambitious Frier, not content with the agreement, by the means of a Frenchman, who was a spie for the Turk in that kingdome, he acquainted Soliman with the whole agreement and composition made between FERDINAND and the Queen. Wherewith Soliman being highly displeased, shortly after sent the Beglerbey of *Grecia*; who passing with great celerity to *Belgrado*, came to *Beche*, and tooke it, with *Bekerque* and *Senate*: and hauing without any resistance, vpon composition taken *Lippa*, he went without any opposition made by the Christians, to *Themeswar*; where encamping himselfe, he understood that Castaldos Army was come. With much ado, he hauing induced Frier George, then made Treasurer of that kingdome, and Vauode of *Transilvania*, to leue forces against the Turk, he brought it so to passe that he constrained the Beglerbey to raise his siege from before *Themeswarre*; notwithstanding that the Frier euer endeouored all that he could to hinder Castaldos proceedings.

The Frier vnderstanding of the Turkes departure, went to *Lippa*; where he stayed not long, till by Pope *Inlio* at the request of FERDINAND, he was made Cardinall; yet he sought to crosse Castaldos designs, and to betray him and FERDINAND'S whole Army into the hands of the Turkes: hoping by this means, not onely to reconcile himselfe to Soliman, but to become absolute Lord of *Transilvania*. Whose wicked practice being made frustrate, Castaldo continued the siege of *Lippa*: which after many skirmishes and assaults, comming into Castaldos power, was giuen in prey to the Souldiers, who loaden with spoyle, presently besieged the Fortresse; about which hauing spent some daies, they had taken the same, together with *Oliman* Gouvernor thereof, if the Friers villany had not frustrated Castaldos purpose. Who desiring by these means to obtaine the Turkes good will, dealt so, that he set *Oliman* at liberty: where with Castaldo being infinitely displeased, sought to abate the Friers authority: but failing of his purpose, he dissembled the matter.

Winter being come, FERDINAND'S forces leauing *Transilvania* (he being vnwilling they should remaine there) stayed vpon the frontiers of the enemy. After whose departure CASTALDO conducting the Artillery into the kingdom, discovered to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that FERDINAND had commanded Frier GEORGE should be put to death; but being vnable, without great circumspection, to bring it to effect, he willed PALLAVICINO to be in a readinesse vntill he gaue him further direction. In the meane time repairing to the Citadel at *Lippa*, he stayed neere to *Paradin*: and sending his Army before, he ioyned with the Frier riding together in one Coach to *Buise*, in which place being againe solicited by FERDINAND to make away the Frier, CASTALDO speedily wrote to SFORZA PALLAVICINO that as soone as hee might, he should with his troupes come to conferre with him; about what course was to be taken in that business. Whereupon PALLAVICINO comming to *Buise*, and hauing laid the plot for the Friers dispatch, he went to seeke him iust at the time when he should haue said Masse: with whom CASTALDO holding a long discourse shew-

Strigoniun taken.

Tatta yeilded to the Turks.

Alba Regalis taken.

Lippa taken by Castaldo.

Meanes used by Castaldo to betray Frier George.

Ferdinand's gaue Bohemia to his son Maximilian.

Castaldo sent to aid Frier George against the Queen.

ed him cher a good countenance, notwithstanding that he was in all occasions croft by him : and his infoleny was fuch, that he forbore not openly to negotiate with the Turkes. Whereupon CASTALDO directing thofe which fhould kill him, in what manner they fhould difpatch him; he appointed his fecretary MARCO ANTONIO FERRARI of *Alexandria* (vnder colour to get the Friars hand to certain Letters which SPORZA PALLAVICINO fhould beare to FERDINAND) to come to him, vpon the eighteenth day of December, the fame yeere. Who coming in the company of *Pallauicino* into the Caffe with certain Harguebuziers, and prefenting the Letters to the Friar, to the end he fhould fubfcribe them; after that the Friar had aduifedly read them, ftooping downe to write vpon a litle table which was in the chamber, *Ferrari* drawing his poynard flabbd him twice, which being of no fufficient force to kill him, it behoued *Pallauicino* (who vpon the noyfe ranne into the chamber) to fet his helping hand to the worke: for the Friar was a gallant ftrong fellow; who turning to him that flabbd him, threw him to the ground, and therewith made fo great a noyfe, that *Pallauicino* comming into the chamber and feeing *Ferrari* downe, fetting hand to his fword, gaue the Friar fuch a blow on his head, that he cleft the fame in two: an ad truly worthy of great reprehention, if the behaviour of the man had not deferved it. For *Frier George* was endued with fuch excellency of wit, and therewith was of fo generous a fpirit, and fo diligent in all matters of importance, that FERDINAND himfelfe (who caufed him to be flaine) would often lay openly, that he envyed the Yauode for nothing, but *Frier George*.

The Friar dying in this manner fuddenly, *Cafaldo* imprifoned his great friend *Francis Thendi*, who to efcape from FERDINAND'S forces, had after the Turkifh manner clad himfelfe in Scarlet, whole imprifonment was a great helpe to *Cafaldo*: for *Thendi* being reconciled, was the caufe that the *Sicoli*, a moft fierce people of *Transilvania*, yielded obedience to the King of the Romances; which people with others, through *Cafaldo*'s endeuour, within fewe daies fubmitted themfelves. But in the yeer one thoufand five hundred forty two, *Soliman* vnderftanding of the death of *Frier George*, fent two Armies into *Transilvania*, to invade the fame in two feuerall places: where *Cafaldo* thinking by fortifying the frontiers, to enteraine the Turkes vntill the coming of an Army out of *Germany*, he fent *Frier George* treafure to FERDINAND; and taking *Seghedine*, had fundry fupplies from the Lords of that kingdom; and fortifying *Lippa* and *Themeswarre* he gathered thofe men together which (to auoide the rage of the Turkes) came to his Campe.

The death of Cardinall *George* bred great rumors and difcontents in *Transilvania*: the inhabitants being much affected to their King, imagined that the death of *Frier George* did not proceed of any treaty he had with the Turkes, but that FERDINAND taking away the dogge which kept the flocke, he might (as they faid) with more eafe afterward deuoure it: but in the Confiftory at *Rome*, they were much scandalized, and FERDINAND blamed to haue committed fo great an exceffe vpon a facred perfon, and of that eminency. The matter was much aggravated: and although that FERDINAND was otherwife well refpected, and held for a iuft Prince, and of great bounty; yet the Pope would not abfolue him, being excommunicate, without the confent of the Cardinalls: but making the truth appeare by his minifters, and the danger wherein thofe Realmes were, if he fhould not haue vfed that prevention, in the end hee obtained abfolution, not without the contradiction of many Cardinalls, where-to the Popes facility was a great helpe: And not long after, *Sforza*, and all the reft that were actors in the death of *Frier George*, were in like manner abfolued, but with farre greater difficulty.

FERDINAND vnable to fend fuch fuccours as he had promifed, by reafon of the warres in *Germany* between his brother the Emperour and *Maurice Duke of Saxony*, perfuaded *Cafaldo* to beare his fortune in the beft manner that poffibly he could; promifing with all poffible fpeed to relieue him. Who perceiving that the Moldauian, and *Mahomet* Balha were with a great Army come into *Hungary*, to invade *Transilvania*; he fent *Felix Earle of Arco*, to defend the Caffe of *Brasovia*. And obtaining great reliefe and victuals, from the City of *Zibinio*, he endeuored to reinforce his troups, and to fortifie many places; but this nothing furthered FERDINAND'S proceedings: For by reafon that the Articles of agreement were not obferued to *Isabel*, many of thofe people rebelled againft him, and after much contention, hee was constrained to come to blowes with them: For fpendng much time, both in lofing, and in recovering, the Turkes daily conquered more and more. Who taking *Lippa*, and *Themeswarre*, with many other places, by an order from *Mahomet*, the Balha, together with the

the Balha of *Buda*, marched to the Caffe of *Drigall*, before which lay *Sforza Pallauicino* with fix thoufand men, Germans and others: who valiantly affaulting the Caffe, was at vnawares let vpon by the Balha; with whom comming to fight, and performing the office both of a valiant Souldier, and prudent Captaine, he was in the end ouerthrowne, and fhortly after with many other Captaines taken prifoner, and brought (by a Turke which charging him in the flanke with his Cimitare had wounded him very fore) to the Balha: from whom he was afterwards ransomed for a great fumme of mony. After which, *Mahomet* to the great slaughter of his men, took *Salonch*, built by FERDINAND in a ftrong place beyond the riuer *Tiffa*; the loffe whereof greatly troubled FERDINAND. Who feeing that his affaires notwithstanding the valour and wife dome of *Cafaldo* daily went from ill to worfe, and vnderftanding that the people of *Transilvania* were wholly reuolted to the Queene, greatly fauoured by *Mahomet* Balha, and that they had often praftised to kill *Cafaldo*, he commanded him that notwithstanding *Mahomet*'s retreat, defpairing to take *Agria*, long attempted by his people, he fhould retire. Which *Cafaldo* putting in execution, placed the Spanifh and Dutch fouldiers in *Zibinio*, and other places neere adiacent: and hauing fortified *Dena*, after much prouifion made, he went to *Alba Iulia* to winter the reft of his Army. In the meane time, abfolution came from *Rome* for thofe which kild *Frier George*. And the yeer 1553 being come, *Francis Thendi*, fauouring the Queenes caufe, brought it fo to paffe, that notwithstanding the many Councils, wherein *Cafaldo* was euer prefent, a great number of the Lords of *Transilvania* in the behalfe of the Queene, tooke Armes againft FERDINAND, and expulfing FERDINAND'S forces, reeftablifhed her, together with her fonne in her eftate.

That yeer being ended, and the yeer 1554 begun, FERDINAND fent his Ambaffadors to his Nephew *Philip* in *England*, to congratulate his mariage with *Mary Queen* of that Country, who fucceeded her brother *Edward*. And in the yeer 1555 dyed *Joane*, mother to FERDINAND, and the Emperour *Charles* the fixt, in *Spain*, whose death FERDINAND took very grieuoufly. In the meane time taking a truce with the Turke, who vpon an acknowledgement of a tribute, fuffered him peaceably to enioy all that he held in *Hungary*. King FERDINAND (as fome write) did vpon the conclufion of this truce yeeld to pay vnto the Turke a yeerely penfion of 30000. crownes, but not by way of tribute; for the confirmation whereof, he fent his Ambaffadors to *Conftantinople*. Yet the Balha of *Buda* had no will to peace: for in the beginning of the yeer, 1556 he complained of wrongs done vnto them by the Garri-fons of *Sigeth*, *Babot*, and other neighbour places; whereupon he drew together 10000. men, and fuprised *Capofuiner* and *Babot* fufpecting no danger, with the like hope he went to *Sigeth*, but tarried not: yet he returned fooner after with a great Army and began the fiege. The towne was defended by valiant fouldiers, vnder the command of *Marke Horuato* a worthe gentelman, and of a noble family. At that time FERDINAND was troubled with tumults in *Transilvania*, procured by *Peter Vitechi*: who not onely perfuaded *Soliman* to caufe *Transilvania* to be reftored vnto him, belonging vnto him as he faid by hereditary right; but he alfo difwadde all the fubiefts from their obedience to the young Yauode. Moreover *George Bebequius* infested the confines of *Agria*, taking certaine caftles with the helpe of the Valachians. FERDINAND being oppreffed with fo many enemies, he fent to the Princes of *Germany* being afsembled at *Ratisbon*, to craue aide, and in the meane time he leuied fouldiers with his owne reuenues. His troups being ready, the rendez vous was appointed at *Camitia* a towne in *Stiria*, where they refolved to befiege *Babot*, thereby to relieue *Sigeth*. The Turks left the fiege, and went with all fpeed to encounter the chriftians, where notwithstanding that they were more in number and had the aduantage of the ground, yet they were beaten and forced to retire with very great loffe; wherein 300 Aultrian horfe which they called the black bandes, did fo charge the Turks in the retreat as they confefled they neuer dealt with more fearefull enemies.

FERDINAND being aduertifed of this encounter at *Babot* he did much honour the Earle of *Serine* and the other commanders: and being defirous to finifh the warres he leuied new troups and made his fon FERDINAND Generall of the Army; but before he could attaine to the Campe, the Turks had againe inuefted *Sigeth* with a new fiege: affuring themfelves to carrie it, they planted their battailes, and vfed all perfuafions and threats to draw them to yeeld; but the gouernour nor his fouldiers would not be moued, although they were in fome want of powder and victuals, but made daily fallies and returned with much honour, and great fpoiles, which made the Balha defpaire of the event, and refolued to leaue it. They write that the befieged fhewed fuch valour, as the Balha wept, hearing that he had flaine but one chriftian in fixe daies

Sforza Pallauicino wounded, *Georgi* taken prifoner by the Turkes, before the Caffe of *Drigall*.

Sigeth attempted to raine by the Turks.

The Turkes to Raine at *Babot*.

The Turkes, leaue *Sigeth*, daies

The death of *Frier George*.

Exploits of the
Archduke Fer-
dinand
in Hungary.

Advice made
with the Turke.

The Turke
threateneth the
Transilvanians.

daies, and so he retired. The Arch-duke FERDINAND being come to *Canisio* to the Army, they took *Carioth*, *Babot*, *Saint Martins*, and diuerse other Townes in those parts: and the garrison of *Sigeth* being now at liberty, went as far as the walls of *Quinqueecelesia*, and brought away great spoils. *Charles Serotin*, a Baron of *Moravia*, was sent to refresh *Sigeth* with victuals, powder, and all kinde of warlike munition: the which hauing performed accordingly, he returned within few dayes to the Archduke, who hearing that the Turkes drew all their forces together, and seeing Winter approach, and diseases to creepe into his Armie, hauing freed *Sigeth* from Siege (which was the chiefe end of that expedition) he resolved to returne to *Vienna*, being also called home by Letters from FERDINAND his father, who receiued him ioyfully about the end of *November*. In the Archdukes retreat, the Turkes (contrary to their usuall custome) neuer followed, but like men amazed kept themselves within their defences: soon after *Soliman* made a truce with FERDINAND, but the affaires of *Transilvania* would not suffer it to hold.

There came a Turkish Embassador into *Transilvania*, who bringing (as hee sayd) hope of peace, they intreated FERDINAND to giue them leaue to treat with him. A conference then being appointed by his suffrage, the Turke deliuered a farre other charge then they expected: which was, that expelling FERDINAND's soldiers, they should presently receiue *John*, (who was baptized by the name of *Stephen*) sonne to the first *Vaiuode*, for their King: which being done *Soliman* would accept of their tribute, and vouchsafe them his fauour; but if they did otherwise, he would take reuenge of them. He did also write vnto *Andrew Batori*, a man of great credit amongst the *Transilvanians*, complaining that they had receiued forraigne forces, who committed many insolencies, and that he would come with a great Army, to expell them, punishing them severely, if they did not obey his commandements. The *Transilvanians* being terrified with these threats, acquainted *Castaldo* withall: who came vnto the assembly of the Noble men; where he refuted all *Soliman's* threats, perswading the *Transilvanians*, rather to dye honorably, then to liue basely in the Turkish seruitude. Wherefore, it was concluded to pay him the promised tribute, the which if he refused, then to command him to depart out of their confines; but the Ambassador seeing he could obtain no other thing, receiued the tribute and returned.

After which, *Isabell* mother to *John* the *Vaiuode*, expelling all that fauoured FERDINAND got the whole government into her hands, partly through the peoples fauour, and partly relying vpon the Turks; and Polonians friendship: which she might effect the more easily, for that the plague had consumed many thousands of men, and made the whole countrey in a manner desolate. FERDINAND did forbear to take Armes against her though iustly incensed, knowing that the king of *Poland* and other Princes, would treat with him about a peace.

CHARLES the Emperour hauing giuen vp the states of the Low Countries, the kingdoms of *Spain*, and all his other kingdomes to his son *Philip*; FERDINAND sought to suppress and extinguish the preaching of the Gospell in *Germany*; and receiuing Letters of his brothers renunciation made to his son, he infinitely commended his resolution.

That yeere being ended, and the yeere 1556 being come, he was aduertised that his brother the Emperour hauing renounced the Empire vnto him, was retired into *Spain*, to lead a solitary life; for which yielding him thanks by his Letters and Ambassadours, he went to *Vicna* to make prouision for the warres, which (as it was said) *Soliman* would make in *Hungary*: where spending the rest of that yeere, he remained vntill the yeere 1557. In the beginning of which yeere, he interposed himselfe betweene King *Philip* and the Pope, perswading them to peace: for the Pope induced by his Nephew the Cardinall *Cassia*, made warre against the King. And that yeere being ended, in the beginning of the yeere 1558, he was by the Electors according to the will of his brother *Charles*, chosen and proclaimed Emperour; no man but the Pope contradicting his election, who affirmed that the resignation made by the Emperour *Charles* could not be done without the Popes consent: but his exception being reiected, FERDINAND was chosen and proclaimed lawfull Emperour. Not long after, hee had newes that his brother *Charles* was departed out of this world: for whose death he with his whole Court were very forie; neuertheless suppressing his griefe, he celebrated the exequies with great pompe, and presently sent his Ambassadours to King *Philip*, to condole the common losse. Soone after the deace of the Emperour *Charles*, in the beginning of the yeere 1559, FERDINAND vied all his endeavour to make a peace betweene King *Philip*, and *Henry* the French King; which after many treaties being concluded, and an alliance made, he was exceeding glad, for that after seuen-

peace betweene
King Philip of
Spain and
Henry of
France.

tie yeeres continuall dissenion, peace was now made betweene those two mighty kings, which was proclaimed through all Christendome. A little while after, in the beginning of the yeere 1560, FERDINAND was confirmed in the Empire by the new Pope, who willingly approved his election, and held it an vnworthie thing, after a peace so long desired, againe to bring it into new combustions: and so following the desire of that Prince, hee consented to the calling of a Councell. In the yeere 1561 he made proclamation to all Prelates and Nations, of a Councell to be held the yeere following, wherein the Articles proposed by the Lutherans should be determined. And in the yeere 1562 a Councell was againe called, to be held in the city of *Trent*, whither FERDINAND sending the Prelates of his dominion, perswaded all the Princes of *Germany* to doe the like: and writing to his Nephew King *PHILIP*, and to the King of *Portugal*, and to all the other Princes of Christendome, he vied such means that all the Princes according to his desire, sent the Bishops of their countries with their particular Ambassadours to that Councell, wherein the matters of greatest importance were handled concerning religion. In which time FERDINAND desiring that some one of his sons after his deace might succede him in the Imperiall dignity, he called the Princes Electors to a Councell held at *Frankford*, where propounding to them his desire, he alleged that in respect of the Turke it was requisite it should be so; and after the matter had been long debated, he obtained his purpose to his content: which being concluded, he made his son *MAXIMILIAN* with in fewe daies after to be crowned King of the Romans. After which ceremonies, going to *Jscrush* to see his daughters, he vnderstood that the truce lately treated of with *SOLIMAN*, not only took effect for ten yeeres, but that at his sute *Don ALVARO de Sande* was released out of prison, together with three other principall Knights, taken in the yeere one thousand, five hundred sixty, in the enterprise of *Tripoli*, by *DRAGOY RAYS*. At that time were great wars in *France* between the Papists and the Huguenots, which the Emperour fought to haue pacified: but that nation was so extremely incensed, that the Emperours perswasions could nothing preail among them.

In the yeere 1564; the Councell of *Trent* being dissolved, FERDINAND came to *Vienna*; where falling sick of an Ague, and knowing by the vehemency of his disease that his life drew neere to an end, he sent for all his children, which then were disperised into sundry places: to whom after he had giuen his blessing, together with many good exhortations, hee rendered his soule to God vpon the fifth day of Iuly in the same yeere. He was a Prince by all men reputed to be of singular bounty and piety, and of a most gentle and pleasing disposition, not very strong of body; but replenished with so much majesty, that whosoeuer saw him could not but respect him: for, being of a pleasing and affable condition, hee would most curteously incline himself to euery one that came to salute him. He was naturally merry, free from surfetting, and wore his beard rather short than long, and his hair so long, that it couered his eyes; with some baulnes. He was in all his actions (prosperous or aduerse) alwaies constant, houlding all things to happen to him by the will of God. He confessed himself three or foure times in the yeere, and with great deuotion receiued the Communion; willing that euery one in his Court should doe the like: so that his house seemd to be rather a regular Monastery, than a Court of secular men. He left behinde him many children, and had in all fifteen; foure sonnes; and the rest daughters, which were married to sundry Princes in Christendome. *ISABELL*, which was his first, was giuen in marriage to *SIGISMUND* King of *Poland*: *ANNE* was wife to the Duke of *Bavaria*; *MARY*, to the Duke of *Cleue*; *MAGDALEN*, a chaste Virgin; *CATHERINE*, to *FRANCIS*, Duke of *Mantua*; *ELENOR*, to *WILLIAM* Duke of *Alenia*; *MARGARET* was a Nun; *BARBARA* was married to *ALFONSO* the second Duke of *Ferrara*; *VERONICA* a Virgin and a Nunne; *HELEN* lived but a little while; and *IOAN* was wife to *FRANCIS* the great Duke of *Tuscany*. Of sonnes, besides the Emperour *MAXIMILIAN*, he had *FERDINAND* and *CHARLES*, Arch-dukes of *Austria*; and *JOHN*, who died very young. Hee had but one onely wife, and (as it was said) neuer before nor after knew any other woman but her; whom he loued so entirely, that he would not marry the second time. Hee much loued learned men, and gaue them great pensions for their maintenance. Hee neuer vndertook any warres but for religion; either against the Turke or the Lutherans, whom he vehemently persecuted.

The Emperour
confirmed by
Pope Sixtus.

The death of the
Emperour Fer-
dinand.

FERDINAND hauing been King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* foure and thirty yeeres, and Emperour seuen; to the great grief of his people, and of all the Princes of Christendome, ended his daies: After whose deace, his obsequies being celebrated with great pompe, sundry funerrall

Orations were made by diuers learned men : and his body being carried through *Moravia* into *Bohemia*, was buried in *Prague* by his wife.

FERDINAND seeing his end draw neere, called King MAXIMILIAN his sonne (who was to succede him in the Empire) to whom he made a long speech, touching the government of himselfe, and state, the which according to *Aristotles* relation, I haue presumed to set downe *Verbatim*, for that it deserves to be written in gold, for a perpetuall preside for all Princes to imitate: his words werethese. Deere son seeing it hath pleased his diuine maiesty to call me vnto him, and that my soule shall leave these earthly spoiles, I haue thought good to impart some things vnto you, which I hold very necessary : the which I intreate you to heare with an attentive care, seeing I deliuer them with a ioyfull heart: know then sonne that I leaue this world ioyfully, for that I found my selfe in a lodging which was not firme nor constant, wherewith I was much troubled : I repent not the time that I haue liued, hauing employed the whole course of my life in the seruice of god, and the increase of his holy faith: and I depart contented for that I leaue thee my son, in whom as in a liuely image of my body and soule, I trust, although I be dead, yet I shall in some sort liue, and that thou wilt imitate me in all my actions, according to my desire. The which I intreate thee to doe if thou louest me and thy selfe; and let it be thy chiefest study and care, to the end the world may know that thou art my son, and the strong pillar and firme support of the house of *Austria*: The which shall be easie when as thy counsels and actions, shall be squared by the rule of honesty and honor. Next if thou shalt see before thine eyes the reputation and glory of *RODOLPHVS* : (a great Prince, the honor of our house, and an excellent Emperor) of *FRANCISKE* thy great Grandfather, of *MAXIMILIAN* thy Grandfather, of *Charles* the Fifth thine Vncle, inuincible Emperours; and of my self who am thy father; and if like a good childe, thou shalt imitate their famous and worthy deeds, they will make thee glorious in future ages: but if thou shalt doe the contrarie, thou shalt reape nothing but infamy and dishonor; For they which spring from noble and glorious Princes are held base and vnworthy, when as their actions doe not concur with their progenitors whose deedes are not without great iudgement recorded in writing to posterity. It shall not be needfull to tell thee what helps the valiant and worthy deedes of our progenitors haue giuen to mee and the Emperour my brother, in the laborious course of our liues, for that our actions do shew them. Know then sonne, that I leaue thee a heavy burthen, that is the government of the Empire and of my kingdomes: but if thou proue a good and vertuous Prince, they will seeme light vnto thee: be then my son such a one, as thy subiects may not lament the losse of thy father: that is to saie, strine to exceede me in their good vylage and government. And to the end (with the Empire and state which I leaue thee) thou maiest haue Armes to defend them, I will put thee in minde like a good father what thou art to doe, the which will be happie and valiant Armes. Those things which I loued in my life (if thou wilt shew thy selfe to be my son) do not contemne after my death: I re commend strictly vnto thee the worship of religion, reuerence to the Sea of *Rome*, honour to God, and iustice, if thou wilt haue thy government continue long. Consider, all wisdom direct their actions to purchase fame in this world and eternall glory in that which is to come. I mean a good name, not by their vain glory, but that God may be honored, and by their good example of life and works, others (which shall succede) may take example. Thou must consider that a good Prince may attaine to both. Seeke not that fame which he had that burnt *Diana's* Temple; or that of *ALEXANDER*, and *IVLIUS CESAR*, which was so preiudiciall to the world. A good fame is purchased by good workes, not by bad. If thou wouldest truly attaine to that which all others seeke, strine rather to be called a good Prince then a great, haue a care rather to better, then to increase thine Empire, enduoring to imitate (such as gouerne their estates well, not those which got them or increased them) for that many seeking to gaine another mans, lose their owne: what the Prince is, such are his subiects: strine then to be such a one as thou wouldest haue thy people. If thou beest a gamester, all will play: if thou followest women, all will be luxurious; if ambitious euery man will seeke to rise, at what rate soeuer: and if thou beest superstitious thou shalt see superstition raigne. But if thou beest religious and a good Prince, O what profit will it bring thee? If thou wouldest free thy selfe from the heauie burthen of importunities, shew thy selfe to be much displeased with ambition. If thou canst doe this thou maiest call thy selfe happy: If thou shalt propound vertue for the reward of all thy labours, thou shalt neuer liue discontented, and thy subiects will do the like. If thou canst attaine to this, thou maiest sleepe securely: finally I put thee in minde that what thou art, such will thy subiects be: strine then to be good if thou wilt haue them good.

The

The greatest want we Princes haue, is of men that will tell vs the truth; wherefore giue liberty to all men, that they may admonish and reprove thee; and they that doe it freely, hold them for thy trust friends. As thou dost exceede other men in honor and dignity, so must thou exceede them in vertue. Remember sonne that a common-weale is not instituted for a King, but a King is ordained for a Common-weale: For that many Common-weales, haue flourishd without a Prince; but no Prince hath continued long without a State. Strine rather to be beloued then feared, for that no State is long preserved by feare. Whilest thou art only feared, thou shalt haue as many enemies, as subiects: But if thou art beloued, thou shalt not neede any guard, for that euery vasaile will be a Halberdier. If thou wilt be beloued, Loue, for that Loue is not purchased but with Loue. Loue thy subiects in such sort, as thou maiest alwayes preferre a general good, before thine owne affections, or thy priuate intrest. Be such a friend to truth, as there may be more credit giuen to thy bare word, then to another mans Oath. Haue more care to gouerne thy selfe, bridling thine affections, then thy subiects; for if thou wilt not obey thy selfe, why shouldst thou be obeyed by others? Maintaine thy grauity in such sort as becomes a prince; and on the other side, be pleasing, courteous, and affable. Remember how other Princes haue liued, imitating the good, and flying the euill. Let nothing proceede out of thy mouth, that may be iniurious or dishonest. Punish no man, being angry; for choler giues no way to reason, and thou maiest afterwards repent it. Be not carried away with the opinion of the Vulgar, but alwayes embrace the aduice of wise men: For, those Common-weales may iustly be called happy, which are gouerned by the wise. Gouerne thy subiects in such sort as all thy care may be, that no man shall exceede thee in good Government, and iustice. Whilest thou art yong, set alwaies before thine eyes, that thou art not only a Prince and Pastor: but reuerence the Christian faith, making account that it is most necessary for Princes to follow it. Strine to seeme a Christian, not only in outward Ceremonies, but with Christian works. Offend not God, seeing thou hast sworn him to be thy Lord. With what face darrest thou punish one that hath betrayed thee, if thou beest a Traytor to thy Lord? The more powerful a Prince is, the more staied and circumspect he should be, not respecting what he may doe, but what he ought to doe; imagining that he stands vpon a high Tower, whereas all the World beholds him, and that no vice can be concealed. If thou maiest defend thy State without preiudice to thy subiects, hold it the best course; for that the Prince was ordained for the Common-weale, and not the Common-weale for the Prince. Remember *CONRVS* and *OTRO*, who (although they were Pagans) desired rather to die, then to defend their estates with the losse of humane blood. Hold it better to be a iust man, then an vniust Prince; for that a good Prince deserves a great reward, and a wicked merits grievous punishment. If thou wilt be held a good Prince, strine to be like vnto God, not doing any thing which he would not doe. There are three things chiefly attributed vnto God, Power, Knowledge, and bounty; He that hath the first, and wants the rest, is no King but a Tyrant: Know that the difference betwixt a King and a Tyrant, is not in the name, but in the actions. If thou shalt doe the workes of a Tyrant, they may well, whilest thou liuest, reame thee king, but when thou art dead, they will call thee Tyrant. Wouldest thou know the difference that *ARISTOTEL* sets betwixt a King and a Tyrant? A King affects the good of the Common-weale; and a Tyrant seeks his owne profit. Endeavour to leaue thy kingdomes better then I now leaue them, and this shall be thy true glory. Consider there is a contract and conditions betwixt the Prince and the people: if thou dost not that which thou oughtst vnto thy subiects, they are not bound to performe their duties vnto thee; with what face canst thou demand thy rents, if thou dost not pay them? Remember that they are men and not beasts, and thou art a shepheard of men, and not of sheepe. Seeing that all men learne the Art whereby they liue, why shouldst not thou learn the Art to become a good Prince: the which is the most excellent of all others. Be contented with the name of King or Prince, not striding to be so; for it may be they will call thee Tyrant: For he is no true Prince, to whom a kingdom commeth by succession, but he who by his actions strives to be so. He is a free King which gouernes and commands himselfe, and the other is a slaue, who cannot restrain and bridle his affections. If thou vauntst thy selfe to be free, why shouldst thou obey thy passions, which is the most infamous and brutish servitude of all other. I haue seene many free-men serued, and many slaues to be serued: A slaue is a seruant by force, and cannot be blamed if he be so, seeing it is not in his owne power; but a vicious man, who is a voluntary slaue, ought not to be put in the number of men: Wherefore loue liberty, and learne to be truly a King. Be so careful of the good gouernement of thy sub-

Ferdinand's
speech to his son
Maximilian.

Princes should
in their actions
imitate their
predecessors
wisdom.

What Princes
chiefly want.

subiects, as thou maist neuer sleepe one whole night without it: Studie not how to passe away thy time, but how to loose it. Barbarous Kings, especially in *Persia*, maintained their Majesty by hiding themselves from their subiects; but thou on the other side (following my example) shalt keepe thy gates alwaies open to the poore, rather than the rich; for they haue more neede of thy fauor then these. In thy answers follow the aduice of *ARISTOTLE*, Those which be good and milde giue thy selfe: the bitter and fowre leaue vnto thy Ministers, and let no man depart from thee iustly discontented. What thou hast to giue, giue it speedily and cheerefully, of thine owne free will; and giue them no cause to thanke others, for the fauors which thou thy selfe doest them. Banish from thee such as seeke out new meanes to oppresse, and giue thy subiects, and remember that the poore, not the rich, pay tributes and exactions. Be so desirous to doe good, as thou maist thinke to haue lost that day, wherein thou hast not assisted some one. Honor the good and vertuous, more then the rich and powerful, and thou shalt make all men to follow vertue. Admit no idle men into thy kingdome, for they will breede a world of mischiefs. Be tractable to pardon thine owne iniuries; for, if an equall to thy selfe hath done it, thou canst not take reuenge, without preiudice to thy subiects and his, who haue not offended: If a priuate man doth thee wrong, the greater thy power is to reuenge, the better will thy clemency appeare. Let thy exercises be honest, holy, good, and profitable to the Common-wealth. How well it becomes a Prince, to heare the afflictions and grieuances of his subiects, and to redresse them! Imitate not those who vnburthen themselves, all they can, of matters of iustice; for it is thy chiefe office. Think alwaies of the meanes, by the which thou maist gouerne thy subiects: endeavour alwaies to know the nature and manners, not only of thine owne subiects, but also of strangers. Be alwaies in peace and friendship with thy neighbors; contend not with them, lest it breede thee warre and discord. Learne rather by Histories, then by experience, how dangerous and pernicious warre is: Let this be a speciall remembrance vnto thee, that thou neuer vndertake warre, for hatred, or priuate interest; and when thou shalt be forced vnto it, let it not be so much for thy selfe as for thy subiects. Consider first of all (which will be most commodious) whether to vndertake it, or leaue it; and being forced vnto it, let it bee with extreme necessity. But first endeavour to make an accord: for, peace is better then iust warre; from the which thou must endeavour to flee, if it were for no other respect, but for the honor of the name of a Christian, being much oppositue vnto it. Make war against Turks and Infidels; for otherwise they will not only make Christians slaues, and force them by torments to deny the faith of Christ, but also ruine Christendome, and prophane the Temples of Christ: But let it neuer come into thy minde, to make warre against them, for thine owne priuate interest, or for Ambition. Consider, that vnder this colour of making warre against Infidels, there lurkes much poyson: and when thou hast conquered them, labor to conuert them to the faith of Christ, principally by good workes; For, with what face canst thou aduise them to become Christians, if thou and thine in your actions be worse then Infidels? It will be no great matter to conquer the Moores and Turkes, if they shall see Christian vertues to shine in thee and thine, wherefore with these labor to conuert them: It imports much whether thy conuersation be good or bad, and with whom thou dost conuerse; therefore strue alwaies to draw into thy company good and vertuous men, and chafe away the wicked and vicious, which may corrupt thee and be very hurtfull. Loue them which reprove thee freely, and hate such as flatter thee. Doe not obserue what company is most pleasing vnto thee: but what will be most behoouefull for thee; for there is no beast so venomous, nor creature so pernicious and hurtfull about a Prince, as flatterers, and ambitious persons: For, the vulgar sort, who know not the disposition of their Prince, doe alwaies thinke that he is like vnto his favorites; if they be vertuous, they hold him for vertuous; if wicked and vicious, they esteeme him the like: Consider then how carefull thou oughtest to be in making choice of such as shall conuerse with thee; chiefly make choice of a Confessor that is sincere, pure, incorrupt, of good life and fame, and not ambitious. The principall part of the good gouernement of thy kingdome consists, in that thou best good: and the second, that thou prouide good Ministers; wherefore consider well how thou giuest thy Offices, thy Benefices and thy Bishoppericks; there is none worthy of any administration in the Common-weale, but he that takes it by constraint, and against his will. Wherefore it would be very profitable vnto thee, neuer to giue any Office, Benefice or Bishopperick, to him that seekes it; but to him that being vertuous, and full of bashfulness, will not sue for anything. And know for certaine, that such as seek them, are insufficient to gouerne them; for either they know what they demand, or not. If they know not, they de-

deserue it not; and if they know and demand it, they discouer themselves to be proud, ambitious, and wicked. Neuer commit matter of iustice, but to men that are vncorrupt and good, and who accept them being intreated: for committing them to others, thy subiects shall suffer oppression; for there is nothing more pernicious, then to haue conuolous iudges, who affect gouernement to oppresse the people. Let the iudges keepe their residence; and forget not sometimes to ouersee them, rewarding the good and punishing the badde; where I would not haue thee vse clemency, nor with thy seruants, which shall forget their duties: but punish them with more rigour then other men, both for that they are more bound to be good, being neere vnto thee; as also for that part of the infamy redounds vpon thee. Punish false-witnesses and scandalous accusers by *TALION'S* Law. In making of Lawes, haue more respect vnto the publike good, then to thine owne particular. What thou shalt see profitable to thy subiects, do it before they intreate thee. Be diligent and resolute in that thou hast to doe, lest in the action thou losest the occasion, and in the benefit the thanks. Striue euer to purchase a good name rather then riches or great estates: for, the one, wicked men attaine vnto by money; but the other good men only purchase by vertue. Loue and feare God, who will teach thee all the rest, and guide thee in all thy actions. I haue long desired to speake this vnto thee, but I neuer had opportunity; wherefore I intreate thee (deere sonne) so to imprint it in thine heart, that thou maist neuer forget it. Lastly, I commend vnto thee thy brethren, sisters, and kinsfolkes: intreate them in such sort, as they may not be disgraced, their old father being dead, nor growe proude seeing their brother Emperor. Moreouer I recommend vnto thee my old seruants, to whom my long cares, my troubles, warres, affaires, and my long infirmities, haue been the cause of much toyle. And if they serued me faithfully vnto death, it is reason they should be rewarded: and although my bodie remains in the graue with the Wormes, yet will I be alwaies mindefull of them before God. Herein thou shalt shew thy selfe a good sonne, rewarding those which serued thy Father. Aboue all things I will put thee in mind, and hold it for good aduice, Be euer in peace and league with *PHILIP* King of *Spain*, my Nephew, and thy Cozen, and sonne to that father whom I loued much; from whom thou maist alwaies receiue good assistance. And when it shall befit for thee to make a league with him against Infidels, I exhort you to doe it, for that with your two forces, you may with more facility ruine the common Enemy. I commend vnto you your brethren, whom I haue enioyned to be obedient vnto you. Loue them, and liue in Peace and Charitie, like good brethren: It shall bee a great ioy vnto mee, and my blessing shall bee with thee, and with you all together, with the Grace of our Lord GOD: to whom I giue infinite thanks, that hee hath done mee this fauour, that I might speake this vnto thee, and blesse thee with my hand, as I doe.



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THE



THE
LIFE OF MAXIMILIAN.
SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND
HUNDRETH AND SEVENTEENTH
ROMAN EMPEROR.

(*)

THE ARGUMENT.



His life containeth little else, but the Countie, Parentage and Noble descent of Maximilian, with his acts in the warres in Germany against the Lantzgrauve, his going into Spaine to governe the same for King Philip, his assumption to the Imperiall dignity, with his warres with the Turkes at Sigerb, and the Election of his sonne Rodolph for King of the Romanes, with some other occurrents concerning the Turkish Warres.



THE house of Austria, amongst the chiefe houses of Germany, is every way very Noble, and hath beene so of long time (as it evidently appeareth) not only through the hereditary succession of the Empire, from the father to the sonne, in tenne Emperours, from the yeere 1273, at what time RODOLPH the First was chosen Emperour of the Germanes; but also in that it hath since that time in short space, with admirable felicity, not only in Germany enlarged the small confines of Habsburge and Hapsia (the ancient inheritance thereof) but through the singular protection of the heavens, it hath by inheritance attained to the kingdomes of Bohemia, and Hungary, the Duchie of Austria, the Countie of Flanders, with the estates of the lower Germany, the kingdomes of Spain, with all those countreies of the East and West Indies

(to the wonder of the World, by CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS a Genowaise, and AMERICUS VESPUTIUS, a Florentine, newly found and discovered; which for their greatness, and the nouelty of the action, are called the new world together with the kingdomes of Sicilia and Naples; and lastly the Duchie of Milan, farre exceeding all the other Dukedomes in Christendome. Of which family, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred twenty seven, the Emperour MAXIMILIAN the Second of that name, borne in the City of Vienna in Austria, had to his father FERDINAND, brother to the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth, sonne of PHILIP the First, King of Spaine, Nephew to MAXIMILIAN the First, son of FREDERICK the Third, Emperours of the Almaines: his mother was ANNE the daughter of LADISLAUS King of Hungary and of Bohemia, Nephew of the great SIGISMUND, sonne of CASSIMIR King of Poland, and sister to that LEVVS which through the vnadvised counsell of PAVLVS TOMOREVS Archbishoppe of Colossa, in the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred twenty six, comming to a battaile with SOLIMAN King of

of the Turkes, was not onely through the innumerable multitude of the Ottomans lamentably ouerthrowne; but also when hee sought to haue saued himselfe from his enemies, was (through the weightinesse of his Armour, wherewith hee was oppressed, and the stumbling of his Horse, which fell vpon him in a passage ouer a Marrieth or Fenne) most miserably drowned.

This Emperour shewing euen from his infancy the excellency of his wit, was by his father the Emperour FERDINAND committed to very learned men, by them to be instructed in good Literature, but chiefly in variety of tongues; wherein in short space he so much profited, that he not only spake Latin very elegantly, Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch, Hungarish, and Bohemish; but also very perfectly attained to the knowledge of the Sciences, particularly the Mathematicks. So that all men did confidently hope that he would proue no way inferior to his progenitors. And he no sooner came to yeeres fit to beare Armes, but that he sundry times gaue no lesse testimony and prooffe of his noble valour, seeking to imitate his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN whose name he bare, which he expressely manifested when in the yeere one thousand five hundred fifty six, in the warres which his Vncle the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth made against IOHN FREDERICK Duke of Saxony, and PHILIP Lantzgrau of Hessen, he went to that warre, sent thither by his father with the command of twelue thousand horse; hauing before that time, been euer present in the warres which his father had with the Turkes. In that seruice of his Vncle the Emperour CHARLES, he so nobly behaued himselfe, that he therein sundry times deleuered to be compared with his Grandfather MAXIMILIAN; for he constantly enduring, with the greatnesse of his minde, all those wants and fortunes which the troubles of the wars bring with them, was euer the first man in all seruices, wherein he made no lesse shew of a valiant man at Armes, then of a discreete Chieftaine: which made him so deely beloued by his Vncle the Emperour, that the ciuill warre being ended (which continued little lesse then two yeers) he considering that his sonne PHILIP Prince of Spaine was to be inuested in the Countie of Flanders, together with the Prouinces of the lower Germany, and being vnwilling that Spaine should remaine without some man of authority to governe the same, fearing the pride of that Nation ordinarily desirous of nouelties, notwithstanding that he was his Nephew, yet by the dispensation of Pope PAVL the Third, he made him his sonne in law; giuing him his daughter MARY to wife, and therewith made him gouernour of those kingdomes. And those nuptiall rites being celebrated, MAXIMILIAN in the yeere one thousand five hundred forty eight, went into Spaine, being first by his father FERDINAND King of the Romanes, made King of Bohemia, to whom the Lords of that kingdom swore obedience as to their king and naturall Lord.

Before his comming into Spaine, passing through Italy, he was by all the Italian Princes visited and highly honoured; and being arrived at the City of Genoa, and there shortly after embarked in the Gallies of Priace DORIA, he passed to Barcelona: whence taking his way towards Valledolia, where the Spanish Court then lay, he was in the name of his epouse and of his coffin. Germane oftentimes visited by the principall Lords of Spaine.

Finally, within few daies after his comming to the Court, hauing with applause of the Spanish Nation celebrated his nuptials, he was settled in the gouernment of those kingdomes, in the absence of Prince PHILIP: which he with great quietnesse, to the contentment of that people gouerned, vntill that in the beginning of the yeere one thousand five hundred fifty one, the Emperour CHARLES summoned a Councell to be held in Augsburg; whither being by his father sent for, he came from Spaine into Germany, hauing first left the gouernment of those kingdomes to his wife Queen MARY, and to the Councell royall: and staying there till the end of the Councell, he went with his father the king of the Romanes to Vienna: where making his abode till the beginning of the yeere one thousand five hundred fifty two, and then passing from Germany againe into Spaine, to bring his wife into his Countie, he came from Barcelona, (after that he had been molested by the French fleet) to Genoa; and from thence comming to Trent, he went to Augsburg, where by the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth, he was kindly received, and together with his wife was by the Germane Princes much honoured; but particularly by his father, who then absolutely resigned vnto him the gouernment of the kingdom of Bohemia: which to the great contentment of the Bohemians hee euer after gouerned so long as hee liued.

From thence in the same yeere he sent great troups of men to the Emperour, for his warre against MARYCE, Duke of Saxony, who by reason of the imprisonment of the Lantzgrau

Mmm z

PHILIP

The dominions
of the house of
Austria.

The lineage
of the house of
Maximilian.

PHILIP warring against the Emperour, was proclaimed traitor : but it was not long before the Emperour was freed from that trouble. And MAXIMILIAN recalling his forces, peaceably applied himselfe to the government of *Bohemia*, without that any matter of moment happened, untill that in the yeere 1554, he together with his father sent his Ambassadors to congratulate the marriage of his cousin King PHILIP with the daughter of King HENRY the Eight, then by the death of her brother EDWARD, Queene of *England*.

In the yeere 1558, he was present at the Coronation of his father, who by the Emperour CHARLES the first was adopted Emperour, and accepted by the Princes of *Germany*. Afterwards taking his way with his father towards *Viena*, he returned into *Bohemia*; where within a while after, vnderstanding of the death of his Vncle and father in law the Emperour CHARLES, he with great pomp celebrating his Obsequies, sent Ambassadors to his cousin PHILIP to condole the death of the deceased Emperour. In which actions ending the yeere present and next following; in the yeere 1560, after foure moneths vacancie, JOHN ANGELLO DE MEDICIS being chosen Pope, and called PIVS the fourth, he sent his Ambassadors to yeeld his obedience to the Church of *Rome*. And in the yeere 1562, FERDINAND desiring that his sonne MAXIMILIAN should succede him in the Empire, assembled a Council in *Frankford*, where proponing to the Electors his determination, he so handled the matter, that by the generall consent and good will of all men, MAXIMILIAN was chosen and crowned King of the Romanes; with great applause of the Germanes and the Italians, who for his rare qualities dearly loved him. Then being according to his fathers desire created his successor, he departed towards *Viena*, first visiting his sisters which were in *Spain*, where he remained untill the yeere 1564, in which yeere his father dyed; whose Obsequies hee together with his brothers sumptuously celebrated. After which, hee received Ambassadors from the Princes, which as to the successfull Emperour and King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* came to doe him honour: amongst many which came, were the Ambassadors of *Spain* and of *Portugall*; MAXIMILIAN being then received and accepted by the Christians for lawfull Emperour.

Having scarce finished his fathers obsequies, news came of new combustions. The Vaiuode of *Transilvania*, who was comprehended in the Turks peace and restrained with the hope of a royall affinity, continued for a time quiet; but now either thinking that FERDINAND'S peace had been dissolved by death, or incouraged by the ill aduice of some lewd persons, or else prouoked by his neighbours injuries, he surprised *Satmaria*, by a notable stratagem. MELCHIOR BALASSVS was gouernour thereof for FERDINAND, a valiant man and active, who in former times, had taken many townes from the Vaiuode vpon the confines of *Transilvania*. Having taken the towne, the Castle (although it were very strong) made small resistance: where the gouernour lost his goods, and his wife and children were led into captivity. BALASSVS (being fore wounded) escaped, and after his recovery he surprised *Debraim*, a towne of good note belonging to the *Transiluanians*; and having spoiled it he set it on fire. The newes of the losse of *Satmaria* was vnexpected to MAXIMILIAN, and the more troublesome for that hee was then diuerted with other cares. The Vaiuode was not ignorant that it would be displeasing vnto CESAR, pretending that he had done nothing against the peace, laying all the blame vpon the Emperours gouernours, especially vpon BALASSVS; affirming that the beginning of all iniuries sprang from them, who oppressed his subjects with vnaccustomed tributes, and daily incursions; adding that he had often complained, but could finde no remedy: wherefore it was no wonder, if he had found some meanes to reuenge those iniuries and to repaire the losses. MAXIMILIAN holding it not fit to indure this insolencie, sent for LAZARVS SVENDIE, a Baron of *Swethland*, a man of great experience in Armes, wise, vigilant, and valiant, to whom he committed the charge of the *Transiluanian* warre. But for that he was ignorant of the state of *Hungary*, he had given him for assistants ANDREW BATTORI, MELCHIOR BALASSVS, and GABRIEL PERENE, men well acquainted with the enemies affaires. SVENDIE marcht presently into the countie of *Sepusie*, from whence he sent to intreat MAXIMILIAN to giue him leave to manage that warre at his will, and not be compelled alwaies to send to his maiesty, lest before a resolution should be taken, a good opportunity might be lost. Hereupon the King of *Poland* sent his Ambassadors to let the Emperour vnderstand how much he was grieued with this war, the *Transiluanian* being so neere allied vnto him; wherefore he laboured to haue a surcease of Armes, and the offence remitted. The Emperour gaue him good words, but staid not his warlike preparation.

This

This yeere LAZARVS SVENDIE, went to besiege the Castle of *Toccai*, a place strong both by nature and art, standing vpon the confines of *Transilvania* and *Hungary*: The which FERDINAND had giuen to a Nobleman of *Hungary*, for his good deserts, who dying recommended it, and the guard of his young son to FRANCIS MENETVS. This man of a tutor became a Tyrant: he fled to the *Transiluanian* and deliuered both the the Castle and Pupil into his hands. This Castle being battered, and MENETVS the Traitor flaine, they yeelded vpon condition to depart with their sword, and not to beare Armes against the Emperour. After which he recovered *Satmaria*, the which the *Transiluanian* had abandoned distrustful of his owne forces; After which he took *Erdad* (the which FERDINAND had often attempted in vaine) with diuerse other places.

The Vaiuode finding himselfe too weake to cope with MAXIMILIAN, he craued aide from the Turk, who being busie at the siege of *Malta*, he sent STEPHEN BATTORI (who afterwards was King of *Polonia*) with other Embassadors to the Emperour to sue for peace; the King of *Poland* did the like, and SOLIMAN sent a Renegado to *Viena* to expostulate the wrongs done vnto his tributarie, and to finde some meanes of reconciliation. But CESAR was not ignorant, that this was a practice to stay the course of SVENDIE'S prosperous success, and daunt the mindes of the Hungarians with a hope of peace: but for that it should not seeme that he hindered the conclusion of a peace, he commanded his Army to forbear from spoile, but vpon this condition that all the townes on this side the mountaines should be his. This was of hard digestion to the Vaiuode: wherefore he incensed SOLIMAN, who being returned from *Malta* with losse and dishonor, refused to transport the war into *Hungary*, and to employ all his forces against the Emperour; hereupon he sends a new Embassage to *Viena*, for the tribute which had been long vnpaid: complaining much of the wrong done vnto the Vaiuode his client; saying it was not lawfull for him to make a peace with the Emperour, without his priuie, commanding restitution of all that had been taken from him, and withall he renounceth the peace, which he had obserued with FERDINAND. MAXIMILIAN gaue him good reasons for non payment of the tribute; that the peace had been violated by the Vaiuode and not by him; that all the places did neuer belong to the *Transiluanian*, but to his predecessors, from whom they had been violently taken away: whereupon SOLIMAN resolved to besiege *Julia*. This yeere the Vaiuode (in the absence of SVENDIE, who was gon to *Viena* concerning the warres) went to besiege *Erdad* with the helpe of the Turks: the which being battered, and valiantly defended, in the end they yeelded vpon composition to depart with bagge and baggage, but they were all treacherously slaine by the Turks.

This sommer 1565 AVGVSTVS Elector of *Saxony* sent 1000 Saxon horses to SVENDIE'S Camp, promising to entertaine them for five moneths, with whom there ioynd 350 Noblemen and Gentlemen. The Turkish and *Transiluanian* Embassadors were still in *Viena* treating of a peace, desirous as it seemed to protract time; yet SVENDIE did often aduise the Emperour by his Letters, not to trust their faire words, nor to be abused by their false promises: but new Embassadors coming from SOLIMAN and the Turkes having retired their Camp, the Emperour commanded his Generall to forbear from all hostile attempts. At that time the Earle of SALVIE gouernour of *Iauerin*, had an enterprife vpon *Alba Regalis* which hee had a great hope to surpris, by meanes of some of the towne: but the Emperour commanded him to surcease, and retire, so as his credulity made the enterprife frustrate, and the Turks discovered the conspiracie, and put 40 of the citizens cruelly to death.

The treaty continued still at *Viena*, and the Emperour sent an Embassador to *Constantinople* to conclude a peace with SOLIMAN, who detained him there untill the yeere 1567. In the mean time the Basha of *Buda* made an incursion towards *Iauerin* and carried away great spoiles, it appeared by probable coniectures that the Turks made shew of a peace outwardly, but prepared for warre. The which a Turk of good note being acquainted with the secret counsels of the Basha of *Buda*, confessed freely, being taken, and that SOLIMAN would come the next yeere with a great Army to besiege *Julia* & *Sigeth*. STEPHEN BATTORI one of the *Transiluanian* Embassadors was yet in *Viena*, who at that time had the wife & children of BALASSVS (being taken at *Satmar* as we haue said) in prison: wherefore BALASSVS made great suite vnto the Emperour to detain him untill his wife and children were set at liberty; CESAR importuned BATTORI very much, but he could not preuaile, and BATTORI refusing to stay any longer was dismissed: whereat BALASSVS being much discontented, the Emperour told him that there was a great difference betwixt their qualities, for they were Captiues taken in

N n n 3

war,

Toccai besieged
and taken by
Svendie.

Satmar recovered
by Svendie.

The Transiluanian
sue for
peace.

Solimian re-
news the war
in Hungary.

Maximilian
chosen and
crowned King
of the Romanes.

Satmar taken
by the Transil-
uanians.

LAZARVS
Svendie gener-
all in the Tran-
siluanian war.

war, and hee was an Ambassadour, whom he might not stay, without doing wrong vnto his dignity.

After his departure, the Emperor imployd all his care to make prouision for the Turkish warres: and being vnable to encounter SOLIMAN with his owne forces, he assembled a Diet at *Ausburg*, this yeer vpon the tenth of March, to consult with the Princes of the Empire, touching the Turkish warres, and many other things concerning the Empire. In the meane time MAXIMILIAN was full of cares, the same of the Turkish warre increasing daily, and it was said the *Transiluanians* gathered together great forces. The Princes being assembled; ALBERT Duke of *Bavaria*, speaking in the Emperours name, promised, that touching matters of Religion, there should be nothing changed, so as the Princes would endeavour to expell all strange opinions which had crept into the Empire: That the publike Peace confirmed by so many Edicts, should be obserued: That such as had been proscribed for the fact at *Herbipolis*, should be punished, and iustice done to euery man in the Imperiall Chamber. But laying aside all other things, he perswaded them, first to consider of aide against the Turkes: whereupon they promised to entertaine twelue thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote, for eight moneths; and moreover to pay foure thousand horse, for two yeeres and a halfe: which the Emperour accepted very thankfully. At the same time the Arch-duke CHARLES, called an assembly of Hungarians, at *Possonia*, and of Austrians at *Vienna*, whereas euery house promised to giue a Florine: and the Nobility and Gentry, were so willing to contribute to these Turkish warres, as he that had but one hundred crownes of yeerely rent, was content to maintaine a horse, and the Nobility in generall promised to goe in person, if CÆSAR or any of his brethren should be there. The Pope, with the Princes of *Italie*, and the French king, were solicited for aide in this warre.

At the Assembly at *Ausburg*, GROMBACH, with his confederats, who had slaine the Bishoppe of *Herbipolis*, and afterwards surprised the City, and spoiled it in hostile manner, troubling the peace of *Franconia*, was by a new proscription condemned by a generall consent of all the orders of the Empire. JOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Saxony*, sent his deputies, and lawyers to plead for GROMBACH, and to urge an abolition of the first proscription; among which HENRY HVSAN a famous lawyer was the chiefe; who being partly dissuaded by his friends, and partly terrified with the weightinesse of the cause, left it; and sought to perswade the Duke by his Letters to relinquish their protection; but hee could not bee diuerted.

In the interim, the *Transiluanian* Vauode slept not: for hauing prepared himselfe to Armes, he perswaded the Nobility of *Hungary*, to fall from their allegiance, writing Letters, by the which he said he was inioyned by the Turkish Emperour, to perswade all the orders of *Hungary* to yeeld him faith and obedience, whereon, and their good agreement, the hope and health of afflicted *Hungary* depended; and by that only meanes, the Turkish Army might be kept from their confines: and alleaging many other reasons, in the end he perswaded them, to meete at an assembly at *Forda*; or to send foure deputies with full authority. These Letters being diuulged in *Hungary*, SVENDIVS made an answer vnto them, whereby he discovered the Vauodes impostures, and gaue the World to vnderstand, that CÆSAR had alwaies fought for Peace with the Turke and *Transiluanians*; but it succeeded not, chiefly by this mans slanders, and ambition, who had often broken the peace, the which CÆSAR had so strictly obserued, as he had neglected many good occasions to aduance his affaires. Moreover if there were no hope left of any future Peace, yet the Hungarians should not feare that CÆSAR would leaue them; who being assisted first by God, and then by the Germanes, and all forraigne Princes, should haue power sufficient to resist all their enemies attempts, perswading them not to faile in their obedience both to their King and Countrey, the warre being not onely iust, and lawfull, but most necessarie; and therefore they should not doubt of the happy euent. Lastly, he commaunded them all in the Emperours name, not to haue any commerce with the *Transiluanian*.

The *Transiluanian*, what he could not get by faire meanes; he sought to attaine vnto by force; and the Turkes omitting no opportunity, surprised *Aiut by Scalado*, in the absence of the Gouernor, and part of the Garrison, where they slew all the Citizens and Souldiers most cruelly. They thought to haue gotten *Sigeth* with the like policy; but the Earle of *Serin* repulsed them with great slaughter; and afterwards, making an incursion into the Turkes Countrey, hee slue so great a number of them, that he returned to *Sigeth* with two carts full of their heads.

SVENDIVS

SVENDIVS besieged *Hoff* in vain, the *Transiluanian* coming with 20000 men to relieue it; but not without great slaughter of his people; whereas SVENDIVS took certain Turkish ensignes with much Ordinance. The *Basha* of *Buda* likewise besieged *Palotta*, which hee had brought, by continuall battery, to extreme necessity, the Gouernier being wounded, but yet would not yeeld. And thus, when all humane help did seeme to fail, God deliuered them miraculously. There were come to *Iauerine* twelue companies of Germanes; whereof 900 horse with ninety carts were sent out for forrage on the fourteenth of Iune: which the Turkish Scouts seeing a far off, and thinking them to be farre more in number, they returned amazed to the Camp; telling them, there was a great Army coming to relieue the Besieged: wherewith they were so terrified, that they presently left it, and departed in such haste, that they left behinde them their tents, much ordinance, powder, and other munition.

In the mean time, the Earle of *Solmes*, going out of *Iauerine*, besieged *Vesperine*, the which hee soon took, putting a garrison of Turkes to the sword. The like hee did to *Tuisa*, being sue German leagues from *Iauerine*: hee also took *Gessse*, with diuers other Forts vpon that Confiner; the Turkes being all fled to *Strigonium*, the which the Earle meant to besiege: but, acquainting MAXIMILIAN therewith, he would not suffer him to attempt so great a City with so small an Army, hearing that SOLIMAN was ready to march.

In the beginning of Iuly, SOLIMAN hauing all things ready for the warre, hee commaunded the *Basha* of *Buda* to cast a bridge ouer the riuer of *Drave*, being very swift: the which hauing often attempted in vain, hee sent word to SOLIMAN, that it could not be done; whereupon, hee sent him a halier, commanding hee should be hangd if it were not finished against his coming. The *Basha* terrified heerewith, setting 25000 men on work, finished his bridge in tenné dayes; where SOLIMAN passed an Army of 200000 men, the which hee diuided into three. The one hee sent to *Alba Regalis*, the other to *Sigeth*, and the third to spoil the Countrey. Vpon the way the Vauode of *Transiluanians* mette him with rich Presents, giuing him great thanks for his assistance.

SOLIMAN, hauing passed the riuer *Drave*, resolved to besiege *Sigeth* and *iuia*. *Sigeth* is a Town from both by nature and art, seated in a Marsh: it was commaunded by the Earle of *Serin*, hauing 1800 foot, 200 horse, 150 Citizens, with great store of Ordinance and munition. The Gouernier, seeing the Turkes forces approach, called all the souldiers and citizens together, making an Oration vnto them, to incourage them to constancy and resolution. After which, hee took an oath to lue and dy with them, and neuer to forsake them: the like did all the souldiers to him, swearing to obey him, and to lue and dy with him. The Turkes hauing planted their Camp, they presently attempted the new Town; the which, for that it could no longer be defended, hee caused to be burnt. They then planted their Ordinance in three parts, and raised three Mounts which ouer-lookt the wals. SOLIMAN, seeing this siege very bloody, sought to tempt the Earle with gifts and promise of great rewards; offering him the gouernment of *Iliria*, and the possession of *Croatia*, if he would yeeld him the Castle: but, finding him constant, hee tried him by another meanes. A Trumpetter which serued the Earles sonne, was by chance taken by the Turkes: him SOLIMAN sent into the Castle to tell the Earle that his sonne was a prisoner, and to perswade him to yeeld the Castle if he would preferre his sonnes life. But the Earle, neither by the hope of great reward, nor the unfortunate accident of his sonne (although it were false) could not be wonne; respecting more his Countreys liberty, and his faith giuen to the Emperour, than his sonnes safety, left by this fact hee should lay a foule stain vpon his former desert: This not succeeding, SOLIMAN goes to force, commanding many assaults to be giuen, not with small troops, but with whole armies, one succeeding another: so as the Besieged being oppressed with multitudes, and their forces and spirits spent with continuall fighting, towards night they were forced to retire into the Castle: the which the Turkes attempted twice in vain, setting fire in one part of it which was diuided from the other, there being a bridge betwixt them.

The besieged seeing all about them on fire, and themselves brought to despair, they resolved to open the gates, and to fall forth among their enemies, and there to dy fighting; whereunto the Earle encouraged them by a long speech, concluding it with these words: Knowe then, that our Emperour, our Countrey, and all *Europe*, look vpon vs, and are witnesses of our valor or base-nes. Think, that heere an occasion is offered vs, either to vanquish or to dy gloriously. Heere, necessity hath set the bounds of our labour, whereas euery man, posselt with a certain despair betwixt victory and death, must endeavour to vanquish; or if God will not suffer it, it is better to fall

Nan 4

fall

Palotta besieged by the Turkes in vain.

Exploits of the Earle of Solmes.

Soliman passes Drave with 200000 men.

Sigeth besieged by the Turkes.

The Earle of Serin speech to his souldiers.

A Diet called at Ausburg.

The Princes of the Empire aide Emperour against the Turke.

Grombach proscribed against at Ausburg.

Succession and suer to the Transiluanians Letters.

Aiut taken by the Turkes.

fall fighting than fleeing: wherefore going to this warre, remember you carry, in your hands, immortal fame, religion, liberty (which no good man loseth but with his life) and your country which bare you and bred you vp: wherefore endeavour that you fall not vnreunghed nor taken, or be slaughtered like sheep; but may leaue to the enemy a bloody and mournfull victory: whereto the souldiers gaue a ioyfull consent, all vowing to dy with their Commander.

A singular example of constancy in a wife.

At this time there fell out a memorable accident. One of the souldiers, preparing himself to fight and dy, having a wife of a Noble family & very fair, resolu'd to kill her lest she should be subiect to the lusts and reproaches of the Turks: which his wife perceiving, shee intreated him to forbear; saying, that it was a wicked thing for a husband to imbrue his hands in the blood of his wife whom hee had loued so much; but it was more vnworthy, if a good and chaste wife should leaue her husband in the extremity of danger. I knowe, quoth she, I haue sworn neuer to forsake thee: wherefore I will be thy companion in death, that whom loue in life hath ioyned together, death may not part; whereupon the put on mans apparell, and her husband leaue her Armes wherewith the ioyned herselfe to her husband.

The Duke of Serin, seeing his men in Arms, attired himself in his richest robes, as if hee had been going to some solemne feast, putting 200 crowns in his pocket, the which he said should be a reward for some Barbarian to bury him. After which, he put the keyes of the Castle in his bosome, saying, With these the Emperor put me in trust, and whilst I breathe no man shall take them from me. He would not couer his body with any Arms; saying, that he had no need of them seeing, hee desired nothing but a fair death by wounds. He made choice of the sharpest of his swords, saying, With this sword I first wonne my honour, and whatsoeuer I enioy, and with it I will willingly bear whatsoeuer God hath decreed of me, where I shall finde an end of danger or of life. So, hauing a great Standard carried before him, calling vpon the Name of IESVS, he commanded the gates to be opened, crying out; Follow mee noble souldiers, as you haue done euer, and let vs perform this last work of mortall men: and so, thrusting into the midst of their enemies, they made a great slaughter vpon the bridge. The Earle was shot thorough, and fell as he came on the land: of 300 there were not foure which came aliuie into the enemies power, and the woman (of whom we made mention) fighting valiantly, died by her husbands side. Thus Sieghel fell into the Turks hands, but they had no great cause to ioy of it: for, the Earle hauing laid a traine of powder, a great number of Turks being gotten into the Castle was blowne vp; wherewith there were three thousand men slain, and many others sore wounded.

Sieghel taken by the Turks.

Solimans death.

During this siege, SOLIMAN died of an Apoplexy, the seueneth of September; the which, MAHOMET Basha concealed from the knowledge of the Army: and, lest it should be discovered, hee sent his physician, and such as had attended him. In the meane time hee caused the trumpets and musick to sound after the accustomed manner, his diet to bee prepared, and his guards to be set before his tent as if hee had been liuing, vntill the comming of SELIM his sonne.

Maximilians preparation against the Turks.

Whilst that SOLIMAN was at Sieghel, MAXIMILIAN had drawne a great Army together at Vienna, whereof he made his brother FERDINAND Generall, and the Earle of Swartzenburgh his Lieutenant: wherein he was assisted by the Pope and many Princes. Many Noble-men came out of England to serue in this warre at their owne charge. From France came the Duke of Guise, the Earle of Brisack, Lanfack, & Craffe, and many other Noble-men. The Duke of Ferrara sent 400 Gentlemen and 300 shot; the Florentine, 3000 foot; the Duke of Savoy, 400 horse, buisiers on horseback, and other Princes did the like: neither did some Princes of Germany faile to send voluntary supplies; so as the whole Armie consisted of fourescore thousand men.

Whilst that SOLIMAN was busie before Sieghel, he sent BARTHA Basha to the siege of Julia, a strong Castle vpon the confines of Transilvania, hee hauing in his Army 80000 men; Transiluanians, Moldauians, Turks and Tartarians. The Gouerners name of the Castle was LEONDISLAVS SREBETZIN, by whose inconstancy and treachery it was yeilded five dayes before Sieghel vpon certain conditions, but not observed: for, the garrison marching away, the Turks lying in ambush fell vpon them; who making resistance for a while, in the end they were oppress by multitudes, and in a manner all slain, only some fewe (which would not consent to the yeilding of the Castle) escaped miraculously. SREBETZIN was taken aliuie, and carried captiue to Belgrade, who afterwards was put to a most cruell death in Constantinople.

SOLIMAN'S third Army lay neere to IANXIME to infect the Emperors Camp; so as there were daily

daily skirmishes betwixt them, in one of the which MAHOMET Basha of Alba Regalis comming to charge the Imperials was taken prisoner by George THVRIGER: who presenting him to the Emperour, hee rewarded him with a chaine of gold, and gaue him the honour of knight-hood. There was a Spaniard then present, who hauing conueried much in the Turkes court, had heard this Basha bragge, that he alone would subdue the Germane King: the which he denied not, but with an vndaunted minde answered, that such was the fortune of warre, he had not onely spoken this, but might haue done it; but now he was a slaue, and could not doe any thing.

The Vauoide of Transilvania, required to haue the Castle of Julia, which BARTHA Basha had taken, restored vnto him, for that it did belong to Transilvania; the which the Basha promised to doe, if he would pay him 400000 crownes, for the charges of that siege: which the Vauoide being not able to performe, it continued in the Turkes power.

SELIM comming to the Army was proclaimed Emperour of the Turks; and then retired towards Constantinople: vpon whose departure IANXIME was by chance set on fire, wherewith the whole towne except the Temple, the Palace, and some few other buildings was consumed: but the Emperour knowing it to be an excellent bulwark against the enemy, caused it to be repaired; & seeing the Turks retired, hee dissolved his Camp, and went to Vienna, leauing the Earle of Solmes gouernour of IANXIME.

SELIM left BARTHA Basha in Hungary with a great number of Tartarians, who committed vspeakable cruelties. The Vauoide had drawne part of them vnto him, to the siege of Töcsay, whereas SVENDVS lay sick, hauing formerly provided for the siege, and received succours from the Emperour; but the Vauoide hearing that the Tartarians spoiled his countrey, he raised his siege to relieue his subiects. The Emperour being returned to Vienna, he assembled the estates and obtained a yeerely ayd of 138000 crownes against the Turk, and for the repairing of IANXIME 13000. Then he gaue Letters to AVGVSTVS Elector of Saxony, to execute the sentence giuen against JOHN FREDERICK Duke of Saxony, who had undertaken the protection of WILLIAM GRAMBATH and others condemned by the Emperour: whereupon the Saxon soldiers who had serued in Hungary were commanded to prepare for the siege of the Castle of Götha, whither AVGVSTVS went with his forces, being accompanied by the Emperors commissioners, commanding all gentlemen, citizens, and country men, in the Emperors name to leaue him, and to returne to their houses, vpon paine of losse of life and goods, and absolving them from their oath vnto the Duke; but these persuasions could not moue them to leaue him: whereupon they prest the siege, so as on the thirteenth of Aprill the Castle was yeilded, and JOHN FREDERICK became a prison to the Emperour. In the Castle Grombachius (being seuenethy three years old) with seuentene more of his confederates were taken, and all publicly executed.

1567.

Götha taken, Grombach with his companions executed.

The 12 of May there was a Diet ended at Ratisbone: where although that neither the Emperour nor any of the Princes of the Empire were present, except ALBERT Duke of Bawaria, who represented the Emperors person, yet it was decreed that the contribution promised at the Diet of Augsburg for three yeares should be paid in two; That the defences of the towne of Götha, and the Castle of Grimenseine should be raised, and that the Elector AVGVSTVS should be paid for that expedition.

MAXIMILIAN hearing that SELIM the Ottoman Emperour was tractable to a peace if it were required, he sent his Embassadors to Constantinople, where after some treaty it was concluded: and then they returned to Vienna, accompanied with an Embassadour from SELIM. A peace was made for 8 yeares, vpon these conditions: That euery one should hold what he had gotten by warre; That the Vauoide should be comprehended; that the bordering countrie men who paid rents both to the Turke and CESAR, should now pay onely to the Turks, and performe their workes onely to them; and the tribute or pension of 30000 Hungarian dukets which FERDINAND did yearly pay, should in like manner be paid by MAXIMILIAN to SELIM. This peace was very pleasing to all Christendome, and did much increase the Emperors power in Transilvania by the helpe of SVENDVS.

In the yeere 1570, the cruell warre, which had continued long betwixt the Kings of Denmarke and SVENHVA, was compounded by the mediation of MAXIMILIAN, the French King and the Princes Electors of Germany, who sending their Embassadours to a treaty at Seims in Pomerania, a peace was concluded to the content of both the Kings. And about the same time died JOHN SIGISMUND, the Vauoide of Transilvania (who had formerly beene called

A peace betwixt the Kings of Denmarke and Swedens.

STEPHEN

Mohomet Basha taken comming to charge the Emperors Camp.

STEPHEN being but 30 yeeres olde: his father was JOHN Earle of *Silinia* (whom after the death of King LEVVS, the Barons of *Hungary* had chosen for their King, contrary to the will of the Emperour FERDINAND) his mother was ISABEL daughter to SIGISMUND King of *Poland*; during his lifetime he usurped the title of a King; and studying for innovations, with the Turks aid he engaged *Hungary* in many miseries. STEPHEN BATTORI (who was afterwards called to the Kingdom of *Polonia*) succeeded him, CASPAR BRESSEVS (whom JOHN had appointed for his successor) being rejected, and driven out of *Transilvania*; but seeking to raise vp a sedition against STEPHEN, with the Emperours help he was vanquished and banished for ever; and STEPHEN gouerned that Prouince being separated from *Hungary*, with more quiet and peace.

The peace continued still in *Hungary*; and RODOLPHVS, eldest son to the Emperour MAXIMILIAN, was chosen King of *Hungary* with his fathers consent, who willingly yielded the Kingdom to him. And in the year 1575 hee was declared and crowned King of *Bohemia* in *Prague* with great solemnity, hauing receiued the Diademe of *Hungary* three yeeres before at *Poesonia*. After this, the Emperour calling a Diet at *Ratisbone*, RODOLPHVS was chosen King of the Romans with a joynt consent of all the Electors; and by his fathers desire was on the first of November, one thousand five hundred seuentie five, crowned in the Cathedrall Church at *Ratisbone* with accustomed ceremonies.

HENRY the French King, who had retired himself secretly out of *Polonia*, was now by a publike decree rejected: whereupon, they called an Assembly at *Warlaia*, for the chusing of a new King; in which, the high Chancellor, with the greatest part of the Counsellors, made choice of the Emperour MAXIMILIAN: and some others, with a great part of the Nobility (dissenting from the Councelly desired to haue a King issued from the *Poland* blood; and therefore they made ANNE, sister to the deceased King, a Virgin almost fifty yeeres old, their Queen; giuing her for husband STEPHEN BATTORI Prince of *Transilvania*, and proclaimed him King. Presently some write Letters to MAXIMILIAN, and perswade him not to accept of the Kingdom of *Poland*, relying vpon the suffrages of a few Senators and Noblemen. On the other side, they which had chosen MAXIMILIAN, sent to dissuade the Prince of *Transilvania* from accepting of that Kingdom; whereof the Emperour MAXIMILIAN was chosen lawfull King by the generall consent of the Senate of *Polonia*, *Lithuania*, and all *Prussia*. Such as fauoured MAXIMILIAN, sent to intreat him to make haste and come into the Kingdom before that STEPHEN BATTORI should get possession: but (whether presaging his death at hand, or busied with the affairs of the Empire, or vsing his naturall slownesse) he sought delays, requiring a more ample resolution touching the heads of his election. The Ambassadors told him there was danger in delay, and importuned him to set downe a certaine day for his coming into *Polonia*, and that he should signifie so much by his Ambassadors to the Nobility assembled at *Leontia*. CAESAR found new delays for his iourney, and propounded new conditions; requiring, that the Virgin ANNE, who onely remained of the family of the Jagelons (which the Polonians honoured so much) might be married to his son ERNESTVS, and he to be crowned King in his place.

While time was spent in these differences, Letters came from the Assembly at *Leontia*; whereby they complained much of his delay, the which was very prejudiciall to his affaires; and gaue him to vnderstand, that vlesse he came speedily, they should bee forced to giue the kingdom to him that came first: whereupon, the Emperour sent Letters to the Estates which were to meet at *Marjania*, propounding conditions touching the marriage of ERNEST with ANNE; requiring in the mean time, that nothing should be decreed that might prejudice his lawfull election.

In the mean time, STEPHEN BATTORI, being called out of *Transilvania* by the Noblemen of his faction, posted speedily into *Polonia*; and, taking ANNE to wife, was crowned in *Crasnoia*, the first of May, hauing first taken an oath to obserue all the rights, priuiledges and liberties, as they had been obserued by CASIMIR and other Kings his Predecessors; adding withall, that if he should violate them in any part, he should then lose all the right he had in the Kingdom, and the Noble-men should be freed from the faith and obedience which they did owe him as their lawfull King.

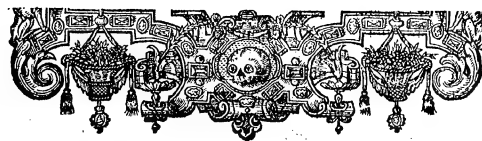
During this, the Emperour MAXIMILIAN called a Diet at *Ratisbone*, whither the Noblemen of *Poland* sent Ambassadors to him after the Coronation of King STEPHEN; intreating him, that seeing amidst the diuisions of Noble-men, and factious Citizens, he could not attain

to that kingdom, he should take it in good part, the Realme being now come vnto a king, who was his friend, and deuoted vnto him: to whom he answered, that it should plainly appeare, that he would not so easily renounce the right which hee thought he had by this election. At this Diet the Emperour confirmed FRANCIS de *Medici*, with the consent of these Princes, in the title of great Duke of *Tuscane*, the which Pope PIVS the Fifth had graunted to COSMO the Great in the year 1566.

MAXIMILIAN (living but few moneths after the election of his son to be King of *Romans*) departed this life on the twelfth of October in the yeere 1577. He left great testimonies of his wisdom, piety, and vertues, worthy of an excellent Emperour: he had often that symbol of ABRAHAM in his mouth, *Dominus providebit*, and did much blame them which made fortune a goddesse. He condemned those Princes which would commande ouer the beliefs of their subjects, affirming that there was no greater sinne then to force mens consciencies: for (said he) they that wrest the soule, whilest they couet after heaven, lose earth. He desired to suppress all controuersies of religion: He was mercifull to his enemies, and louing to his faithfull seruants: he honoured and respected Princes and Noblemen: he was an enemy to intemperance; he loued naturall Philosophie, spake many tongues readily, of an exquisite iudgement, admirable of memory, eloquent, graue, and ponderous in his speech; An obseruer of equity and bounty, a seuerer censurer of couetousnes, and much delighted in gardening: he conferred off of the holy scriptures, of the immortality of the soule, and of the resurrection from the dead.

To conclude, he was a Prince full of al piete and bounty; and if the troubles & civil wars in *Germany* had not crost his good resolutions, and weakened his power, he would haue left nothing vnattempted to haue ruined the Ottoman Empire. Hee was of an ordinary stature, his countenance full of grauitie, and his head somewhat balde. He was a great fauorier of Learning, and learned-men, to whom he gaue great pensions, and especially to Mathematicians, and Antiquaries, being greatly delighted in those faculties. He was very actiue of his body: by AVOGUSTA MARIA daughter to CHARLES the Fifth, and his cousin-germane, he had sixteen children, whereof tenne were liuing. Of his foure daughters, ISABEL was married to her Vncle PHILIP King of *Spain*, MARY was wife to CHARLES the Ninth, the French King. ANNE and ELEANOR were then but children. His sonnes were RODOLPH and MATTHIAS, both Emperours: ALBERTVS, a Cardinal and Arch-bishoppe of *Toledo* (but afterwards renouncing his Ecclesiasticall dignities, he married with ISABELLA Infanta of *Spain*, in whose right he is duke of *Brabant*, Earle of *Flanders*, &c.) ERNESTVS, MAXIMILIAN, and VENCESLAVS. He had but one wife, after whose decease he would not marry any other. Hee was, blindly, very Religious: and respecting much the greatness of the Pope, hee endeouored also to haue drawne all the Princes of *Germany* to haue done the like.

The death of
the Emperour
Maximilian.



THE

1575.
Rodolph chosen
king of Hun-
gary, of Bohe-
mia, and of the
Romans.

Controuersie for
the Kingdom of
Poland.

Stephen Bat-
tori crowned K.
of Poland.



THE
LIFE OF RODVLPH, THE
SECOND OF THAT NAME,
AND HVNDRETH AND EIGHT-
TEENTH ROMANE
EMPEROVR.

(*)



He Imperial dignity (being in a manner made hereditarie to the house of *Austria*) after the death of *MAXIMILIAN* the Second of that name, was by a generall consent of all the Electors, confirmed to his son *RODVLPH*, King of *Bohemia*, and *Hungary*, chosen a little before King of *Romanes*, at his fathers intreaty. At his first entrance, he gave great hopes to restore the Empire to her ancient dignity and splendor, and to recouer such countries as had beene vsurped from the Empire: But he was a prince of too soft a spirit, and loved peace and ease, referring the government of affaires to his Counsellors. He lived much in the Castle of *Prague*, and was much delighted in the gathering together of precious stones, and the exquisite setting and working of them. He bid Armes Adue, yet he valiantly protected

Hungary, *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and other prouinces. Presently after his coronation (for the better settling of his new dignitie) he sent to the Pope to be confirmed by him, and to intreat him to declare him the eldest son of the Church. Then calling a Diet at *Ratisbona*, he employed all his credit and meanes, to haue matters concerning the Romane Religion reformed, pressing the Princes of *Germany* to consent to his new reformation. After this, he sent an Embassadour to the Ottoman Emperour, to haue a confirmation of the truce made betweene him and his father *MAXIMILIAN*, and in the meane time hee perswaded his brother *MATHIAS* (who was gone into the Nether-lands, with hope to make himselfe Lord of those prouinces) to abandon that enterprise, and to returne into *Germany*, shewing him, how dishonorable it would be if through his fault, the troubles of those countreys should be increased: But his perswasions could not preuaile against his resolution: yet soon after (being discontented with the estates of those countries) leauing them he returned (with little honor) into *Germany*.

This yeere *SALENTINE* B. of *Paddborne*, and Elector of *Cullen*, a iust man, and valiant, more fit for war then to make a priest, being the last which remained of the house of the Earls of *Ifenburg*, married a daughter of the Earle of *Aremburg*, and gaue ouer both his Bishopricks. *HENRY* Duke of *Saxony* and Archbishop of *Breme* succeeded him in that of *Paddborne*, vpon condition that he should euery yeer keep his court three moneths in the diocesse of *Paddborne*; as much in *Osnaburg*; and six moneths in *Breme*. And to the Electorship of *Cullen*, succeeded *GEORGE* TRVCHSES, sonne to *WILLIAM* Baron of *Walbourg*. *STEPHEN* BATTORI going to bee King of *Polonia*, had left his brother *CHRISTOPHER* to succede him in *Transilvania*: who being worne with continuall infirmities, died, leauing *STOISMYND* his sonne to succcede him, the which was confirmed by the consent of all the estates: and *STOISMYND*

PHEN

PHEN BATTORI, King of *Polonia*, sent an Ambassador to *AMVRATH* the Turk, to intreat him, that (seeing *Transilvania* was tributary to the Turk) he would suffer *STOISMYND* to enjoy it, as other Princes before him had done; and if any thing were attempted to the contrary, he said he could not abandon his kinsman and his country: but *AMVRATH* yielded easily vnto it for King *STEPHEN*'s sake, who at that time was in war with the Muscouite touching *Lithuania* which he detained: And the Muscouite in the mean time sent Ambassadors to the Emperour *RODVLPH*, and to the Bishop of *Rome*, promising succours against the Turk, the common enemy of the Christian Name; hoping by this means, that he should easily obtain a peace with the King of *Poland*.

TRVCHSES, having succeeded *SALENTINE* in the Archbishoprick of *Cullen* (as wee haue said) in proesse of time resolved to take a wife, and yet retain his Electorall dignity and Archbishoprick: whereupon he married *ANNE*, daughter to *GEORGE* Earle of *Mansfeld*. The marriage was secretly consummated at *Bona*, in the presence of her brother & sister; which marriage bred great confusion in *Germany*. The marriage thus consummated, *TRVCHSES* left *Bona*: and hauing drawne some horse and foot together, hee selfe vpon *Marpourge*, and tied his subjects to him by a new oath. Then he called an Assembly of the Estates of *Westphalia* and *Cullen*: to whom the Elector and the other Palatines, with the Lantzeграue of *Hesse*, sent their Ambassadors: and *LEVY* Elector Palatine laboured faithfully with the Emperour, with the Chapter, and with the Senate of *Cullen*, for the retaining of *TRVCHSES* his dignity: which others did oppose strongly: and the Earle of *Aremberge* leised vpon *Bona*, in the name of the Chapter; whereupon *TRVCHSES* flew to Arms, and craued aid of his friends. In the mean time, the Pope sent down *ANDREW*, Cardinall of *Austria*, to depriue *TRVCHSES* of his Electorship of *Cullen*, and to giue power to the Chapter to chuse another; but the Elector Palatine would not suffer them to passe: whereupon, afterwards the Pope by a publike decree made in *Rome*, dated in April, in the year 1583, declared the said *GEORGE* *TRVCHSES* to be a notorious Heretick, periured, fallen from his Archiepiscopall dignity, and vncapable of all spirituall charge: and soon after, *ERNEST* of *Banaria*, sonne to *ALBERT* Duke of *Banaria*, was chosen by the mediation of the Pope, the Emperour, the Duke of *Parma*, and others. Whereupon, the war grew hot betwixt them, either of them fortifying himself with his friends: but *ERNEST* still kept possession, and liues at this day.

In the beginning of this year, Pope *GRAZIORE* the Thirteenth took vpon him to reform the Calendar, for that there was some small difference or distance, the year being not precisely fitted, equal to the course of the Sunne; so as in the beginning this little error did produce many discomforts: whereupon the Pope, desiring to haue the honour of this reformation, published his Bull for the adding of ten daies. The Emperour, being at a Diet at *Ausburg*, propounded the publication of this new Calendar: which the Protestant Princes reiected; not for that it was rashly done and needlesse, but for that the Bishop of *Rome* had ordained it without the priuiey of the Emperour to whom that office did belong, nor with the consent of the Princes of the Empire; the Elector of *Saxony* grauely admonishing them to haue a care, lest vnder this colour of reforming the Calendar, they did not giue to the Pope a new iurisdiction and commanding power ouer the maiesty of the Empire and the Emperour himself. Wherefore, when as none of the Princes or Cities which embraced the Confession of *Ausburg*, would allow of this Calendar in *Germany*, he commanded that the old form, obserued in the Imperiall Chamber, should be for that year kept.

In the year 1584, there was a truce concluded betwixt *AMVRATH* who had succeeded *SEIM* his father, and the Emperour *RODVLPH*, the which was to continue for nine yeeres. The Emperour sent his Ambassadors with Presents, who came first to *Buda*, where they concluded this truce with *SINAN* Basha; and then they went to *Constantinople* to haue it confirmed. In the mean time, ten thousand Turks entred vpon the confines of *Carniola*, where they committed great spoils, and carried many poor Christians into slavery: but they were pursued by two thousand Christians, who ouertrew them and put them to flight, freeing all the captiues, in which conflict there were foure thousand Turks slain. *AMVRATH* was somewhat moued heerwith: but, being duely informed that the wrong proceeded from the Turks, hee was soon pacified, and held them worthily slain; saying, that hee would not haue his people attempt any thing vpon the confines of *Hungary* that might trouble the peace; commanding the Bashes of *Buda* and *Temeswarre*, very strictly, to contain their bordering souldiers in their duties: the like he required from the Christians.

Ernest of Banaria chosen Arch-bishop of Cullen,

The Calendar corrected by Pope Gregory the 13.

The protestant princes in Germany refuse to admit the new Calendar.

A truce betwixt the Emperour and the Turk.

Salentine Elector of Cullen marries and resignes his Bishopricks.

Sigmund Battori chosen Prince of Transilvania.

A controuersie
compounded.

This yeer 1585, the Citizens of *Magdebourg* were in great controuersie with their Archbishop touching the ecclesiasticall and political iurisdiction, and for one of the Cities gates ioyning to the Bishops Palace, by which he did usually come in and go out at his pleasure. The Electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh* by their intercession compounded these quarels; whereby it was concluded, that the City should haue free exercise of the religion of the Confession of *Amburg*, with diuerse other priuiledges, and the Archbishoppe should haue the gate opened whensoever he would enter; but the keyes should be kept by one of the Senators, and the Porter should be appointed by the Senate; who should enter into bonds, both to the Archbishop and to the Senate, to giue free egress and regress to either party, and at all times when need should require, without any prejudice to the other party; but yet so as no Counsellors nor Ministers should be admitted, vnlesse either the archbishop, or the administrator, were there in person.

Competition for
the Crowne of
Poland.

STEPHEN BATTORI king of *Polonia*, dying this yeere 1587, the Nobilitie met at *Vasania*, for the chusing of a new king. There were many Competitors for the Kingdome, namely, **ERNESTVS**, **MATHIAS**, and **MAXIMILIAN** brethren, Arch-dukes of *Austria*, recommended by the Emperor **RODOLPH** their brother, by the king of *Spain*, the Pope and other Princes, whom also many Noblemen (enemies to **SAMOSCIVS** the Chancellor) did fauour. The second was **SIGISMUND**, king of *Swethland*, grand-child by the mothers side to **JAQVLON** king of *Poland*. **THEODOR**, great Duke of *Muscovy*, did much affect this neighbor kingdome. Some would haue one **PIASTVS**, a Noble-man of *Polonia* chosen; and other desired to haue **SIGISMUND**, brothers son to the deceased King: yea, there were some which gaue their voice to **ALEXANDER FARNES** for his singular vertue, and glorious exploits.

After much contention, in the end the Nobility was diuided into two parts: the one made choice of **SIGISMUND** of *Swethland*, the other, of **MAXIMILIAN** of *Austria*, the Emperors brother: so as either of them challenging the kingdome they fell to Armes; but the Swethen being a young Prince of one and twentie yeeres of age preuailed: being supported by the Chancellor **SAMOSCIVS** who was very powerfull, he came into *Poland*, and was crowned in *Cracovia* this yeere in December.

Maximilian of
Austria be-
sieges Cracovia.

The yeere following, the Arch-duke **MAXIMILIAN** seeking to get the possession of the Kingdome, came speedily with 16000 foot and horse, and planted his Camp within sight of *Cracovia*, requiring to be admitted and crowned. The *Cracouians* who fauoured the Swethen would not receiue him, but sent vnto the other to hasten his coming, and in the meane time they fortified their City, burnt their suburbs, and salied forth daily. During the siege many Germanes died: and **MAXIMILIAN** hearing, that the King of *Swethen* was come to *Perriconia*, he raised his Campe, and marcht to meete with him, to decide their quarrell by a battaile; but either knowing by the way, that the Swethen was farre stronger, hauing thirty thousand men in his army, or for some other consideration, he changed his aduice, and returned to *Cracovia*, which he attempted againe in vaine: and **SAMOSCIVS** the Chancellor followed him with a thousand two hundred choice men; the report whereof, did so terrifie the Army, as **MAXIMILIAN** retired to the confines of *Silesia*, putting himselfe into the towne of *Pisense*; whither **SAMOSCIVS** pursued him, and besieged the towne: where **MAXIMILIAN** (no longer able to defend himselfe) was forced to yeeld, and so was carried backe Captiue into *Polonia*.

MAXIMILIAN being committed to custodie, the Bohemians did expostulate with the *Polonians*, for the breach of the League which was betwixt them, for that during the peace betwixt both the kingdomes, the *Polonians* had entred in hostile manner, into *Silesia*, and had besieged their friend **MAXIMILIAN**, and carried him out of the prouince captiue, for whose disgrace many Princes were grieved.

Notwithstanding the truce betwixt the Emperour **RODOLPH** and **AMVRATH** the Third, yet the *Turkes* did often breake it: and this yeere they hauing gathered together their bordering troupes at *Saramum*, vpon the lake of *Palata*, meant therewith to invade the confines of the Christians, but they thought it fittest to preuent them: wherupon they set vpon the Castle, and forced it, wherein they took 190 men of special note, 70 women, with a great number of ordinary souldiers, whom they carried away Captiue; but **ALI BASHA** the motiue of all these broiles escaped: whom **AMVRATH** afterwards without any respect of affinity (hauing married his sister) caused to be hanged, for that he had broken the truce with the Christians. But

Captiues taken
from the
Turkes.

But this execution did not terrifie them from making incursions, spoiling some townes and many villages.

GEORGE SERIN sonneto Count **NICHOLAS**, imitating his fathers glory, was sent against them, of whom he made a great slaughter, the which was the more gracious to the Otoman Emperour, for that there perished many choice souldiers and excellent Captaines: wherat being incensed, he rewarded the Gouverneur of *Sigeth*, the author of this expedition, as he had done **ALI BASHA**. Afterwards **SINAN BASHA** to reuenge these former losses, and to wipe away the ignominy, had gathered together ten thousand men, horse and foote, meaning to spoile all *Hungary*. Nere vnto *Sixa*, **CLAVDIVS RVSSEVS** opposed himselfe with one thousand seuen hundred men, with whom the Gouverneur of *Agria* ioynd, and both together set vpon the Enemy, and put them to flight; in the which there were three thousand *Turkes* slaine and drowned; all their Waggon, with great store of victuals, and thirty Ensignes were taken. This victory was not so pleasing to the Emperour as was expected: for notwithstanding that he had a faithlesse peace with the *Turkes*, and knew well that they gouerned their counsels by the euent of things, and would willingly imbrace all occasions to annoy the Christians, yet he would not be the cause, the truce should be infringed: Wherefore he dismist all the Captains from their charges, pardoning the souldiers, but when he vnderstood that the beginning of these wrongs proceeded from the *Turkes*, hee allowed of their excuse. **AMVRATH** depriv'd **SINAN BASHA** of all his goods, and committed him to prison in *Constantinople*.

The *Turkes* de-
feated by the
Christians.

The question betwixt King **SIGISMUND** and the Arch-duke **MAXIMILIAN**, being a prisoner, was yet treated of in *Poland* by Cardinall **ALDOBRANDINO** Legate for the Pope, and the Ambassadors for either party. There were manie difficulties, and still new did arise; but in the end, by the diligence and care of those Ambassadors, a Peace was concluded betwixt the *Polonians* and the house of *Austria*, vpon certain conditions, which the Emperour should confirme by oath, and so **SIGISMUND** the Third enioyed the kingdome quietly. After which, there being an Assembly of the States called, the Emperour sent his Ambassador, who complained much of a Decree made the yeere before, wherein it was mentioned, that no man, hereafter, in the election of a new King of *Poland*, should presume to name or recommend any one of the house of *Austria*; if he did, he should be (*ipso facto*) infamous, requiring that this ignominious exclusion (the like whereof had not bene seene in any other Nation) might be abolished: Which done **MAXIMILIAN** should take the oath he had promised, and the Emperour, with the whole house of *Austria* would suffer them to leaue men, and to buy victuals in their Countries, if *Poland* should be invaded by the *Turke*. Whereunto the King answered; that hauing conferred with his Councell he would satisfie him; in the meane time he could not concale, that he had ben aduertised from the *Turkes* Court, and by the Ambassadors of other Kings, that the Emperour had prest the *Turke* to make warre against *Poland*, being a most fit time, the Noblemen there being then in factions, that they had no firme peace with the Princes of *Germany*, nor with the *Muscovite*, neither had they any store of money to leaue and entertaine strangers.

A peace betwixt
Sigismund of
Po. and, and
Maximilian of
Austria as liberty.

When the Ambassador had excused all this, he afterwards receiued his answer: That the *Polonians* had been forced to make that constitution concerning the house of *Austria*, to auoide greater daungers. But if the King of *Spain*, and **MAXIMILIAN** would performe the promised Oath, they would doe that which was iust and fit for the dignitie of the Common-wealth; that the Decree did onely concerne **MAXIMILIAN**; but if the other Arch-dukes and his kinne-menne did support him, then it should extend to the whole house of *Austria*. Thus the Ambassador took his leaue, and departed with a sallowe answer: notwithstanding afterwards these houses were thoroughly reconciled, by reason that King **SIGISMUND** married with **ANNE** of *Austria*, who was daughter to the Arch-duke **CHARLES**.

The truce continued still in *Hungary* with **AMVRATH**, to the great content of the subjects, and **AMVRATH** was well pleased to haue prolonged it eight yeeres more: but hauing made a peace with the Persian, his *Bashas* perswaded him to imbrace the occasion, and to send a good Army against the Christians, they being now engaged in ciuill warres. This counsell pleased **AMVRATH** and his sonne, wherupon hee commanded preparations to bee made both by sea and land. In the beginning of the yeere they entred vnexpected, and forced diuerse townes. After which the Army turned to *Camisa*: but they were repulst, and put

1592.
Amvrath re-
news the war in
Hungary.

to flight by the garrison, losing in a manner all the fruites of their former victory. AMVRATH (being importuned by his sonne and others) sent ASSAN Balha with a strong Army into Croatia, where at the first hee tooke *Castrotrium* by treason: after which hee went to *Vehitium* the Metropolitan City of Croatia, the which after some small batery yeelded; after which he put to flight ERDOD with fifty thousand men, lying betwixt *Vehitium* and *Carlostad*.

This Army in Croatia increased daily, which strooke a great terror into all Hungary, Bawaria, Bohemia, Stiria, Carinthia, Moravia, Silesia, and all the neighbour provinces. The Emperour assembled the states of Silesia and Moravia, acquainted them with the danger, and perswaded them to ioyne all their forces, to resist this barbarous enemy, although he did not doubt but AMVRATH would disauow this warre, and the breach of the truce; yet hee knew that the Turks property was, that having once taken any townes never to restore them: wherefore hee sought by all means, to get aid to resist this tyrant. On the sixteenth of Iuly the Turks came with a forraging troupe to *Senderine*, thinking to surprize it in a miste: but they were discovered, and some few daies after, the gouernour of *Agria* meeting them but with small troupes and forces, they put him to flight, hauing lost in a manner all his footmen.

In Iuly, ASSAN Balha, growne proud with this successe, laid siege to *Sisseck*, a Monastery standing betwixt the riuers of *Saua* and *Calapa*, it being defended by a Chanon of *Agria*, with a good garrison: this he battered six dayes together with foure and twenty peeces of Ordnance; but it was valiantly defended, and he was forced to retire with shame and losse. Hauing lodged his Army not far off, he attempted the Chanon with promises of reward, giuing him to vnderstand that hee knew well in what estate they were. The Chanon wondered who should discouer their secrets to the enemy; yet hee brought in his Messenger and shewed them the whole Monasterie, being very careful to discouer the traitor: In the end, hee findes it was the Steward, wherupon taking him and the Turke, hee cast them secretly into the Riuier: ASSAN wondering at the long staie of his Messenger, sent to know if any violence were offered him. The Chanon answered, hee had sent him away presently with a kinde answer, and if any accident had happened vnto him vpon the way, he was not acquainted with it; adding withall, that seeing there was but little hope to defend the place against the Turkes forces, hee would treat with the Balha to yeeld it, so as hee would send some honourable persons, the which (for that it concern'd his reputation much) should receive the place, and withall appointed a day for the deliuerie. The Balha was glad of this answer, making choice of a troupe of the better sort to goe into the Monasterie; in the meane time the Chanon planted his Ordnance, and couered it that the enemy might not see it, lodging his garrison armed in secret places, that when a signe were giuen they might fall out vpon the enemy.

The Turkes came on, all richly attired, and riding three in a ranke, whereof fiftie were receiued in at the great gate: but presently the herse was let downe, and the Ordnance discharged vpon them, and at the same instant the garrison salied forth vpon such as stayed without, and such as could escape, made what haste they could to returne, cursing their entertainment at *Sisseck*. The Balha wrote proud Letters to the Chanon, that he would not giue ouer the siege till he had taken the place, and that he would sley him alive to the reproach of Christendome. But the Chanon was not much moued with his threats, neither did the Balha any memorable thing there this yeere.

The Beglerby of Greece entred Hungary with a great Army: hee attempted *Toggy*, a strong Castle in vaine, from which he attempted *Gompyrha* seated in a marish, and easily to be defended. ASSAN Balha was still in Croatia and Carinthia, putting all to fire and sword. In September he came to the Emperours court, that CANISA was straightly besieged with an Army of 160000 Turkes, yet there was good hope for that the Christian Army increased daily, the Arch-duke ERNEST being made General. The Camp lay then at *Carlostadium*, where the Turkes came to view the Army from the top of a hill: and the Christians sending out souldiers to discouer the enemies Army, found no more then what they had sene on the hill, so as the Christians slept securely without feare of any enemy, who came and charged them so suddenly as they had scarce leisure to put on their Armes: The fight was long and furious, and the slaughter great on either side: but the Christians being oppress'd with multitudes, fell in the same place where they fought, so as in all there scarce escaped fourescore: the commanders and

Captaines

Captaines fled betwixt: but afterwards they lost their heads, as a iust reward for their basenes. This victory was great, yet purchased with much blood: for many wrote the Turkes lost 12000 men. All the neighbour provinces were so terrified herewith, as they abandoned their townes.

The Emperour sent to all the Princes, and Imperiall townes, laying before them the danger wherein Germany stood, vnto the enemy were presently repulst from their borders. The Princes of Germany, both to obey the Emperour, and to prevent the danger of the Christian Common-wealth, did presently giue order for the louing of men and money, and the Pope, the King of Spain, the Princes of Italy, and others did contribute bountifully to so necessarie a warre. The citizens of *Aix*, of the reformed religion, did not onely enioy the free exercise thereof, but also required to be admitted into the Senate, contrary to an edict, made by a general consent, whereby none but Romane Catholikes might be admitted to be Consuls, whereupon the auncient Magistrates complained vnto the Emperour: who enioyned them strictly to reduce their Common-wealth to the auncient forme. The new Consuls and Senators pretended that the peace of religion was infringed, and employed all the Princes and orders of the Confession of *Ausburg*: the Emperour taking aduice hereupon at a Diet at *Ausburg*, commissioners were sent to *Aix*, who hearing both parties, and leauing the cause vndecided, made relation vnto the Emperour, who gaue a seuerer sentence against the accused, dissanulling all that had bene done, and reducing the gouernment to the same estate it was in the yeere 1560: That they should pay all the charges of the suit, the Emperour reseruing to himselfe the penalty for the offence committed &c. The execution of which sentence, they of the reformed religion laboured to stay, by the mediation of the protestant Princes.

This yeere the Turkes came againe to besiege the monastery of *Sisseck*, with 30000 men. ASSAN Balha (who was there General) planted his Ordnance, and battered it; furiously tenne dayes together, so as the besieged were brought to that distresse, as they had small hope to defend it any longer. The most resolute did encourage the rest, so as in the end they resolu'd to attend all extreames, rather then to yeeld themselves to assured death and shame. They aduertised the Bishop of *Agria*, and the gouernour, of their desperate estate, whereupon the Christians hauing drawne an Army of 5000 men together, after much consultation of the danger, in the end they resolu'd to charge the enemy: The two Armies ioynd: and although the Turkes exceeded them farre in numbers, yet God gaue strength vnto the Christians, who defeated them, and put them to flight: their Camp, baggage, ordinance and munition was taken, and carried to *Sisseck*. They write that there were eightene thousand slaine, amongst which ASSAN Balha was one, with many morre of speciall note. And of the Christians there died not about fiftie two.

The Emperour being aduertised of the victory at *Sisseck*, he wrote vnto AMVRATH concerning this expedition, and to know whether he would continue the truce and peace, which had hitherto bene kept betwixt them, or that he would hereafter proceede by Armes: and withall he sent a present to the Sultan, according to the vsuall manner, commanding his Embassador to stay at *Commorha*, vpon the confines of Hungary, with the present vntill the returne of his messenger: and if that AMVRATH would continue the peace, he should proceede; if not, then come backe to the Emperour. In the meane time he was came vnto the Christians camp, that SYMAN Balha had receiued commandement from AMVRATH, to invade Hungary with forty thousand men, to reuenge their late losse: that he should not be moued with CANISAs Embassie, and if he should by chance meete with the Donatue, he should take it away and distribute it among the soldiers, and so proceed in the action.

At this time the Turkish Emperour proclaimed warre against the Emperour both in *Constantinople* and at *Buda*: he gaue the charge of this warre to MAHOMET Balha of *Temesuarre*, and to the Beglerby of Greece, SYMAN Balha being chiefe General. SYMAN marcht with his troups to *Buda*, and the Beglerby led his Army by Croatia, meaning to besiege the monastery of *Sisseck*, which they had twice attempted with great losse and shame, but now they battered it with such fury, as in the end they took it, almost in sight of the christian Army, who were nor able to relieue them. The defendants were all cut in pieces, and the Monk was slaid alive and then consumed to ashes.

The Emperour being aduertised of the denouncing of this war, resolu'd also to Armes, and to provide all things necessary for his defence, and the rather for that he was giuen to vader-

O o o 3

stand,

The Emperour
craues aide
against the
Turks.

The Emperours
sues aide
against the
city of Aix.

The Turks be-
sieged Sisseck.

The Christian
victory at Si-
sseck.

The Emperour
sends to Am-
vrath.

The Turke
proclaimes war
against the Em-
perour.

Sisseck taken by
the Turkes.

The Turke
proceede into
Croatia.

The Turkes
sleue into
Croatia
at Sisseck.

The Christians
sleue in their
camp by the
Turkes at Car-
lostad.

stand that his Legier Embassador at *Constantinople* was kept in chaines, and his seruants miserably torne in pieces. *SINNAN*, after the taking of *Sisseck*, went to *Vasperine*: the which hauing battered some dayes, the garrison finding themselves vnable to resist to great a power, by night fled out at a Postern gate; whom the Turkes discouering followed, and slew many of them. Thence he went to *Palotta*: where hauing battered down the vpper part of the Castle, the Gouerner compounded for himself and the garrison, to depart with their liues & liberty: hauing plighted their faiths, the enemy being admitted into the Castle, this periured Barbarian taking the Gouerner and two others, they slue the rest. The garrison of *Pappa* had the like successe.

The Emperor, hauing by his spies discouered the enemies strength; leuied new forces, and commanded his Captains to draw all their men into one head; where vpon a muster there were found to be 8000 able and resolute men, besides the Hungarians and the horlemen. The Army, hauing passed the *Dannow*, encountered the enemy, and slue some thousands of them, freeing an infinite number of Christian captiues. The Turkes made halke to besiege *Tuta*. *MACHIOR RUDER* with a good troop of horse charged them vpon the way, and slue many, freeing many Christians of all Ages. These two victories strook a great terror into the enemy. The Commanders of the Christian Army went to Councell touching the managing of this warre: in the end, after some diuersity of opinions, they resolved to besiege *Alba Regalis*; whither they marcht as secretly as they could, and took the suburbs: but the Bascha of *Buda*, being aduertised heereof, posted thither with an Army of 20000 men, who came marching directly towards the Christians Camp, who resolved to attend them, and to fight with them: wherein God gaue them a speedy and an easie victory: for, the Turkes lost, in fighting and fleeing, 16000 men, and as some write but 12000; whereof the Bascha of *Buda* was one, and *SINNAN* their Generall was sore wounded: there were taken 40 of the enemies ensignes. Hauing gathered together the spoils, they took counsell for the continuing of the siege: but winter growing on, there being no great store of powder and shot in their Camp, and the Town hauing a strong garrison, they thought it fit to draw their men into good Towns to winter.

In November, *FREDERICK DIEREMBACH*, Gouerner of *Cassonia*, went with 14000 men to besiege *Sabat*, a strong Castle, which did much annoy the Christians; the which after some dayes battery he took. From thence he went to *Fillee*, whither *PALEYS* came to him with new supplies; where hauing battered three daies together, in the end they gaue an assault: but the enemies trusting to their numbers and strength (being 4000 choice men) defended the breach valiantly, and repulst the Christians; who, nothing daunted therewith, resolved either to dy honourably, or to enter the Towne: the which they did vpon a second assault, not without some losse. There yet remained two Castles to force, the which, the valour of the souldiers, and the indiscretion of the Bege of *Fillee*, made easie: for, in the beginning of the siege he had gone forth to seek for aid, and had brought with him the Bascha of *Temeswarre*, and 18000 men.

The Generall of the Christians, knowing that his intent was to force his Camp, went in the night and charged him, ouerthrew his Army, slue some thousands of them, and the Bascha himself, with the Bege of *Fillee*. And from thence they returned to *Fillee*, where hauing taken one of the Castles by force, the other yielded vpon composition to depart with their liues without Arms, they being in number 800 good men. The prey which they took in the Turke Camp and in the Castles, was very great. After the taking of *Fillee*, the Castles of *Dylin* and *Honnasck* were abandoned: they took the Towns of *Seschem*, and *Brauenstein*, and *Salac*, which the garrisons had left and fled. *PALEYS* in the mean time took *Pregel* and *Palanc*. *Samsse* a strong Castle yielded, with *Arnac* and *Holac*. Thus, by the great bounty of God, a great part of *Hungary* was freed from the Turkish slavery: after which, the vnseasonable weather forced them to go to garrison.

A while after, the garrisons of *Petrina*, *Sisseck*, *Castronitz*, and other neer to them, to the number of 3000, went forth to spoile the Christians Countrey: but *GRASVNIUS*, meeting them with 900 men, set vpon them, and slue 500, and forced all the rest in a manner to flee into the riuier of *Collapa*, so as fewe escaped. The diuers victories and rich spoils which the Christians had gotten, gaue great cause of ioy to the Emperor and his brother *MATHIAS*: to whom they sent Ordinance, Turkish horses, with many other rich Presents to *Vienna*.

This yeere, one thousand six hundred ninety foure, the Arch-duke *MATHIAS* brother to the Emperour, was made Generall of the Christian Army, against the Turkes: who hauing intelligence by a Turke which was their captiue in the Christian Campe, that *Nouagrade*,

a strong Towne within three miles of *Buda*, was but weakly mand, they resolved to besiege it. The Garrison, seeing the Army approach, remembering that the Bascha of *Buda* had promised to relieue them, they prepared themselves for defence; but finding the Towne too weak to be defended against so great a power, they retired into the Castle, the which was strong both by Nature and Art, built vpon a Rock, with thick walles and high, the ditch was exceeding deepe, cut out of the Rock. Right against it there was another hill, vpon the which the Christians with great toyle planted their ordinance, with which they battered the Castle, and withall set fire on their fortifications, wherewith being much terrified, they offered to treat: whereupon the Arch-duke gaue them leave to depart only with their swords, there being 450 goodsoldiers in the Castle. The Gouernor going to *Buda* was committed to prison by the Bascha; & not able to purge himselfe was afterwards hangd, for that he had yielded vp so strong a place, without losse of men.

The Emperour finding the burthen of the Turkish warres to be heauy, he demanded aide from the Duke of *Masconie*, the Polonians, and *Transiluanians*. The *Mulcouite* receiued his Ambassador, honorably, and dismissed him with great hopes. The Polonians, although they were in peace with the Turke, yet they promised the Emperor all the assistance they could: And the *Transiluanians* desirous of liberty, and to purchase the Emperours friendship, did willingly embrace the occasion. The Earle of *Serin* and *Nadassius*, hauing gathered together some small forces, went to the Castle of *Precentin* and *Segelesan* which they found set on fire by the Turkes; but *Serin* besieged *Babotes*, a strong Castle seated in a marish ground, the which the Turkes basely abandoned.

Nouagrade being taken, *DIEREMBACH* went with twenty thousand men to *Hatvan*, a strong Towne six miles from *Buda*, the which he battered furiously, and brought to despair of all safety, if they were not speedily relieued by the Bascha of *Buda*, who had gathered together an Army of fifteen thousand men, past the riuier *Saua*, and marcht to charge the Christians behinde; which the Generall vnderstanding, he left the siege, and put his Army in order, taking some places of aduantage: the Armies met, and the encounter for a while was furious; but in the end the Christians put them to flight, and took their ordinance and munition, with seuen-teen ensignes. After this battaile they tooke *Vasperin*, which was abandoned by the Turkes, in which they found good store of corne, great ordinance and munition for warre. The Turkish Garrison which remained in *Zabolz*, hearing of the ouerthrow and death of their men, being terrified, abandoned the place, without any necessity: the which for strength and bignesse is compared to *Toccai* or *Agria*. The Arch-duke *MATHIAS* encouraged with this good successe, resolved to besiege *Strigoniun*, the which would open the way to *Buda*: whither bringing his Army, he battered it furiously, yet could they not keepe out the succors which were sent vnto them: notwithstanding they prest the siege, and the Turkes defended it valiantly; but the Citie being terribly torne with their continuall batterie, and in danger to be lost, newes came vnto them that *Sinan* Bascha approached with a great Army, which did much reuiue the besieged, and made *MATHIAS* for feare to raise his siege, contrary to the aduice of many of his commanders, whereupon he past the *Dannow*.

During this siege at *Strigoniun*, the Emperour assembled a Diet at *Ratisbon*, at the which hee assisted in person, making them acquainted with the whole progresse of the Turkish war; that in the yeer 1591 he had by his Ambassadors concluded a truce with the Turkish Emperour for eight yeers; yet, contrary to his faith, he had in hostile manner spoiled *Hungary* and the neighbour Provinces, taking many places, and carrying away 5000 Christians into seruitude: that he had often complained thereof to *AMBRATH* by his Ambassador, and required restitution: but he could haue no good answer; yea, *AMBRATH* Bascha, the Author of all this warre, was honoured and aduanced; whereupon he fell to open war, and besieged *Sisseck*. Being again put in minde of the truce, he invaded *Hungary* with a greater Army, forcing the poor peasants with fire and sword, to pay him an excessive tribute; that contrary to the law of Arms hee had cast *CRCOVITZ* his Ambassador into bonds, who being brought captiue to *Belgrade*, he there in great misery ended his daies in a filthy loathsome prison. That he for his part hauing drawn his forces together, had ouerthrown his enemy in some battailes, and taken diuers Townes and Castles from him. Yet it might be well coniectured, that he was not growne so weak as he could soone repaire his forces; yea it did appeare plainly, that the Turke would employ all his power, to reuenge his former losses and ouerthrows. He had therefore called that assembly with the consent of the Princes Electors, to the end they might conferre of those

The Emperour
craves aid from
the Muscovites,
and Polonians.

The Turkes de-
feated by the
Christians.

Strigoniun be-
sieged, on waies,
by the Arch-
duke.

The Emperour
speech at a Diet
at Ratisbon.

Vasperine taken
by the Turkes.

Palotta taken.

Alba Regalis
besieged by the
Christians.

The Turkes over-
thrown by the
Christians.

Sabat and
Fillee taken by
the Christians.

The Bascha of
Temeswarre
with an Army
of Turkes over-
thrown.

Nouagrade ta-
ken by the
Christians.

those things which did belong to the preferuation of the Empire, but especially of the Turkeish warres, how it should be managed and with what supplies: Whereunto the Archbishoppe of Mentz (after conference with the Electors, and Princes of the Empire, and with the other Orders as well Ecclesiasticall as Secular) told the Emperor, that he should haue aide against the Turkes, and that Ambassadors should be sent vnto forraigne Princes, to inuite them to put to their helping hands, to suppress the common enemy of Christendome.

DIEFFENBACH was still at the siege of *Hainau*, and had brought them to that extremity, as they sent word vnto the *Basha of Buda*, that if they were not relieved within three daies, they should be forced to kill their wiues and children, to set fire on the Towne, and to make their way through the middle of their Enemies, by the Sword: The *Basha*, hearing in what danger the besieged were, hauing gathered together many thousands of Turkes, marched towards the Christians, whom D I E F F E N B A C H went to encounter, with fūe thousand horse; and charging them on the suddaine, slue fūe thousand, and returned to the Campe with rich spoils, whereupon they were in hope the Towne would haue yeelded; but the besieged endured a fresh assault wherein, the Christians being repulst, they lost 1000 good men, wherewith they were out of hope to take the City; wherefore fearing lest the *Basha* should returne with new forces, the Christian Army, being much wasted, D I E F F E N B A C H was forced to leaue the siege.

S I N A N *Basha*, in the meane time, entred *Hungary*, with an Army of 125000 men, his first attempt was vpon *Tatta*, a Towne lying betwixt *Strigoniū* and *Lauerin*, which yeelded: From whence he marched to *Lauerin* or *Rhab*, which is twelue German leagues from *Vienna*, the Christian Army lying in fight on the other side of the Riuer *Dannew*; but they were so weake, as they durst not passe it, to fight with S I N A N, daily expecting new forces: and the rather for that they heard, there were 2000 Italian foote cometo *Vienna* with 90000 duckets from the Pope, for the Hungarian warre.

In the beginning of August, the Arch-duke M A X I M I L I A N tooke *Castroville*, hauing put all the Turkes and Valachians to the Sword; from thence he went to *Petrinia*, a Fort built some few yeeres before by the Turkes, vpon the Emperors territorie: this Castle had fix strong Bulwarke well fortified, which made it seeme inexpugnable; yet M A X I M I L I A N battered it in such sort, as the Garrison being terrified, set fire on the Castle, euerie one escaping away as hee could, leaving it to the Christians; and in like manner they of *Sisseke*, setting fire off their Fort, abandoned it: After which exploits M A X I M I L I A N retired to refresh his Army.

In the meane time S I N A N *Basha* prest the siege of *Lauerin* (in which Count H A R D E C K was Governour) battering it with sixty peeces of great Ordinance, but he preuailed little: The besieged made many sallies, in one of the which they slew two thousand Turkes, with the Governour of *Greece*. There were great difficultes both in Armies; the Enemies forces were much decayed, both by sickness, and their daily exertions, wanting victuals: The Christian Army was much weaker, wherefore they were forced to keep themselves within their strength; but being not so vigilant as they ought to haue been, the Turkes suddenly cast a bridge ouer the Riuer, and intaded the Christians Campe; where, after some resistance, they were forced to sūe fearfully, to *Altenbourg*. The Enemy tooke that day great store of money, brought for the payment of the Army, all the furniture of the Campe, one thousand Waggon, two hundred Barques laden with Munition, and ten Gallies. S I N A N still battered the Towne, and gaue assaults, and was still repulst with losse, so as within two daies space (as some write) there were twelue thousand Turkes slaine.

The report was, that when S I N A N could not take the Towne by force, he sought to corrupt the Governour Count H A R D E C K: the which he imbracing, he euer after secretly, favoured the Enemies attempts, by the which they tooke away some of their Bulwarke, wherby they had small hope to defend the Towne. H A R D E C K conferring with some of the Captaines, resolved to send Messengers to S I N A N to craue a Truce for some daies, that they might in the meane time treat of the conditions of yeelding: In the meane time, fearing they should be taxed with infamy, if they should yeeld vpon a Towne so well fortified, without necessity, they wrote Letters to the Barons of *Hungary*, to excuse themselves, and to iustifie their action: And in the mean while, hostages were sent on both sides, and in the end it was concluded, that Count H A R D E C K, with his Captaines and Soldiers should depart with baggage and

baggage with their full Armes and colours flying, and be conducted safely to *Altenbourg*. Thus the strongest fort of all Christendome, by the treachery of Count H A R D E C K was yeelded vnto the Enemy, being abundantly furnished with Wine, Corne, and all munition for Warre. For the which, the Earle, coming to *Vienna*, was committed to prison: and the yeere following, by the sentence of certaine Commissioners, who were choosen for that purpose, hee had both his hand and head cut off; which was a iust reward for so foule a Treacherie.

S I N A N, full of ioy for this victory, presently repaired the ruines, and fortified the Town: after which he resolved to besiege *Gomorrha*, seated in the lland foure miles from *Iauerina*, in which E R A S M V S B R V N N E V S commanded with a strong garrison; S I N A N, remembering how well he had sped with Count H A R D E C K, sent Letters by a country-man to B R V N N E V S, promising him mountains of gold if he would yeeld the place: but he would not look on the Letters, commanding the messenger to depart presently, saying, that he had no skill in the Illirian Tongue; neither was he made Gouverner there to conferre with the enemy, but to fight; and that S I N A N was deceived if he thought to finde a H A R D E C K in *Gomorrha*: After which answer S I N A N began to presse the siege with all the speed he could. The Arch-duke knowing, that after the losse of *Iauerine*, all the hope of miserable *Hungary* next vnder God, consisted in the preferuation of this place; hauing gathered together a good Army of Germanes, Hungarians and Bohemians, went with all speed to *Nitra*, not far from *Gomorrha*: which the enemy vnderstanding, hauing set fire on his Camp, he left the siege, and went to *Iauerine*. The Arch-duke entred into *Gomorrha*, repaired the ruines, fortified the defences, and caused new bulwarke to be made.

This yeer 1595, A M Y R A T H the second Emperor of the Turkes, sonne to S E L I M, left his life and Empire; whom succeeded M A H O M E T the Third: whom all men supposed would continue the warre against the Christians with more violence. Wherefore the Emperour, besides the aid which was granted at the Imperiall Diet, desired an extraordinary supply of horse and foot; the which diuerse Princes willingly brought at their owne charge: From the vpper *Saxony* came 12000 horse, from the lower, 600; from *Francia*, 1000 horse. *Sueuia* sent 4000 foot; *Austria*, 2000 horse and 6000 foot; *Trill*, 4000 foot; *Bauaria*, 3000; *Westphalia*, 500 horse and 1500 foot: the *Silesians*, *Morauians*, *Bohemians* and *Lusatians*, sent great supplies. Besides the Pope, the Dukes of *Florence*, *Ferrara* and *Manua*, the Emperour required the Poles to ioyne in league with him, and to make a social warre against the common enemy of Christendome. This proposition was much debated; S A M O S C I V S and many other holding that they should not violate the peace, which had continued fūe 75 yeeres betwixt them and the Turkes, and draw vpon them an vnecessary warre; yet for that they would not utterly deny aide vnto the Emperour, they lett him vnderstand, that they held it fit, that the Pope, the King of *Spain*, and the rest of the Christian Princes should ioyne in a firme league against the Turke: that these counsels should bee imparted to the Princes Electors, to the end the league might be made, not with the Emperour alone, but with the whole Empire: and soon after, the Emperours ambassadors coming to *Craconia*, Commissioners were appointed to treat of the conditions of the league they were to make with C A S A R and the Empire.

S I G I S M V N D B A T T O R I, Prince of *Transilvania*, hauing wrested many Forts from the Turke, did this yeer annoy them with many incursions: and the better to fortifie himself and his authority against the common enemy, he resolved by all means to ioyne in league with the Emperour, sending a stately Ambassage to *Prague*: where a league was soon concluded vpon certain conditions: that the Emperour should constantly prosecute the warre; that if he should conclude any peace or league with the Sultan, he should impart it to S I G I S M V N D, and comprehend *Transilvania*, *Moldania* and *Valachia* therein; that S I G I S M V N D should promise and confirme by oath for himself and all his subjects, to continue the warre against the Turkes, and not to conclude any peace with him without the priuiey & consent of the Emperour; that S I G I S M V N D B A T T O R I should enioy *Transilvania*, with those parts of *Hungary*, as his Predecessors had formerly done, with all their rights and reuenues, acknowledging the Emperours maiesty and his lawfull successors for their lawfull Kings; for the which they should take the oath of fealty when he should enter into the possession of the Prouince: and if the Prince or his Successors should dy without issue male, then *Transilvania* should be annexed to the Kingdome of *Hungary*. There were many other Articles set down in this league, the which to auoid prolixity I omit.

1594
Gomorrha besieged by Sinan Basha.

The Turke learnt by the siege of Gomorrha.

The Princes of Germany assist the Emperour for the Turkish warre.

League betwixt the Emperour and the Prince of Transilvania.

The articles of the league.

The Turks
seek to surpris
the Prince of
Transilvania.

The reasons which moved the Transilvanian so much to affect this league with the Emperor, was the treachery of the Turks against his owne person, and the excessive tributes where- with his Country was opprest: for, in July 1594, the Tartarians, who had been drawne down to aid the Turks against the Hungarians, were sent into *Transilvania* to seile vpon that Province by the Sultans commandement, and to expell Prince *SIGISMUND*, or to send him captiue to *Constantinople*. It was not vnknowne, that he fought to fall from the Turk to the Roman Empire, by reason of the intolerable tribute: which desertion many Noble-men of *Transilvania* fought to hinder; who, conspiring with the Tartarians, undertook to deliuer them the whole Province, and to send the Prince captiue to *Moss*, where they were incamped: whereupon they perswaded the Prince, that the great Chancellor of *Poland* attended him on the confines of the Kingdome with a great Army, to treat with him vpon matters of importance, deliuering him counterfeite Letters from the Chancellor; whereunto giuing credit, he began his iourney: but being on the way, he was aduised by some that were more honest and faithfull, to proceed no further; and that he was not expected by the Polonians, but by the Tartarians, who were resolved to depriue him of his estate. Being amazed at the newes, he retired with his company into a place of strength, untill he had drawne his forces together: and then he called an Assembly of all the Nobility to *Clanfenbourg*, dissembling the treason intended against him; where at a banquet he apprehended 14 of the conspirators, and put them to death. After which, he carried open Arms against the Turks.

The Transilva-
nians conspire a-
gainst their
Prince.

The league being concluded betwixt the Emperor and the Prince of *Transilvania*, the warre grew hot in diuerse places, and the Christians recovered *Vasilia* with a rich prey. *SINAN*, resolving to go from *Belgrade* to *Constantinople* to salute the new Emperor, and to present him with the treasure which he had taken, was intercepted by the Valachians, who defeated his troops, and took all his treasure, he himself with some few others escaping the danger. *MAHOMET* hearing that the Valachians, being his tributaries, were now become his enemies, was much incensed; sending *MICHAEL* the Vaiuode (who was of that Nation) with great forces to invade *Valachia*, and to keep it for himself. *MICHAEL* goes with his Army of Turks into *Valachia*: but, before he would attempt any thing, he attended the Tartarians coming out of *Hungary*; but first the Valachians and Transilvanians met with them before they could ioyne, and slue eight thousand, the rest being put to flight: and then they attended *MICHAEL* with great resolution, who contained himself within his Camp. After which, *CHAMOS* the Tartarian, by the commandement of *MAHOMET*, entred *Moldania* and *Valachia* with a great Army, whom *AARON* the Vaiuode fought withall in three seuerall battells, and slue twelue thousand Tartarians.

The fraudulens
propositions of
the Turks.

SINAN Basha, being at *Belgrade*, called to him certain seruants of the Ambassador *CROCOTIVS*, who (as you heard) died there miserably in prison; telling them, that if their master had liued, he would haue set him at liberty as he did them, hauing brought him thither on- ly to treat of a peace betwixt the Sultan and the Emperor: but he being dead, hee would send his seruants to *CESAR* to let him vnderstand, that *MAHOMET* had giuen him charge to be- siege *Vienna*, the which he knew was farre more easie than *Ianerin*. He extolled his Emperours power, and disgraced the Germans, wishing that the Emperor would in time aduise (before the Army should march) how a peace might be made. He then sent them to *Buda* to his son, being Gouverneur of *Greece*; who, calling the Secretary before him, hee made many complaints of the wrong done to the Turks: he put them in hope of liberty, sending in the mean time one to the Emperor, with conditions whereby he said a peace might be concluded; that is to say, If the Emperor would restore all the Castles and Forts which he had taken, and their Territories; if the Christians would leaue *Sisseck*; if *CESAR* would not take into his protection the Transilvanians, Valachians and Moldauians; and, lastly, if he would duely pay the annual tribute that had been for many years omitted.

The Emperours
answers to the
Turks propositions.

These conditions were giuen to one in writing, with this condition, that if he returned not with an answer in 15 daies, the rest should dy. *BARLING* returned from the Emperor with this answer, that he neuer had other intent but to maintain a firm peace with the Sultan, hauing alway fought it with such conditions, as their subiects might be freed from that fatal war. And making a repetition of their injuries and the success, he said, that the Beglerbey was much de- ceined, if he thought the Roman Emperor were reduced to those Streights, that he would ac- cept of any conditions of peace, how vnjust soeuer, and the Turks should soon knowe, that he neither wanted force nor courage to defend himself, and to recouer that which had bin lost by

(treachery)

treachery: and as he had been alwaies carefull of the quiet and good of his subiects, and to a- void the effusion of innocent blood, so would he not now be auerfe from a peace, if *SINAN* would restore those places which he had taken. That the Transilvanians, Moldauians, and Va- lachians, had for many ages past, been vnited to the crowne of *Hungary*, as the members to the body: and therefore the Turke should not take it ill, if the Emperour undertooke their pro- tection, but rather promise neuer to invade those Provinces in hostile manner. If they perfor- med this, and made satisfaction for the wrong done vnto his Ambassadour (which all Prin- ces did detest) and set his seruants at libertie, there might be some meanes for a Peace, but if they did otherwise, there were no way of reconciliation.

CHARLES Earle of *Mandsfeld*, sonne to *PETER ERNST* (hauing spent many yeeres in the warres of *Blanders* and *France*) was by the Emperour (with the King of *Spain*'s good liking) called into *Hungary*, to gouerne those warres vnder the Arch-duke *MATTHIAS*: he carried with him two thousand horse, and six thousand foote, most Wallons; with these forces he came to the *Prague*, where the Emperour did him much honour, after which he began to reform the martial discipline, and to leade the Army with more circumspection then formerly it had been. He marched, being accompanied by the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, and others of great note, from *Vienna* to *Altenbourg*, with fifty thousand foote, and fiftene thousand horse, and laid siege to *Strigonium*, where at first assault he took the old town; the Turks flying into the new: then he planted his Ordinance, with the which he so battered the new Towne, and Saint *THOMAS* Fort, as a small breach being made, they entred, and put all to the Sword: then planting three batteries, and making a large breach, he commanded an assault to be giuen to the Castle; but they were repulst with great losse.

Count Mand-
feld goes into
Hungary to
command the
Christians Army

Strigonium be-
sieged by the
Christians.

The Beglarbey or Gouverneur of *Greece*, drew together a great Army, to relieue the besie- ged: approaching neere vnto the Christians, *MANDSFELD* went forth to meete them, ha- ving put his Army in bataille: but the Basha of *Buda*, seeing himselfe inferior, both in valor and multitude, retired confusedly, and the Christians pursuing them, put the whole Army to flight; but comming againe to renew the bataille, the Christians were disordered and fled: Count *MANDSFELD*, knowing that he must either vanquish or raise the siege, resolved to giue them bataille with his whole Army, in which (hauing made a great slaughter of the Turks with his ordinance) both Armies comming to ioyne, he defeated them quite, and slew six thousand; among whom died the Basha of *Ianerin* and his son, and the Beglarbey of *Greece* (being fore wound- ed) fled to *Buda*.

The next day Count *MANDSFELD* summoned the Towne to yeeld, whereunto they answered: that although they despaired of all help, yet they had resolved to preferre a glorious death, before an ignominious life; whereupon the Christians (being incensed with this answer) returned againe to a fresh charge. Count *MANDSFELD* did not lye to enioy the fruits of this victory; for, hauing spent his force and his spirits in the bataille, playing the part of a com- mander with his tongue, and of a souldier with his hands, sweating and distempered, he called for drinke, so as he fell into a Fever, whereof he died soone after, at *Gomorra*, before the yeelding of the Towne. The siege was still continued with great violence; the Arch-duke *MATTHIAS* comming to the Campe; so as in the end, being brought to despair, they compoun- ded to yeeld the Town, and the soldiers to depart with their swords by their sides, euery one carrying a pack at his back.

Count Mand-
feld dies.

Before the yielding of the Towne *SINAN* Basha prepared a great Army to invade *Valachia*, *Moldania*, and *Transilvania*: who hearing of his intent, raised an Army of twenty thousand men, and charged the Turkes at the passage of a Riuer, where there was a long and furious bat- tle, being doubtfull to whom the victory would incline; but on the suddaine there came a supply of six thousand horse to the christians, which did much relieue those that were tired with fighting, by whose helpe they obteyned the victory, making a great slaughter of their enemies, and many being drowned in the Riuer of *Dannew*, the bridge breaking, with the weight of those that fled. The Germane Chroniclers write, there were 25000 Turkes slaine, and halfe as many Christians.

Sinan Basha
enters Transil-
vania twice.

SINAN hauing recouered a new Army of seuentie thousand foote and horse, he passed the Riuer of *Dannew*, vpon the confines of *Moldania*, neere to the towne of *Giorgum*, lodging part of his Army in the Castles and Townes, vpon the borders of *Valachia* and *Moldania*. Thither came vnto him *HASAN* Basha, *MICHAEL* the expulst Vaiuode of *Transilvania*, with many o- ther Turkes and Tartarians of note. *SINAN* with the rest of his Army went to *Terguist*, a famous

famous Monastery, which he converted into a Castle, and fortified it with all things necessary; refusing, not to depart before that he had subdued those Provinces: but the event proved otherwise.

In Hungary, HEBERSTEIN, Gouverneur of part of that Country, burnt the Towns of *Cheeringa*, *Majlona* and *Bellahina*; where he slew many Turks, and carried away many prisoners: among the which there were some of great authority. And at the same time the Haiducs took the Town of *Wakmer* on the other side of the river of *Dannow*, where they found a great prey. And about the same season, ALDERANDIN General of the Popes forces, and PALFI, besieged the Town and Castle of *Pisgrade*, lying betwixt *Buda* and *Strigoniun*, upon the right bank of the river *Dannow*, wherein at antient time the Crown of Hungary was usually kept: this place the Turks held invincible, neither could they force it in the year 1543, when as *Strigoniun* was made subject to the Turkish yoke; but two years after, the Christians abandoned it for want of victuals. Having planted their Ordinance, they battered it incessantly; and having made a large breach, the souldiers lodged vnder the wals: which the besieged perceiving, they began to faint; which fear opinion increased that there was no relief to be expected. Wherefore, on the twenty fifth of September, they made a signe of parley; and being admitted, they offered to yeeld both Town & Castle, so as they might have the same conditions the Turks had at *Strigoniun*; but it would not be granted: onely they had leave to depart with their lins, without Arms or baggage; which they accepted, and yeelded the place.

The Turks, which were vnder the command of the Balha of *Bosna*, had an intent to spoile Croatia neer to *Petrina*. The Christians living in those parts, hearing of their resolution, making a body of ten thousand souldiers, meant to encounter them. The Turks being twenty thousand (if that were true which themselves report) coming to fight, the Christians shewed such resolution and courage, that they due the greatest part of the Turks, the rest fleeing away. The Christians returning from this expedition, their forces increased, many fresh supplies being comm vnto them: and there joyned with them the horsemen of Croatia, *Carinthia*, and the neighbour Provinces, and the Baron of *Herbenheim*, with certain Hungarian Troops. All these forces being united, they came to *Petrina*, which they battered for the space of two houres, and lost in the assault 120 men. And finding that they should not prevail without greater Ordinance (the which was hard to bring through the mountains) they desisted, and retired to *Sjsek*, there to consult what they had to do. The same night, one *BIZBO*, very familiar with the Bege *HURSTAN*, fled out of *Petrina*; giving them to vnderstand, that the Bege being shot into the body, died soon after; that if they returned to *Petrina*, without doubt they should take the town, for that the Inhabitants were so amazed, that vpon sight of the enemy they would all forsake the Town. The Christians with this hope marched speedily away, and came to *Petrina*, which they found abandoned; the which they entered, and fortified with a good garrison, wherein they found ninety barrels of powder.

Whilest that these things passed in Hungary, the quiet of *Moldavia* was disturbed by *SAMOSCIVS* the great Chancellor of *Poland*, who sought to expell the Vaiode whom the Transilvanian had appointed, and to bring in a new, besieging the chief City of *Moldavia*. He was twice beaten and put to flight by the old Vaiode: in which encounters the chief Authors of that counsell were slain, and the new Vaiode expelled again. The Arch-duke *MAXIMILIAN* was then cald with his whole Army into *Transilvania*. This summer, not onely men, but even the elements did fight against the Turkish Sultan: for, after many defeats, another mischief followed; for, *Rhab* being set on fire, most of the Towns victuals were burnt: and *NADASTI*, meeting with a convoy of come going to *Rhab*, hee slew the souldiers, and carried away all the corn.

After Count *MANDSELD*'s death, his Netherland and Walloon souldiers fell into a mutiny. *MANDSELD* had brought them into a Countrey which did not abound with gold and silver, like to the Belgick Provinces; but desolate, exhausted and wasted, where there was nothing to be expected but blows, wounds, and death. They often complained of this in his life time: but they durst not, by reason of his severe discipline, threaten any open defection. Being now in a mutiny, the Captains laboured fourteen daies together to pacifie them, and to contain them in their duties. In the mean time, many fleeing away, some were brought back and imprisoned, others were slain by the peasants. On the tenth day of October, foure and twenty foot and horse came to *Pienna*: being let in and lodged, they were fought for, and at length found. In the beginning they defended themselves valiantly; and one of them shotte himself

himself through. At length they were taken, and deliuered ouer to the Iudge as Traitors.

MAHOMET, having received so many losses, especially by those who were wont to be his friends and confederates, was wonderfully transported with rage and indignation; swearing by his scepter, and by his Prophet MAHOMET, that he would reuenge those injuries, and prosecute warre against the Transilvanians, Valachians and Moldavians, vntill that hee had slaine them all; sending forth into all places to leue men, and to make prouision of corn and munition. *SIGISMUND* the Transilvanian, being aduertised heereof, fortified his Army with new supplies: hee caused five troops of Silesian horsemen, which were vpon the way, to aduance, and to haue the greater forces to encounter his enemy, hee granted to a certain people of his Countrey, called *Dockeieri* (who had resolved to forsake the Turk) their ancient liberties, rights and priuiledges, giuing them withall great possessions; but, vpon these conditions, that during the wars they should entertain 40000 armed men at their owne charge, and yeerly euery house should pay a dollar, with a certain measure of wheat, oats and barley; and if the Prince had a son which did succeed him, then euery family to contribute a fat Ox. These conditions pleased them well; and withall they promised a good donatie at the birth of a son. These things were proclaimed in the Camp of the *Dockeieri*, which all did confirm by oath: and hauing but 25000 men in their Army, they sent to leue the other 15000, the which was soon effected. The Prince, finding in his Army 80000 foot and horse, left the delights of Court, and went to Camp; where his onely care was, how to intercept and overthrow the enemy. Being aduertised by his spies, that *SINAN* and *HASAN* Basnaes, with the fugitiue Vaiode of *Moldavia*, were encamped by *Tergouissa*, and threatened utter ruin to his Countreies, the Prince resolved to fight with them. Wherefore, hauing commanded all to Arms, he put his Army in battell, and marched towards the enemy.

Being come neer to *Tergouissa*, the Prince called a Councell, to resolve (by their aduice) what was fittest to be done. In the afternoon, two Christians (which had been freed from the Turks) were brought to the Prince, who told him; that there had been such an amazement for two daies together in the Turks Camp, that no man could easily beleue such an alteration: for they, which but few daies before had deuoured the Prince in hope, and had resolved to meet him with his whole Army, were now stricken with such fear, that, had not *SINAN* staid his Janizaries within the Camp both by threats and promises, yea and by force, all had fled away: but some hundreds brake out in despite of *SINAN*. In the end, *SINAN*, no lesse terrified than the rest, fled with his whole Army, leaving in the Camp his tents, ordinance, warlike preparation and victuals; carrying nothing with him but what was most precious. Hee left *HASAN* Balha and *MICHAEL* the Vaiode in *Tergouissa* with 4000 horse and foot, promising to send them speedily supplies: after which, hee fled in all haste to *Bacaresa*, a daies journey off, to attend the event; writing Letters presently to *HASAN*, and aduising him if it were possible to defend the Castle, or else to provide in time for his escape: which Letters were intercepted by the Christians.

The Transilvanian, hearing that the Turks meant to send away 4000 Christians, men, women and children, by the bridge into *Turkie*, sent 500 choice foot men to pursue them, and to free the Christians; who got before the Turks, slew them all, and freed the captives. The Prince of *Transilvania* entered *SINAN*'s Camp, and enioyed what they had left. Then hee summoned *HASAN* to yeeld *Tergouissa*; who, considering of *SINAN*'s flight, of the great power of the Christians who had spoiled his Camp, resolved to yeeld the place, and to saue himself and his souldiers: but the Janizaries (who were 2000 in number) would not consent to the Basnaes aduice, but prepared themselves for defense. The Transilvanian presently overthrew the wals, and assaulted the Town and Castle; the which within fewe houres hee forced, putting all the garrison to the sword: he spared the Balha (whom hee had taken with his owne hands); and *MICHAEL* the Vaiode (who was turned Turk) was slain in the fight. *SINAN* a little before his sight had sent foure thousand men forth to spoil; who returning to the Camp (being ignorant of what had past) were slain by the Christians, losing all the booty they had taken in *Valachia*.

The Prince, leaving a good garrison in *Tergouissa*, marched with the rest of his Army to *Bacaresa*, hoping to finde *SINAN* there. But he, hearing of the losse of *Tergouissa* (doubting of his safety) left the place, with nine and thirty pieces of great ordinance, and great store of powder, victuals and other munition; and fledde to *Zorza* or *Georgia*. The Transilvanian took *Bacaresa* without any losse or labour; and sending some Troops of horse before, hee slew many

Ppp

Turks

Mahomet and the Transilvanian prepare to fight.

Feet in the Turke Camp.

Sinan flies.

The Transilvanian takes Sinan's Camp.

Sinan's second fight.

Pisgrade taken by the Turke.

The Turke slaines Croatia.

Petrina besieged

The Christians take Petrina.

Turkes in the flight, himfelfe following *SINAN* with his whole Army: but before his coming hee had renoued his Camp toward the river *Dannew*, which seeking to paffe, in this tumultuous flight the bridge brake, where many Turkes were drowned. *SINAN* himfelfe was carried into an Ifland from whence the yeere before he had expelled the Chriftians, and in the night efclaped by boat.

The Transilvanian after this happie victory, befieged *Georgia*: the which he battered continually, and hauing made a breach entred it by force; in which were flaine 30000 Turkes which could not follow *SINAN* in his fpeedie flight: they found in it 40 peeeces of Cannon, with fuch ftore of Armes, and munition, as would fuffice two kingdomes. They took many thips laden with ftuffes and other commodities; many Captiues were freed, with which the Prince triumphing returned to *Bucareffa*. It is written, that the Ottoman houfe for many ages, neuer receiued fo great a loffe. For which victories, the Prince commanded publick thanks to be giuen to God, throughout all the towns of *Transilvania*.

SIGISMUND Prince of *Transilvania*, *Valachia*, and *Moldauia*, and Earle of *Dacia*, wrote Letters vnto the Pope, fending him certaine Tartarian and Turkiſh enſignes, making a relation of the victories which he had gotten, by the ouerthrow of *SINAN*'s Army: wherewith the Pope was greatly pleaſed, promiſing vnto the Prince all aſſiſtance of men, counſell and mony: and if neede required he would fend him his Army which was in *Hungary*. Soone after the Pope ſent a Nobleman, to the King of *Poland*, to perſwade him not to ſuffer his Chanceller, to moleſt the Transilvanian in *Moldauia* and *Valachia*, but eſpecially to perſwade Cardinal *BATTORI*, to forget the hatred which he had conceiued againſt his Nephew *SIGISMUND*, being moſt vnworthy in a man of the Church; and that he ſhould aſke the Prince forgiveness both with tongue and hart. The Emperour ſent an Embaſſador, with the like charge to the Polonian, and the Pope wrote his Letters of admonition to Cardinal *BATTORI*, and cited him to *Rome*.

SAMOSCIVS the Chanceller, puſt vp with ambition, without reſpect of religion or honor, fought to effect his deſignes. He perſwaded himſelfe that *Moldauia* did of right belong vnto the Kingdom of *Poland*, perſwading the King and the ſtates to ſuffer him to inuade that prouince, to expell the old *Vaiuode*, and to conſtitute another at his pleaſure; giuing them many reaſons, which had more apparance then truth. The Transilvanian he ſaid was inferior to the Turke in power; and therefore it was to be feared, hee would be expelled out of all his countries, and *Moldauia* become ſubiect to the Turkiſh tyranny: whereby *Poland* ſhould haue a trecherous and troubleſome neighbour. Wherefore it were better they ſhould take it, who could better defend it, whereby the Turkes might be kept farre from the Polonians: promiſing vnto himſelf ſuch fauour with the Turkiſh Sultan, as the Polonians ſhould eaſily enioy their deſires in this point. The Polonians being perſwaded with theſe and ſuch like reaſons, gaue him commandement to proceede: whereupon he expelled *STEBHEN* the old *Vaiuode* and ſub-regated a new, who ſhould be for euer a tributary client to the crowne of *Poland*. After this he ſent to *SINAN* Baſha, intreating him not to take it ill, that he had ſeized vpon *Moldauia*, and inſtituted a *Vaiuode*, but rather would get his inſtitution confirmed by his potent Emperour: promiſing that *Moldauia* ſhould be ſubiect vnto him, as it had been, and pay a greater yearely tribute. *SINAN* (whom ambition and pride made to dare any thing) answered the Chanceller, that it was not his Emperours pleaſure, the Polonian ſhould inuade *Moldauia*, and that the Sultan was able to defend it, without his helpe. That he had giuen it formerly vnto *CZAR* the Tartarian, who was now coming with many thouſands of men, women and children, to enioy it; but yet the Chanceller deſisted not from his enterpriſe. The Prince of *Transilvania* ſoone after (finding that the Polonians had ſome ſecret intelligence with the Turkes) aſſiſted *STEBHEN* the old *Vaiuode* of *Moldauia* with good troupes of horſe and foote, to ſee if he could expell the Polonians and recouer his loſt dignity. Coming to fight the Polonians had the victory: and *STEBHEN* defending himſelfe valiantly hauing had two horſes ſlaine vnder him, and being vpon the third, in the end was taken fighting: whom the Polonians after ward murdered cruelly.

The Turkiſh Emperour, hauing receiued ſo many ouerthrowes the yeere paſt, from *SIGISMUND* Prince of *Transilvania*, he reſolued to bend all his forces againſt him; who (hearing of this Turkiſh preparation) aſſembled the eſtates of his Countrey; whereby a generall conſent they reſolued to prepare to war, to repell this common enemy: and to the end that they might haue the Emperour an aſſociate with them in this difficult war, he reſolued to go to him. He came to *Prigue* in Feb. where being met by the Emperours Nobles, he was conducted to the

Arch-dukes

Arch-dukes Palace. The Emperour, vnderſtanding what preparations the Turke made, ſent to the Princes Electors to require mony for the leuying of an Army; the which was granted, and forces were accordingly made ready: but there wanted ſome one of great authority to command it. *ALTONVS*, Duke of *Ferrara*, offered to be the Emperours Lieutenant, and to entertain eight thouſand men for a yeer, if the Pope would grant the inueſtiture of *Ferrara* to his brothers baſon: whereto he would not yeeld. Wherefore the Arch-duke *MAXIMILIAN* was made General, the Germans and Hungarians preſſing it, for that they deſired not to fight vnder a ſtranger which differed from them in tongue and manners.

The Emperour concluded with the Transilvanian, that, hauing gathered together a good Army, he would join with him; and he bound himſelf by ſecret Articles, to entertain euery yeer two thouſand horſe and three thouſand foot in *Transilvania*: for the payment wherof, he ſhould giue monthly foure and twenty thouſand dollers. And if *SIGISMUND* ſhould bee expelled his Countrey by the Turkiſh Tyrant, then the Emperour did promiſe to giue him land in *Sileſia* with an honourable penſion: and the Popes Nuncio promiſed forty thouſand duckets monthly, with ſome Italian Troops towards this warre. *SIGISMUND* hauing ſettled his affaires after this manner with the Emperour, he returned ſpeedily vnto *Vienna*: where the people flocke in the ſtreets, to ſee this young Prince who had wonne ſo many noble victories againſt the Turkes.

In *Croatia* there is a kinde of people who knowe no other art but ſtealing; wherein they exceed all mortall men, being Chriftians in ſhew: theſe, being gathered together in Troops, had concluded with two Chriftian Renegadoes to ſurpriſe *Cliffa*, a very ſtrong Fort in *Illiria*; the which they effected, and ſlue the gariſon. The Turkes preſently drew their forces together to recouer this Town; where the Croats annoyed them much, neither did the Baſha of *Bosnia* ſee any means to preuaile but by treaſon or famine. The Beſieged were ſo oppreſſed with hunger, that they ſent word to the Emperours Lieutenant in *Siria*, that if they were not preſently relieved, famine would force them to yeeld; ſo as he preſently gathered an Army together, and provided ſhipping with victuals, landing his men within foure miles of the Turkes Camp, marching ſpeedily to charge them; who, being terrified with their ſudden approach, fled. The *Illirians* and Croats who were in the fore-ward, breaking their ranks, fell to ſpoil; which the Baſha perceiving, commanded his men to returne to the charge: in which, the Chriftians, who were the cauſe of this diſorder, were ſlaine; and the reſt, being amazed, were put to ſhamefull flight. After which, *Cliffa* (deſpairing of all ſuccours) yeelded, vpon condition to depart with bag and baggage.

The gariſon of *Tetta* drew the Turkes of *Comorra* by a ſtratagem into an ambuſh; in which the Gouerner was ſlaine, with all his Troops: and the ſame day *NADASTI*, who commanded in the lower *Hungary* for the Emperour, hauing lodged 1500 horſe in a wood, ſent ſome of his Troops to *Iaurine* to get ſome prey, and to draw out the Turkes: who, following the Chriftians that fled, fell into the ambuſh, and were moſt of them put to the ſword.

The laſt yeer, the Transilvanians hauing taken *Lizza*, the Turke ſent forty thouſand men to beſiege it. The Transilvanian ſent 5000 men to relieue it, who valiantly defended the Towne, and made great ſlaughter of their enemies. The Baſha of *Temefuarre* fearfully raiſed his ſiege by night, leaving all his warlike inſtruments. The Hungarian and German Writers ſay, that there were 4000 Turkes ſlaine at this ſiege.

Lizza being freed, the Transilvanian beſieged, *Temefuar* ſending forth 2000 horſe and foot to diſcouer and ſpoil; theſe brought him word, that a certain Baſha, with his wife and children, with great ſtore of commodities, lodged in a poor Town, the which they ſcaled in the night, put the ſouldiers to the ſword: gathering together the priſoners and ſpoils, they ſet fire on the Town, and departed. The gariſon of *Nicopolis*, hearing which way the Chriftians marched, went to encounter them, where there was a cruell fight: but in the end the Chriftians had the victory, and ſlue 3000 Turkes, and ſo returned to the Camp at *Temefuar* with their ſpoile and captiues. The Barbarians, drawing all their forces together, came to charge the Transilvanians; where at the firſt the victory was doubtfull: but in the end the Chriftians preuailed, hauing ſlaine about five thouſand of their enemies; but yet they were at length forced to raiſe the ſiege.

MAHOMET conceiuing that his Commanders had either been negligent or vnfortunate in the warres, and reſolving to ruine the Chriftians, came in perſon to *Belgrade*, where he drew together an Army of 150000 men, with which he beſieged *Agria*; the Gouerner *NIARVS*

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An accord betwixt the Emperour and Sigismund.

Lizza beſieged and ſeized by the Turkes.

Temefuar beſieged by the Chriftians.

A great ſlaughter of the Turkes.

Sinans third fight.

Georgia taken by the Chriftians.

The Prince of Transilvania ſends to the Pope.

The Pope ſends to the King of Poland for the Transilvanian.

Samoscius ſummons Melchior.

The Emperour prepares to war.

having bin a little before supplied with men and victuals by the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN. There was a Town and two Castles: the old stood vpon the declining of a hill; and the new on the top. The Christians left the Town, and retired into the old Castle without any force; which the Turks having battered, they left this also, and fled into the new Castle; where they carried themselves no more valiantly than they had done before: for, after they had endured some assaults, and repulsed the Turks, the souldiers would needs yield to have their lives saved, contrary to the will of the Gouverner and Captains: but the Turks, violating their faith, having kept the Gouverner and other chief Commanders, slue all the souldiers, but such as impiously, to save their lives, would abjure their religion.

The Archduke Maximilian fights with Mahomet.

The Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, General of the Emperors Army, having ioyned with the Prince of Transilvania and the Hungarians, and making an Army of 60000 men, resolved to give battell to the Turks, contrary to the advice of his counsell. After diuerse skirmishes the Turks past a river with part of their Army, and came in good order to charge the Christians; who attended them resolutely, and repulsed them valiantly, forcing them after great slaughter to turn their backs, and repasse the river, the Christians following them even vnto their Camp: where falling greedily to spoil, and busying themselves in MAHOMET's Tent, to free the Gouverner of Agria from bonds, they were let vpon by CIGALA, who led the reward of the Turkish Army, and put to the sword whilft they were busie in spoiling; so as by their greedy desire they lost the glory of a famous victory. MAHOMET, having not been so fortunate in fight as he expected, and being weary of the Hungarian wars, returned to Constantinople to his delights and venvy: and the Christian Army was dissolved, and went to garrison.

In the beginning of this year 1597, MAHOMET resolved to return again into Hungary as soon as the season of the year would serue, and to besiege Vienna: but all Turkie being oppressed with famine, and MAHOMET failing of a peace with the King of Persia, whereof they then treated at Constantinople, he was forced to desist from his resolved enterprise. And for that the defection of Transilvania, Valachia and Moldavia, did much trouble him, being very necessary for the feeding of his Countries and Armies, he therefore sent Ambassadors to the Prince of Transilvania with rich Presents, to the end hee might draw him from all league with the Christians. The Prince entertained them courteously; and in the beginning answered them doubtfully, to the end he might protract the warre, and discover the enemies counsels: but hearing that the Turks were on foot, and marched towards Valachia, he drew his Army presently together, and charged them; at which encounter the Turks were in a manner all slain. After this exploit hee went with 40 coaches to Prague; where having had secret conference with the Emperor, hee received the Order of the golden Fleece, with many rich Presents; and then returned into Transilvania, the Emperor having promised to assist him with 6000 foot before the end of May.

The Turks seek to gain the prince of Transilvania.

Exploits of the Christians.

In May, PALFI, NADASTI and BERTIN, Bohemians, with some of the Emperors forces, having by night forced one of the gates of Tolia, a Castle in Hungary, they entered it without any losse, and slue the garrison. And the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, in August following, after six daies siege took Pappa; from whence he went to the siege of Iaurime: but hearing that the enemy came to relieve it with a good Army, he raised his siege, and went towards Vacua; whereas MAHOMET Basha offered him battell: but the Imperialists being far weaker, they kept themselves within their Camp; which, MAHOMET attempted to force, and was shamefully repulsed, with the losse of 700 Ianizaries, a Basha, and many of his choice horsemen. The next day, having by his messengers obtained a treaty of a counterfeit peace, with this subtle device he retired with his Army, and went to Buda. Soon after, the Turks returned to Tolia or Tolia (taken a little before by the Christians) and laid siege vnto it. CHRISTOPHER WEIDA commanded in this Castle with 250 souldiers; who although he performed the duty of a good Captain with great valour and resolution, yet in the end he was forced to yield, and to provide for his owne safety and his souldiers: for, the Turks having battered it continually, and made a breach, they gaue diuerse assaults, and attempted to force it; but they were alwaies repulsed by the valour of the garrison. In the mean time they had undermined one of the Bulwarks of the Castle, and blew it vp; which made a great breach. The souldiers being moied with this ruine, many of them being slain, some wounded, and some burnt with the fire, they persuaded their Captain not to cast himself and them away desperately: whereupon, in a tempestuous night they issued secretly by a postern gate, and went to the river Danow. The enemy this while giues an assault, and enters the breach: but he found the Castle empty, the souldiers before their departure having laid a train of powder, which taking fire slue many of the Turks.

In

In March 1598, the Earl of Sauerzembourg Lieutenant to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, and the Baron of Palfi, laid a plot for the surprizing of Iaurime: they brought ladders, bridges, and all other instruments of war, secretly by night to Comorra, and prepared forces fit for such an enterprise, giuing to euery man his charge, exporting the souldiers to abstain from spoiling, and to regard the general good of Christendom more than their owne profits. The Earl having prepared all things ready for the execution, finding the draw-bridge down, and the vtter gate open, they made fast their Petard to the inner gate, which they forced. The souldiers which were in guard cried To Arms, and discharged their Pieces: but the Christians entered, scaling on the ports, ordinance, and places of strength, according to their directions. The Turks in this sudden amazement went to Arms: but they were all put to the sword, without respect of age or sex: The conflict lasted 5 houres; and the Turks fought with such obstinacy, that they willingly offered their throats to their enemies swords: the Basha, having defended himself long, was slain. SVARTZENBOVRG (having got this victory, not without the losse of much blood) caused all the spoil to be gathered together, attending the Emperors pleasure; who, reseruing only the ordinance and warlike preparation, commanded all the rest to be giuen to the souldiers.

Iaurime surprized by the Christians.

The fame of this unexpected victory as it reuiued the spirits of the Christians, so it daunted the Turks, who relied much vpon this place; as appeared by certain words grauen in a stone, which were brought to the Emperor: that is to say, Iaurime a Towne of the Turks is the key which can open all the Towns and Forts of the Christians. SVARTZENBOVRG was made Gouverner of the Town, with a garrison of 10000 men; and PALFI FABACORT the Pezardier, a French Gentleman, with others, was honoured by the Emperor with the dignity of Knighthood, and had great rewards.

In the mean time, SIGISMUND BATTORI Prince of Transilvania, who hitherto had fought against the Turks with great courage and valour, and faithfully entertained the league with the Emperor, whether now moued with the desire of a quieter life, or drawn by some other consideration, resolved to giue out the dominion of those three Prouinces to the Emperor; so as he might haue some duchy giuen him fit for his person within the bounds of the Empire. The Emperor accepted of this condition, and offered him a Duchy in Silesia; and the business was concluded in April, conditionally that Transilvania, with all the Towns, Cities and suburbs, should hereafter acknowledge the Emperor and the Princes of the house of Austria, for their lawfull Lords, and yield them all obedience due to their natural Princes; and that they should accept of the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, whom the Emperor had named, to be their Prince; and should enioy their religion as they formerly had done. This being concluded, the Prince, calling his Noble-men together, acquainted them with this action: and, freeing them of their oath of allegiance, he willed them to obey the Emperor, and then went to possesse his Duchie.

The Prince of Transilvania resignes his Countie to the Emperor.

In May, SVARTZENBOVRG attempted to surprize Alba Regalis, but in vain. Having drawn together 8 Cornets of Austrian horse, ioining with them of Hungary, and some footmen out of Iaurime, he marched secretly towards the Town: but this project was discovered to the Turks, so as the same night they fortified the Towne with a stronger garrison, and kept good guards without it; so as the Christians vnderstood by their spies, whom they had sent to discover, that there was small hope to take the Town. The Army was come within half a mile; and for that they would not return without some exploit, NADASTI was sent before with 150 horse to draw forth the enemy: whereupon, there falling forth 600 horse, they pursued NADASTI; who drawing them into an ambush, there were about 250 slain. The Turks, returning to Alba, came forth again with greater forces: whom SVARTZENBOVRG encountered, defeated and put to flight, having slain many, and taken some prisoners.

Alba Regalis attempted by the Christians in vain.

The Prince of Transilvania, having taken possession of his Duchy in Silesia, was not much pleased with that estate: but repenting him of his exchange, on the one and twentieth of August disguising himself in a Friars habit, he retired secretly with two more in his company into Transilvania. And coming to Clausenbourg, he found his wife at her deuotion; whom having kindly saluted, he took a new oath of the Citizens, and carried himself for Lord as hee had formerly done. Then, sending messengers into all parts, hee advertised them of his coming, requiring them to obey him as they had formerly done. He also sent Letters to the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN, to whom the Emperor his brother had giuen the government of those Prouinces; intimating, that whereas the Duchies of Opelia and Ratibon, which the Emperor had exchanged with him, did in no sort equall his Countries, he had therefore great reason to return into Transilvania, and that he now held Clausenbourg the chief city of that Prouince; that he neither could

Sigismund returns again into Transilvania.

The Prince of Transilvania writes to the Arch-duke Maximilian.

nor would yield it, or such other places as had continu'd in his power, or return'd vnder his command, but would endeavour to defend them from all forraigne force; wherefore he intreated him to desist from his intended enterprise, & not to attempt any thing against him in *Transilvania*, but rather to bend his forces for the recovery of *Agria*, lest hee should force him by necessity (whilst he seekes to defend himselfe and his subjects) to deserue ill of them, to whom he wished all good. Moreover that he would honour the Emperour, and the whole house of *Austria*, with the maiesty of the Roman Empire; and would endeavour to do any thing that might tend to their profit and good: His wife did also accompany them with her Letters, by the which shee exhorted *MAXIMILIAN*, not to attempt any thing against her husband: which if he did, it would not onely be hurtfull, and dishonorable to himselfe, but also to the Emperour, and the whole Christian Common-wealth. Whilst that the *Transilvanian* was busie in settling of his estate, the Arch-duke *MAXIMILIAN* intercepted certaine waggons laden with siluer and other rich commodities, the which he caused to be brought to *Cassovia*: the *Transilvanian* taking this very ill, layed hold vpon certaine Commissioners of the Emperours, which were then in *Transilvania*, the which he said he would not release, untill he had restitution. This was the cause of great warre, which not onely afflicted those Countries, but bred great security to the Turks.

The peace of Germany was much disquieted this yeere, by the Lowe Countries Army: for the Arch-duke vnder the command of *MENDOZA* Admirall of *Castile*, who had lodged his Army in *Cleues*, *Westphalia*, and the countries adjacent, taking many townes, and committing more then barbarous cruelties; the Duke of *Cleues*, who was a Prince of the Empire, complained to the Emperour and to the Princes and imperiall townes, of the insolencies committed by the Admirall and his Army: to whom the Emperour and the Princes sent often to demande restitution: which the Admirall neglecting, in the end the Princes raised an Army of 10000 foote and 3000 horse to force him to retire out of the quarters of *Westphalia*, and *Münster*; whereupon the Spaniard, fearing that this would draw all Germany into Armes, left those countries, which they had spoiled.

MAHOMET to reuenge the losse of *Iauerin* sent *OSMAR* Basha with an Army of 60000 men to besiege *Varadine* a towne in *Transilvania*, in which *MELCHIOR REDER* a Silesian Gentleman, bred vp in Arms, commanded: who seeing the towne vnable to resist so great an Army, set it on fire, and retired himselfe with all the victuals and munition vnto the Castle, drawing in such inhabitants as would runne the same fortune, making them sweare, not to parly with the enemy nor to make any motion of yeelding, vpon paine of death, and he himselfe did likewise promise to dy with them. They endured a siege of six weekes, and repulst many sharpe assaults. The Historie commendeth him, to haue by his valor and diligence recompensed the losse of about 13000 Christians before *Varadine*, with the death of 13000 Turks, and forced the enemy to retire with shame and confusion to *Buda*. The Emperour to encourage the Nobility to the like vertue, honored *REDER* and his Lieutenant, with the order of Knighthood. On the other side, *Smazembourg*, and *Palfi* attempted *Buda*: they took the suburbs, with the fort of *Prenetiana* vpon the *Danow*; after which they battered the town, and made such a breach, as the inhabitants, women and children, pressed the Basha to enter into composition. But the Bashes of *Caramania*, *Natolia*, and *Bosnia* coming to relieue them, and the continuall raine hauing made their powder vnprofitable, they were content to retire their troupes in safety, hauing slaine 15000 Turks at *Buda*.

SIGISMUND BATTORI Prince of *Transilvania*, in the beginning of March resigned all his countries, vnto Cardinall *ANDREVV BATTORI*, shewing a strange example of humane inconstancie: for a little before hauing sent an Embassador to *CESAR*, desiring him to free his subjects from their oath which they had taken, and to restore *Varadine* with the country adiacent; the Emperour refusing this, he then sent vnto him the Bishop of *Alba Iulia*, to renew the former contract, requiring to haue the iurisdiction of *Drebnits* in *Moravia*, added to his two Duchies in *Silesia*, with a yearly pension of 50000 crowns, out of the Imperiall chamber: That the estates of *Transilvania* should be pardoned, for their breach of faith to the Emperour, and haue their liberties and priuiledges confirmed. But during the absence of his Embassador, he makes transaction with Cardinall *ANDREVV*, and causeth his subjects to swear obedience vnto him. This new Prince sent presently to *GEOFFREY BASTA* the Emperours Lieutenant in those parts, promising to ratifie whatsoeuer *SIGISMUND*'s Embassador should conuolue with the Emperour: That he would not attempt any thing, but what should be for the good

of

of the Christian Common-wealth; hoping that *BASTA* would take his actions in good part, and attempt nothing in hostile manner against him.

The Emperour was much displeased with these newes, sending presently to stay *SIGISMUND*'s Ambassadors: who were but newly departed from *Prague*, and to put them in custody. The Ambassadors being com to *Terna*, hearing what had past in *Transilvania*, resolved willingly to stay there and attend the Emperours pleasure. Cardinall *BATTORI* wrote Letters vnto the Emperour, by the which he promised to doe all good offices that might tend to his Maiesties service, and the Peace of Christendome. The Emperour delaying to make an answer, commanded *BASTA* to draw what forces he could together. The Cardinall being in some doubt sent to *BASTA*, letting him vnderstand that he had neede of a Patron, by whose helpe he might defend his Countries, and therefore he desired that the Emperour would expaine himselfe, whether he would hold him as a friend and client, or as an Enemy: That there was a Turkish Ambassador then with him, who willingly offered him aide from his Emperour, & required but 100000 ducckets for his yearly tribute, yet he had rather ioyne his forces with other Christians, and doe good and faithfull service to the Emperour, then be guilty of betraying of Religion, and his countries liberty, to a cruell enemy, to which *BASTA* made no answer, but referred him vnto the Emperour.

The Turke, seeing that the great warres he had against the Persians, did exhauste his treasure, and that the Christians daily surpris'd places, and slew his men; he was desirous to haue a peace with the weaker, that he might be able to encounter the stronger: He sent thirteene Tartarians to *Vienna*, to make an ouerture of peace; but this was to craue almes (as they say) by command: For, the Soldiers did not forbear to spoyle the Countrey; and the Imperialists desired to haue alviolences and acts of hostilitie to cease: so as they carried no satisfaction to the Turke; but were sent away without any answer. This contempt thrust the Tartarians into rage, breathing nothing but rage and furie, putting all, as they past, to fire and sword. A great conuoy with victuals, money, cloath of gold and siluer, and other sundry moneables, was coming forwards to *Buda*, for the furnishing of the new Basha and garrison.

ORSPETER, Lieutenant to the Governour of *Sirigenium*, set vpon them vnawares, and defeated them that guarded this conuoy, making himselfe rich, both in honor and spoile. This victory begot a second: The Fort of *Wille* was fallen; he marched thither, defeated the garrison and the Governour, freed them of *Bischie*, and carried a great number of sleepe vnto his Garrison. *SVARTZENBERG*, Generall of the Christians Army, is commended for that he had alwaies his spirits banded to some new Stratagem. He had once failed to surpris *Buda*, and yet he would attempt it so often as he might aduance the Emperours affaires, by an honorable victory, ouer that strong Towne. He drew together twelue thousand men, and lodged them closely in a valley, that he might surpris it at the opening of the gate: But the enterprise being discovered, the suburbs smarr'd for the Towne; the enemy hauing no will to filie forth. And the next day he defeated a conuoy, which carried pay for the Garrison of *Agria*, slew 400 Turks, and took the Bege, who was Governour of *Hatvan*. These victories made *SVARTZENBERG* to attempt *Buda* the third time; but he failed to take the Town, though not the Basha: who, walking abroad, was surpris'd, and sent for a trophy to the Emperour, with certaine Ensignes, which the Barrons of *Palfi* and *Madafi*, had taken from the Tartarians.

The Turke was so oppress'd, on the one side by the Christians, and on the other by the Persians, as he would willingly haue embraced a peace; but he would make it with such aduantage, as he seem'd to want neither force nor means to encounter both Enemies. The Turke demanded to haue *Iauerin*, *Billec* and *Serkeim*, restored; and he offered nothing but *Agria*: whereupon the assembly brake off, without any effect; and presently after *PALFI* defeated seuen hundred Turkes; and the Hussars (which be Hungarian Knights) cut in peeces 3000 Tartarians neere to *Billec*.

In the meane time Cardinall *BATTORI*, hauing gotten the gouernement of *Transilvania*, thrust on with blinde ambition, and the desire of command, treated with the Turke, and promised a certaine annual tribute, so as he might be maintained in the possession of what he had vsurp'd. Doubtlesse the nature of man is blindly furious, and mad, being once transported with passion. The Pope foresaw the Cardinals ruine; and, by his Nuncio, laboured to retire him from temporall Armes to his profession: God beheld his enterprise, full of iniustice and treachery, and stirred vp a scourge to punish him. *MICHAEL* Vauoide, or Lord of *Valachia*,

The proceedings
of Cardinall
Battori.

The Tartarians
propound a
peace to the Em-
peror.

A great booty
tak'n from the
Turks.

The Turkes de-
mand a Peace.

Cardinall Bati-
cor makes a
league with the
Turke, and this
success.

chia, who wholly depended vpon the Emperor, hauing leised an Army of 30000 men entred into *Transilvania* and took *Cronstar* to stop the Polonians passage, who he thought would assist the Cardinall.

Cardinal Bassa
and his suite.

After which he came with his Army neere vnto the Cardinals Camp, giuing him to vnderstand, that he came not to shedde Christian blood, but would willingly spare it: but whereas he had refused to take an oath to the Emperor and to restore that which he had vnderpied, and being forced by no necessity, had craued aid from the Turke for this cause if he did not presently yield himselfe into the Emperors power, he would prosecute him by Armes. The Cardinall refusing to performe this, the Vainode led his Army against him, and the Cardinal did the like; in the beginning the fight was furious, but the victory inclined to the Vainode, who sent to pursue the Cardinal being fled, and to bring him backe the *Valachians*; ouertook the Cardinall in the mountaines, where they slew him and carried his head to the Vainode. Which being done he brought all *Transilvania* subiect vnto the Emperor, whose Embassadour was receiued by them, vpon condition to maintaine them in their rights & priuiledges. All *Transilvania* set vp the victors ensignes, who fortifying himselfe in the strongest townes, ministred occasion to call the sincerity of his designs in question: which opinion was fortified when they saw the Turke seeke his friendship, by an Embassee which he sent vnto him; but hee weakened that opinion by retaying the Embassadour, which the Turkish Emperour had sent vnto him, whether it were that he doubted some fraude, or that he ment by that policie to couer the malice of his heart: but he gaue some satisfaction, by putting to death certaine spies of the *Basas* *SERRER* and deliuering the whole estate of *Transilvania* into the Emperors hands.

The turkes send
Embassadors to
treat of a peace.

In October *SERRER* Basa made a great shew to affect peace, sending Embassadours to the Arch-duke *MATHIAS*: whereupon a place of treaty was appointed, in an Island betwixt *Strigonia* and *Pisgrade*, and Commissioners were sent on either side. The Turks demanded restitution of all those places which had beene taken by the Christians, the last five years, especially *Strigonia*. The Christians yielded to all except *Strigonia*, which the Turks did venge much, offering *Agria* in exchange. In the end, the Emperours Commissioners finding that the Turks meant nothing but fraude, they brake off the assembly and retired: yet soone after, *SERRER* Basa sought to renew the treaty againe, but it took no effect.

1600.
The treachery of
Michael the
Vainode.

MICHAEL the Vainode of *Valachia*, hauing yielded the estate of *Transilvania* vnto the Emperour, after the defeat of Cardinal *BATTORI*; The Turke knowing him to be a man of seruice, sought his friendship. And although that he induored to free himselfe from all shew of suspicion: yet *GROGEBASTA* Lieutenant for the Emperour in *Transilvania*, had discouered certaine secret intelligences which he had with the Turke, whereof he gaue him notice. Soone after he gaue ouer his secret practices, & receiued the Turks Embassadors & his maisters presents publicly: and caused them to be carried before them, entring into *Cronstar* with the Embassador. And to the end they should giue no sinister impression of his fidelity to the Emperour; he told his ministers, that his desire was to haue that action performed, in view of the whole towne; to the end they should not thinke, he would do any thing in secret to the preiudice of Christendome. And withall he intreated them to moue the Emperour, to reuoke *BASTA*'s Commission, for the private quarrels that were betwixt them, and to substitute some other of a more tractable disposition.

His demands of
the empire.

The Emperour being aduertised, that *MICHAEL* would escape from him if hee did not stay him by some meanes, he sent him thirty thousand crownes in gift: but he thinking it too small a recompence for his seruices, told the Emperours agents that *Transilvania* did belong vnto him by hereditary right; wherefore he demanded, that he might enioy it as his owne, and for satisfaction of his seruices, he should giue him *Varadin*, *Husf*, *Ragban*, and the confines of *Hungary*, with other demands which were so arrogant, and vnciuile, as they did purchase him deadly hatred and were the cause of his ruine. After which he ouerthrew *SIGISMUND BATTORI* who sought to enter into *Transilvania* againe, with *IRAZMI* the Vainode of *Moldavia*; but being annoyed by the Chancellor of *Poland* in *Valachia*, he craued aide from the Lieutenant of the Imperiall Army in high *Hungary*, and promised the Emperour by his Letters, to serue him faithfully in this occurrent, so as he would but call *BASTA* out of *Transilvania*. The Emperour would not that his vassall should capitulate with him. It was a president of bad consequence; and therefore he commanded him to obey *BASTA*. Afterwards hee grew hatefull to all the Polonians, *BASTA* pursued him, and surprised him being incamped at *Pisburg* with 18000 men, where he slew foure thousand, and chased him into the Mountaines, where he was reduced

ced to that extremity, as he was forced to goe an humble suppliant to the Emperour, and to offer his wife and children for hostages.

Pappa betray-
s the garrison.

The Garrison of *Pappa*, consisting for the most part of Walloons and French, fell into a mutinie for their pay, hauing also some scarcity of victuals; they made one called *LA MOTT* their Captaine, forcing their companions to signe their resolue; they seized vpon *MAROT* their gouernour, and of the other Captaines: They set all the Turkes at liberty (who by the counsell of these Traitors, carried euery man his hostie prisoner to *Alba Regalis*, or to *Peperine*) and withall, they promised to deliuer them *SVVARTZENBOVRG*, lieutenant Generall of the Imperiall Army, or to giue them meanes to take him at *Zolnock*, when he should come with their pay. *MAROT* the Gouernour found meanes to aduertise him hereof, and he went thither presently with nine thousand men; where, at his first coming, he tooke one of their Captaines, whom he caused to be sleied aliue, and his head to be set vpon a Pike, to terrifie the rest; hee took from them a Balha, whereby they did hope to be relieued by the Turke, who could not assist them either with men or provision: hunger prest them, and they grew desperate, hauing no hope of any humane aide; whereupon they sallied out by night, and made a great slaughter in one of the Quarters; *SVVARTZENBOVRG* runnes thither to repaire this disorder, but he was ouerthrowne with a shot and slaine: his death caused great heauinesse in the Imperiall Army, and all Christendome had cause to lament his losse. These Wretches made a second salie, saying that before they would yeeld, they would feede vpon their Gouernour *MAROT*, and their other prisoners.

MELCHIOR REDER, who had wonne much honor in the defence of *Varradine*, had the charge of the Army, and pressed the siege, and the Traitors indured the last extremity. They had a posterne gate behinde, in which they did put all the hope of their safety, seeking to make dry a poole, which did inuiron the Towne of the one side; but for that the mudde would not easily carry them, they could not couer it so secretly, with hardles, strawe, reede, and such other materials, but *REDER* was aduertised. Hereupon he sent *NADASTI* the Earle of *Thurne* and *Colonis*; who ouertaking them neere vnto a Wood, brought some of them back prisoners, and slew *LA MOTT* their Captaine, with some hundred others which would not yeeld; forcing the rest to keepe themselves within the Fort. The Gouernour *MAROT* with certaine others, who had freed themselves from their bondes, came speedily vnto the Campe.

The crueltie
of the
Turks in
Pappa.

REDER then enters the town, kils some of the remainder, and referues the rest for their deserued punishments, whom he sent into diuers garisons: and that by the horror of their example they might abhorre the like treacherie. Some were impaled, others broken vpon the wheele, or roasted at a slowe fire, basted with Larde; others had their bowels pulled out of their bellies, and burnt before their eyes, their thighs, shoulders, and other parts being pinched with hott pincers: Some had their hearts pulled out of their bodies aliue, others their throates and mouths stufed full of Sulphur and Powder and then fired, and some were buried in the ground vp to the neck, and their heads bruised with bullets. And thus were those traitors cruelly tormented by order of martiall law.

Babotes yielded
basely to the
Turks.

Pappa, a fort of importance, being then preferred, *Babottes* could not so escape: the town was strong, and fortified with five hundred men, hauing store of all sorts of necessary provision. But the Garrison (terrified by the descent of twelve thousand Janizaries, sent from *Constantinople*) yielded it vpon the first attempt; and by their baseness, made the losse of *Canisfa* easy, she which followed to the preiudice of all Christendome. It was an ill president for the Gouernour of that place, being the strongest fort for the Christians had in *Stiria*: an example the which, it may be, he would not so easily haue imitated, if the Gouernour of *Babottes* had receiued that punishment which martiall law inflicts vpon those that yeeld v a place of importance, without extreame necessity; but the Christian Army, had neede of a commander of greater authority, who by his presence might containe both soldiers and Captaines in their duties.

The Duke of *Mercur*, would not accept the charge of Lieutenant generall of the Armie of *Hungary*, but with the kings good liking: who hauing signified his pleasure, the Duke came into *Hungary*, and was saluted Lieutenant generall of the Army in *Tauerin*; an Army weak in forces, but strong in courage and resolution, to fight for the defence of Religion. He marched with fiftene thousand men, of diuers Nations, to relieue them, being resolu'd either to lodge in *Canisfa*, or to die in the field. The first of October, he gaue a signe vnto the besieged of his coming, and fought to keepe from his enemy the knowledge of his small Army; *Canisfa* was

was besieged by 50000 men vnder the command of the Vetzier Balha. The Duke resolves to hazard a bataille to relieue the Towne. The Vetzier, vnderstanding, by his spies, the weakness of the Dukes Army, aduised him, not to oppose his small troups, against so great forces. The Duke made answer: That, he did not feare to assaile a greater number of Insidels, with fewer Christians; and, that God fauoured the iustice of his cause.

The Duke aduanced towards *Canisa*, and the Vetzier attended him in his passage with a battalion of twenty thousand men, which came to charge him with their accustomed cries. The Dukes Artillery amazed their furious clamours, staid their hear, diminished their numbers, and beat them backe towards their Trenches; the Duke, remaining master of the fildes, of two Cannons, and of many slaine and hurt. The next day hee seeks to draw them out of their Campe, and takes foureteene fildes pieces: and on the other side, the Turkes intercepted the Christians victuals, comming unto them. The Vetzier, seeing that force could not preuaile, sought to vanquish them by necessity. The Army being in great want, they cried out to retire: The Generall preached patience; and would not consent unto a retreat, untill the Colonels and Capitaines had confirmed their opinions under their hands. In their retreat there fell a so daime amazement among them, which put the army in disorder: whereupon the Turkes arrived, and put many Germanes to the sword. The Duke rallied his men together, and encouraged them rather to dye honourably, then by flight to fall into miserable seruitude. Thus, encouraged by the presence of the General, they returned to the charge, repulsed the enemy, and made the retreat easie. The besieged in *Canisa* dispaired of all succours, and *PARADIS* the Governour was easily perswaded by them to yeeld. Thus *Canisa*, one of the chiefe bulwarks of Christendome, was made subject to the tyranny of this barbarous enemy. *PARADIS*, presenting himselfe to the Duke of *Mercoeur*, he sent him to the Duke *MATHIAS*, who was Governour of the Countrey: And having no sufficient reason to excuse his cowardise, he was by the Emperours commandment condemned to haue his right hand cut off, which had signed the rendition; and to lose his head.

This yeare the King of *Persia* sent his Embassadors to summon the Emperour, the Pope, the King of Spaine, and other Christian Princes, to invade the Turkes estate with their joynt forces, promising to assaile him with 15000 horse, and 60000 foote; and to grant free liberty of Religion and trafficke to their subjects in his kingdomes, so as they would not treat any peace with the Turke without comprehending him.

The Pope and Princes did thanke the Sophy for his affection to the good of Christendome; exhorting him to be a meanes, that the great Duke of *Muscovie* might give his consent and assistance to this general enterprize. *MANOMET*, aduertised hereof, sent his Physitian, a Christian Renegado, into *France*, to intreat the King, to mediate a truce for him with the Christian Emperour; and to call the Duke of *Mercoeur* backe into *France*: for (said hee) the Turkes do greatly apprehend one of their prophecies, which saith, that, 'The Sword of the French shall chase them out of Europe.'

The Transiluanians calling an assembly at *Clausenbourg*, *SIGISMUND BATTORI* was there proclaimed their lawfull Prince, by such as favoured his party, and all men commanded to obey him, and the Imperialists were put in safe custodie. They sent into *Moldavia*, to intreat *SIGISMUND* to come and take possession of his inheritance; and in the meane time they made *ISCHIAEK*, an ambitious and cruell man, his Lieutenant Generall; who, in the beginning committed the wife and sonne of *MICHAEL* the Vaivode of Valachia to prison. *BASTA*, having no power to hinder this resolution, nor the effects, demanded leave of the Estates to retire; exhorting the Transiluanians to persist in the fidelity which they did owe unto the Emperour. They, foreseeing that this act would be displeasing vnto him, sent *STEPHEN CARREY* vnto the Emperour; protesting that they were very sorry for these alterations: that hauing no Prince vnder whom they might be more assured, they had again opened their Arms to *SIGISMUND BATTORI*: That they would alway yeeld that obedience and fidelity which they did owe vnto his Imperiall maiesty, and would not conclude any peace with the Turke, but vpon such conditions as should not be any way displeasing vnto him.

BATTORI comes into *Transilvania*: from whence by his Letters to *BASTA*, he laments the miseries into which he had vnderferredly beene reduced. He craues pardon for that which had beene done in his absence, to the preiudice of his maiesties service, and that he might be suffered to send his excuses by an Embassador to the Emperour. *BASTA* answered him, that all depended vpon the Emperours pleasure, whose commandment he attended. The Vainode *MICHA*

The Duke of Mercoeur repels the Turke.

Canisa taken by the Turke.

The Persian intreats the Christian Princes to war against the Turke.

Battori returns into Transilvania.

he took the captiuitie of his wife and sonne impatiently. Hee pretended to be able to doe the Emperour great seruice, if he would assist him with some forces, hoping soone to reduce the whole Prouince to obedience. This Valachian had his designs apart, fortifying himselfe vpon diuers occurrents, both with the Turke and Emperour: But to reiect the seruice of this Prince, were to thrust him into furie; and make him either seeke vnto the Turke, or reconcile himselfe with *SIGISMUND*, and so to crosse the Emperours affaires with their joynt forces. The Emperour therefore furnisht him with men and money, to ioyne with *BASTA*, who had a watchfull eye ouer his actions, lest he should attempt something to his masters preiudice: They had drawne together twenty thousand men, and camped vpon a mountaine, attending some horse-men from *Silesia*. *SIGISMUND* had eightene thousand horse, and twenty two thousand foote, with the which he resolved to charge them before their supplies came; whereupon, both Armies ioynded bataille; where, after a bloody fight, *BATTORI* was ouerthrowne, with the losse of tenne thousand men, forty peeces of great Ordinance, one hundred and tenne Ensignes, and all his baggage. After this, *Clausenbourg* was taken, paying three moneths entertainment for the whole Army, and, likewise, receiuing a good Garrison.

The Valachian, in this bataille, performed the part of a faithfull seruant; but hee thought himselfe rather borne to command, then to obey; and thrust on by his naturall ambition, he continued, secretly, his fraudulent intelligences with the Turkes and Tartarians. *BASTA* informed the Emperour of all his actions, and namely of his vigour against the inhabitants of the champaigne Countrey, vnder colour to reuenge their disloyalty to the Emperour. *BASTA* perswaded him, in the Emperours name, not to blemish his generous and well desering acts, with the infamous name of cruelty. To whom he answered, proudly; That he would no more obey his commandments, or the Emperours; And that he meant to enioy *Transilvania*, which he had gotten by his sword and valour; doing many acts of absolute power. Soone after, *BASTA* discouered by his owne Letters, that he treated with the Balha of *Themeswar*, and sought the friendshipp of *BATTORI*, to deliuer the Imperiall Army into the Enemies hands. Hereupon the Countsell sent for him, meaning to send him vnto the Emperour; but refusing to come, Colonell *PETZ* was commanded to inueit his Quarter, with his regiment, and some other troups, who comming into the Valachians Tent, and telling him that he arrested him as the Emperours prisoner, hee drew out his Sword, whereupon they presently slew him; and cut off his Head.

They found in his Tent, Letters which did manifestly discouer his treacherous designs: the which being imparted to the Valachians (who began to mutine vpon his death) they confessed that he had been iustly slaine. Most of them tooke a new oath to the Emperour, and inrolled themselves vnder *BASTA*'s Ensignes. *BATTORI* was againe defeated before *Clausenbourg*, which he thought to surpris: and being pursued by *BASTA*, he fled, like a Vagabond, into the Mountaines and Deserts.

The Duke of *Mercoeur* having drawne together an Army of 18000 men, with Cannon and munition of warre, necessarie for a siege, gaue it out that he would attempt *Buda*, yet holding his enterprise so secret as the troups knew not where their Generall would employ them: vntill that after the taking of some Castles by composition, they found themselves in the suburbs of *Alba Regalis*, a small towne, but of great importance, inuironed with a deepe marish, which made the approaches difficult. Hauing obscured the situation, hee cast vp a trench towards *Buda*, from whence they might berelieued; resolving first to assault the bafe towne and the suburbs: where hauing planted his petardes and appointed a *scalado* at the same instant, the souldiers entred with little losse, forcing the Turkes to retire into their chief Fort. Then hee made his approaches: and hauing planted his batterie, within six daies he made two small breaches in the walles, commanding *ROCHEVORME* Marshall of the Camp, with 1000 good souldiers to seeke a passage through the marish, to one of the breaches, every one carrying a fagot in his hand, meaning at the same instant to giue an assault to the other breach; *ROCHEVORME* was discouraged by the Countrey people, who assured him that there was no passage that way: but giuing no credit to their words, he sent to discouer it, and they brought him word that the passage was difficult, but not impossible: whereupon at night they entred those fennes which they found farre deeper then was related, almost with the hazard of their liues; but they vanquished all difficulties, and came vnto the breach: which they entred, the Turkes being busie to defend the other; whereupon the towne was taken and most of them put to the sword, the

Battori defeated by the Valachians and Balha.

The Vainode Michael slain.

Alba Regalis besieged by Duke Mercoeur.

Castle

Cattle, and a great part of the towne was blowne vp by certaine traines which the Turkes had layed. The which did so incense the victors, as they would not receive any to ransom, except the Balha, and some hundred souldiers, which were retired into a Fort; who, making shew to yeeld, had their lives granted them.

The plague did much afflict the Dukes Army, who hadde retired two miles off, aswell to refresh it, as to observe the countenance of the great VETZLER, who resolved in the absence of the Christian generall to attempt to reduce that place vnder his obedience, before the ruines were repaired and the victuals supplied. The Duke aduertised that the Balha turned head towards *Alba Regalis*, he approached also with his troups: and taking with him some 120 French horse, he put himselfe into the towne to assure them by his presence, where hee was presently inuicted by 8000 horse, the whole Army (being 60000 men) following after. The Duke hauing giuing order for the most vrgent affaires of the towne, returned by night vnto his Army: the which did much reuiue their daunted spirits; where they performed braue exploits against the enemy, by their daily encounters and skirmishes, in which they took 9 Cannons and slew MEHEMET TICIAA Balha, the Balha of Buda, 6 Saniaes, one CADIZ and many other men of note in the Army; whose heads were giuen in exchange, for many Christian prisoners. The rest of the Turkish Army being dispersed here and there, the Duke had liberty to assure his garrisons, and to returne to *Viena* with much honour.

In the meane time the Arch-duke FERDINAND went to recover *Canisfa* (which had bene taken the yere before by the Turk) with an Army of 4500 horse, and 13000 foot: of which the Pope and Princes of Italy had sent 12000, vnder the commande of FRANCIS ALDOBRANDINO his Nephew, and the Duke of Mantua was Lieutenant Generall to the Arch-duke. Hauing planted their Cannon, they made a resonable breach, and summoned the besieged, with offer of all fauour, if they yeelded; but if they attended the extremity, they must expect no better vllage then they of *Alba Regalis*. Their example did nothing terrifie the Wallones, and Christians Renegades, which commanded in the place: they found easily by their weak attempts to force them, that either there was some trouble & badde intelligence in the Army, or want of that which was needfull to giue an assault, letting them vnderstand that they had no more force then if their walles were freed. There was great confusion among the Italians: which troubled the whole Camp. The bridge, which they had made to passe couered ouer the ditch, was too weak and short. They were annoyed with raine, snow, and tempest; and many other difficulties were in their Camp, so as many souldiers died without helpe, and there was no appearance to stay any longer, without a total ruine of the Army. Whereupon the Arch-duke FERDINAND resolved to retire, in the which he wonne lesse honour then in the siege, for wanting all things necessarie to draw away their Cannons they were forced to breake them, to burne their tents, and to abandon their sicke men, to the spoile of their enemies.

The Duke of *Mercur* hauing taken *Alba Regalis* the yere before, it was now againe made subiect to the Turkish tyranny, whereas the garrison was all put to the sword; the gouernour laying the fault vpon the negligence of the Souldiers. The spoile was very great; in which they found all the old Ordinance, with twelue peeces new cast, an infinite number of Swords, forty tunne of powder, 200 tunne of meale, eightie of Bisket, with ten thousand Florens to pay the Garrison.

After the death of the Duke of *Mercur*, RVSOVRMB was Generall of the Christian Army, preparing to relieue *Alba Regalis*, if he had not been aduertised of the losse. And hearing that the Turkes Army was disperied (some gone against the *Scribiano*, and others into *Transilvania*, against BASTA) he marched directly to Buda, the chiefe towne in Hungary, with five thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote; hauing in his company the Duke of *Nemcs*, a valiant Noble-man of France. At their first approach they attempted the bafe Towne, by land and water, and took it by night. Buda was diuided from *Pesta*, by the Riuer of *Danubius*, hauing a bridge whereby they might assist one another. The Christians resolved to cut off this bridge, the which they effected; and whilest the Turkes were busie in the defence of the Riuer, they took *Pesta* by Scalado, and put all they encountered to the sword: the rest being retired into some places of strength, compounded for their Liues, Wines and Children, and promised to cause them of Buda to doe the like; but there were more men, and they had greater courage.

The Turkish Army hearing hereof, posted presently back to saue Buda, leauing the designes of *Transilvania*. RVSOVRMB being thus surprisid, puttes men into *Pesta*, and prepares for his retraite,

of *Transilvania*. RVSOVRMB being thus surprisid, puttes more men into *Pesta* & prepares for his retraite, hauing first battered the towne, and made a small breach, at which there were 2500 Christians slaine and wounded; and the Duke of *Nemcs* performing all parts of a valiant Noble-man was shot in the left side, but it was not mortall. After which the Army retired in safetie.

The Noblemen of *Transilvania* fauoured SIBIRIUMUS BATTORI their natural Lord: they seized vpon *Bisbrick* and vowed to defend it against all assailants. BASTA went speedily to besiege it, battered their walles, and gaue an assault, but his men were repulsed with losse. To reuiue their courages he promised them the spoile of the towne. The inhabitants grew amazed: and apprehending the insolencies of conquerors, they declared that they would not endure the extremity of warre, for the pleasure of some ill affected to the Emperors seruice: they executed themselves to the General, that they had not consented to this rebellion; but by force, & demanded peace: the which he granted, but with such conditions, as the Magistrates would not accept. Whereupon BASTA renews his batterie, and prepares for a new assault, the souldiers growing resolute with the hope of a rich spoile.

BATTORI giues his word by an Embassador, that hee would not make war against the Emperour, and that the citizens of *Bisbrick* should submit themselves vpon reasonable conditions: whereupon hee received the inhabitants, paying 30000 dalleris for reparation, promising that all that would depart should be conducted to a place of safety with their goods, wives and children. Vpon this assurance 300 men went out of the towne with 100 waggons, the which were spoiled by some of the Army. BASTA detecting this treachery made diligent search for the Authors, restored what could be found, and punished the chiefe with death.

BATTORI seeing his enterprises succede ill, resolved to make his peace with the Emperour: and during this treaty (all things seeming to be quiet) MORTAS Duke of *Zeileria* took Armes; and foreseeing that BASTA would besiege him in *Pisiburg*, he layed an ambush for him: After some messages past on both sides, BASTA went and ioyned battaile with him, in the which he slew 3000 of his men and forced MORTAS to fly to the mountaines. BATTORI seeing this faction ouerthrowne, came speedily to BASTA, to purge himselfe of the result of MORTAS: he entered with him into *Pisiburg*, and submitted himselfe wholly into the Emperors power, and so *Transilvania* was for that time pacified.

This yere the Emperour being daily annoyed with the incursions of Turkes and Tartarians into his Countries, he called a Diet at *Kalisbome* whither he sent the Arch-duke MAXIMIAS his brother, with instructions not onely to acquaint the Princes and estates of the Empire, with the present necessities of the Turkish warres, and the daily incursions of the Tartarians; but also to require such aide as the turbulent estate of things did presently require: who after much consultation, granted a good supply of horse and foote.

COLLOMIT a man of great seruice, and who had carried himselfe valiantly in the Hungarian warres, did this summer take two strong forts, and had put to rout 2000 Turkes neere to *Comorria*, and sent thirteene ensignes to the Emperour: he beate the garrison of *Canisfa*, and resolved to attempt the towne. There was a French-man in his Army a subtil fellow and daring any thing, who counterfeiting himselfe a Renegado, fled into *Canisfa* and desired to be entertained by the Turkes; the which hauing easily obtained, hee laied traines of powder in diuerse fit places, all which should take fire at one instant, so as when the Turkes were busie to quench it, COLLOMIT might assault the Castle. The French-man performed what he had vndertaken, and the fire brake out with such violence as it consumed all the houses vpon the South and West parts, yea the carriages of their Ordinance: but the Turkes neglected the fire & obserued the enemy; so as COLLOMIT being out of hope to take the Castle, left it wasted vnto the Turks. By the like Stratagem, the Turks soon after fought to take *Sirigomium*.

The estate of *Transilvania* was much troubled by the Zeelerian; who thinking to reuenge his last affront, crept into fauour with the Turke, who promised to make him his Lieutenant generall, as soone as he should reduce that prouince, vnder the Turkish obedience and religion. With this hope, he had appointed him 150000 men, for the recouerie of *Pesta* and *Sirigomium*; and nothing staid the progresse, but want of victuals in Turkey. Hauing received 10000 Tartarians, with a great number of *Transiluanians*, he besieged and took *Pisiburg*, perswading all men to ioyneth their Armes with his, vpon hopes of great fauour, and commanding the souldiers to abandon BASTA's Camp.

BASTA was weak both of men and money. RADVIEL the new Vaiuede of *Valachia*, remembering how BASTA had succored him in his necessity against the Tartarians, came speedily

The Transilvanians who were themselves a great help to the Emperor.

Basta overthrew the Moscovite duke of *Zeileria*.

1603

The enterprise of Collomit.

The exploit of Moses the Zeelerian.

Alba Regalis inuicted againe by the Emperor.

Canisfa besieged by the Arch-duke Ferdinand in winter.

Pesta taken by the Christians.

The Turkes into the siege of Buda.

dily with 8000 men to requite him: without which succors, he was in danger to have fallen into the hands of the Infidel *Mosses*. And *Basta* armed speedily, to joine with the *Valachian*, that they might make the body of an Army. He attended two thousand *Silesian* horse: which, *Mosses* was resolving to defeat, sent some part of his Army to seize upon the passages, and to stop the entry into the Countrey. By chance, they encountered with 800 *Valachians*, led by Colonel *Max*: who, finding his troups weake, retired, and left his Camp. *Mosses* men triumphed very much at this petty victory: and, thinking that *Max* was farre retired, neglected their guards. But *Max* returned presently, and fell upon them like a whole winde, putting many to the sword: the rest he chased to *Themeswar*, sending 25 Ensigns to *Basta*. *Mosses* himself, present at this defeat, was slain; his body being found upon search by the *Valachians*, and the Emperor advertised thereof by *Basta*.

Albarrat Nasir succeeded him: who, swimming in the Gulfes of Infidelitie, like to *Mosses*, drew together 6000 Rebels, and other people of diuers Nations. *Basta* sent to assaile him suddenly by his Caualry: who slew most of his men; himselfe escaping with some few. The general Enemy of the Christian name, might have been expelled *Hungary*, had the Emperor received the contribution money granted at the generall assembly of *Ratisbona* in March last, to entertaine an Army for six yeere and eight moneths. The Princes of *Germany* had freely offered their contributions. The collections might have been made without grievance or oppression. But as the rich fought to save themselves, and to lay it upon the weaker sort: so the effects did not second the hopes which were conceived. Some did contribute more then was demanded: The Elector of *Saxony* gave the Emperor twelve field pieces, with the furniture necessary for a year. The Duke of *Brunswick* sent 1000 horse and 2000 foot. Others assisted this publique cause, with the like bounty. Some also, under that pretext, have extorted from their subjects farre greater summes then their tax, imploying it to their own use; to the dishonour of their order, and against the dignity of their ranke.

Buda was much pressed with famine: they had eaten all their horses, and tumultuously carried away all the victuals in the *Basha's* house: which threatened some dangerous effect, if shortly they were not relieved with sufficient provision. The great *Vetzier* brought them victuals: but, *Collonitz* with his horse-men by land, and *Svltz* and *Althem* with their foote-men upon the River, were alwaies watchfull to intercept it. Victuals were so scant, as if the second convey had been lost, there had been no hope to have furnished a third. In the end, the *Vetzier* put it into the Towne, but not without encounter and great losse of his men. And if *Svltz*, fearing some ambush, had not by force retired his men, who pursued the beginning of a victory, they were likely to have reaped great benefit of that daies service: For these *Barbarians* carried with them one whole yeers entertainment, due to the Garrison of *Buda*. The Cham of *Tartaria* returned much discontented: For, the *Vetzier* had quarrelled with him, as if by his negligence he had hindred the victualing of *Buda*, carrying great forces with him, notwithstanding that the *Vetzier* intreated him to stay in *Hungary*, wherewith the Turkish Army was much weakened, and disabled to doe any great exploits this yeere. The *Vetzier*, after the victualing of *Buda*, fought to expell the Christians out of the Island of *Adonis*, making great preparation both by ships and bridge, to transport their men. *Rysorm* encountered them with his troups: where, after a long fight, they forced them to flee to their ships in confusion. The Christians followed them vnto the River *Danubius*: the which for many daies after was died with Infidels blood: and they, which ran by troups into their vessels being overladen, were drowned. There was slain in this battail a *Basha* of great authority, the Bege of *Belgrade*, with many other of note, and 1500 Janitzaries: but the number of the drowned was far greater. Finally, it was known by a certain Turk, who after this conflict followed the Christian party, that of 4000 horse and 6000 foot there were scarce saved 1000; & those returned without Arms. The *Vetzier* began his retreat towards *Belgrade*, and gius means to the Christians to assaile *Hatua*, which hindred the victualing of *Pest*. *Rysorm*, upon his approach, summons the town; threatening them that if they yielded not willingly (but taken by assault) they should suffer the like miseries and indignities, as before time; where the *Walloons* had committed vnspcakable inhumanities. The remembrance wherof made a great impression in these miscreants: wherupon, they yielded on condition to depart with their wives & children, and what goods they could carry. It was a town reasonable strong, well stored of corn, powder & cattell, with 24 peeces of Ordinance mounted.

Manomet, the Turkish Emperor having received many losses and disgraces in *Hungary*, and troubled with the revolts of *Asia*, he resolved to treat a peace with the Christians at what

rate

rate sooner: hee gave charge to the *Vetzier*, and to *Aschnat* and *Mvrat* *Bashaes*, to move the Emperors Ministers thereunto. They had often treated, but the issue did shew they proceeded with fraude: to free them from which feare the *Bashaes* did write vnto the chiefe commanders. That their most mighty Emperour had a will to treat a firme and stable peace for the ease of the poore people and quiet of their estates: the which we in like manner did hartlie desire. The which if you neglect said they, many provinces will be desolate. Whereupon Commissioners were sent by the Arch-duke *Matthias*, and they met in an Island about *Pest* and *Buda*. The Turkes intreated that *Althem* might go to *Buda*; where he was received with great shewes of ioy: to whom the *Basha* delivered great presents for the Emperour, and the Arch-duke *Matthias*, which were very rare and rich, and likewise for himselfe and the other Commissioners. The *Basha* had reason to presse a peace *Manomet* being dead: and the new successor could not better settle his affaires, then by a peace, which his father had procured before his death. Whereupon the *Basha* of *Buda* wrote his Letters to *Althem*, that *Aschnat* succeeded *Manomet* his father, not only in his estates, but in his intentions, for the settling of a good peace in *Hungary*; that he desired to understand what had bin concluded, that he might ratifie it; that, if the businesse were not yet finished, they should vite all diligence to bring it to a good end: but yet for that time it took no effect. Yet on the twenty fifth of Feb. they returned to *Pest*, with an intent to treat; whereas the Emperors Commissioners fasted them solemnly in Tents without the Town, being 600 in number: but, going to repasts the river, they attempted to surpris *Pest* with the help of the forces of *Buda*; but they were repulled with shame and losse, leaving their ladders behinde them as witness of their treachery. The *Bashaes* disfavoured the fact, and intreated the Christian Ambassadors to come the next day to *Buda*: but they were advertised, that there was no safety for them. And thus the hope of this peace, which all Christendome expected, was lost.

After this, they went to Arms. *Aschnat* promised to go in person to the conquest of *Hungary*, *Valachia*, *Transilvania*, *Vienna* and *Austria*. He sends *Sioala* against the Persian, and gives the *Vetzier* the charge of the Hungarian warre. He commands the Beglerbey of *Greece* to leue 80000 men. He sends *Hassan* *Basha* towards *Belgrade* to provide victuals for the army. He draws, from *Egypt* to *Belgrade*, an infinite quantity of basket and powder: and it was concierd, that the Ottoman power was able to vanquish the King of *Persia*, and to prescribe a lawe to the King of *Vienna* (as he called him); but hee was deceived in his account: for, the Persian defeated *Sioala*, and took 80 Towns, with a great Country in *Asia*; who continuing the course of his victories, the Turk returns to his ordinary practices, and demandeth a peace of the Emperor: who although he knew there was little to be hoped for from so perfidious a Nation, yet he gave charge to some in *Hungary* to hear upon what conditions they would treat. The *Bashaes* demanded, that the Emperor should pay yearly the tribute which had bin formerly paid; that he should send Presents to *Aschnat*; that he should keep an Agent in *Constantinople*; that he should yeeld to him the places taken during this warre of *Hungary*, with the Countries of *Transilvania* and *Valachia*: which done, they would send to intreat the Sultane to restore *Camsia*. To which the Emperor answered: If they would have a peace, he would willingly embrace it, so as they would restore to him *Agria* and *Camsia*. I cannot abandon *Transilvania*, holding it by a iust and lawfull title: as for *Valachia*, there might happily some means be propounded, which might be accepted by both parties; so as they spake nothing of any tribute, or of entertaining an ordinary Agent at the great Turke Port.

The Emperors answer was received with scorn from the *Bashaes*. The *Vetzier* approached with 10000 Janitzaries, and a great number of Tartarians: they onely fought to diuert the Christians from all enterprises vntill their forces were arriued. *Iagenevter* a German, Gouerner of *Pest*, hearing that the *Vetzier* had charge to recover that town with other places; growing amazed, he packed vp his baggage, and retired without fight of any enemy, and went to *Strigomium*; hauing no other excuse for his desertion, but fear and amazement. *Althem* the Gouerner put him in safe keeping vntill the Emperor had otherwise ordained. They of *Hatua* with the like basenes abandoned the Town: which made the Turkes undertake the siege of *Strigomium*; the which was valiantly defended. They endured many assaults with the like valour. The Janitzaries, seeing there was nothing but blowes and death to be gotten at this siege so obstinately defended, they forced the *Vetzier* and *Serdar* *Basha* with threats to retire.

Belliovsus, Lieutenant to *Basta*, had brought the forces of *Transilvania* for the succours of *Strigomium*, to his General, foreseeing no enemy in the Countrey. But he had no sooner

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Mahomet demanded a peace of the Christians.

Death of Manomet.

1604.
Aschnat, on desire, to continue the treaty of peace.

Aschnat great preparation for war.

The Turke seek a peace, and their usual demands.

Mosses the Z. celebrated and feared and back thrown by Colonel Max.

A great contribution granted at Ratisbon, ill managed.

Buda press with famine.

Turks defeated

Hatua taken by the Christians.

The Imperialists
defeated by
Botskay in
Transilvania.

turned his back but a new combustion forced him to return: for, BOTS KAY ISTVAN, a Noble-man of that part, had made a great leue of souldiers, and proclaimed himself Prince of Transilvania, and demanded aid from the Sultan for the conquest of the Country. BELLIO RVVS draws what forces he can together, and ioyneth with the Earle of Tampiery, whose Troops, being three thousand horse, were of BOTS KAY'S faction, and desirous to bee freed from the Imperiall yoke: who, when they came to fight, abandoned the Emperors partie, and went to BOTS KAY; yet the combat was long and furious. The Germans and Silesians performed their duties valiantly: but, wanting powder and shot, they were defeated; where, there were many brave men slain. BOTS KAY sent certain Ensignes to S E R D E R Basha, who in recompence qualified him with the title that he affected vnder the Turks authority, vpon condition that he should employ his Arms to reduce the Province vnder his obedience, hee furnishing him with men and money.

L I P P A Y, who had been taken in the battell, and wounded, became BOTS KAY'S Lieutenant; who, in the beginning of his new authority, made proclamation, that whosoever would undertake the defense of religion, should come and enrole themselves: so as in fewe daies an infinite number both of the Nobility and others came vnto them; all binding themselves by oath, not to carry Arms against the Emperor, nor for the Turk, but for the defense of religion. They seized vpon Cassovia, took an oath of the Citizens, expelled the Imperialists, seized vpon the Churches, drave away the Priests and Clergie, and laid wait to surpris BELLIO RVVS. BASTA, hearing of this combustion, posted thither with 14000 men, and summoned them by a Herald to return to their duties; but it was in vain: so as the enemy growing very strong, and winter approaching, he was forced to retire.

Achmat venues
the propositions
of peace.

A C H M A T, being much croft by the dissensions of his Bashas in Asia, renewed the treatie of peace; and, to dispose the Christians thereto, hee was content that all prisoners should be exchanged which had been taken for three yeeres space, suffering his subjects to carry all kinde of merchandize to the Christian Towns. S E R D E R Basha made the oeuerture vnto the chief Commanders in Hungary. At the same time, the King of Persia had sent an Ambassage with a small train to the Emperor and Princes of Christendome; protesting, that hee was resolved to aduance that warre with all his power, intreating them not to make any peace with A C H M A T, and offering money for to continue the war, and to send great forces to ouerthrowe their common enemy. A C H M A T grew jealous thereat, and entertained better correspondence with the Princes of Christendome than he had formerly done.

Botskay his de-
mands.

The tumults increasing daily in Transilvania and Hungary, BASTA admonished BOTS KAY by his Letters to lay down Arms, and to draw the seditious multitude, to the Emperors obedience. BOTS KAY made answer, that he thought a peace might be made vpon these conditions: that the whole government of Transilvania should be left to him; that he should be Lieutenant Generall in Hungary; that none but Hungarians should bee there in garison; that the Walloons and French should be retired out of Hungary; that the Hungarians should bee maintained in their degrees and honours; that the souldiers should be duly paid; that there should be free exercise of the protestant religion; that BELLIO RVVS, and they which had bin the causes of their troubles, should be delivered into their hands; that the Emperor should come in person to the States at Pounson; and that the Germans should contain themselves within their garriisons, and not go to the Viceroie. BASTA would make no answer to these demands, as being too rash.

The Haiduques (for, so all BOTS KAY'S souldiers were called) continuing their enterprises, drew all the people of high Hungary and Transilvania into Arms: and BOTS KAY having the whole Country of Transilvania at his deuotion, he called the Estates of Hungary to a generall Assembly the last of Aprill. As for BASTA, being sick; his souldiers, wanting pay, committed greater insolencies in Austria and Hungary, than the Turks: they mutined against their Generall, and offered to force his lodging; and the Haiduques and Turks spoiled and wasted the Country as farre as Vienna; so as many which dwelt abroad, were forced to retire themselves into the City.

Neither was Moravia free from these common calamities, the Haiduques entring and putting all to fire and sword, carrying away foure thousand prisoners to sell to the Turks: And in the midst of summer there was a troop of theues entred into Stiria, who, finding no man to make resistance, spoyled the Countrey, carried away their goods, and forced the poore countrey men, to flee into Greta. In this present calamitie and danger; the Earles of Serin, Nadaszi and

and Buda, who had fought so valiantly many yeares against the Turkes, for the Christian common-wealth, seeing themselves now reduced to the extremity of danger, yielded themselves and their fortunes to the mercy of BOTS KAY: BASTA, hauing recovered his health, drew his Army together, and raised the siege at Oedenburg, a place in the higher Hungary, then went to Campe nere vnto Comorria. During the siege of Nehenfessell, vpon the Frontiers of Austria, and of Oedenburg, Hungary was wonderfully spoiled by the Haiduques, and likewise by the Turkes: Yet the Imperialists tooke heart and courage in many places, and there were many strong Townes and Forts which held for the Emperor in diuers Provinces.

R A D V I L the Vauiode of Valachia, a partizan to the Emperor, went to field, and seized vpon the chiefe Fort which BOTS KAY had neer vnto Varadine, called Kercie, inuaded his partizans; burnt their houses and committed strange spoiles. BOTS KAY began to grow icalous of his Lieutenant L I P P A Y, who was gouernor of Cassovia. Some, that enuid his aduancement, made BOTS KAY beleue, that he went about to reconcile himselfe vnto the Emperor, and for assurance of his Faith, to yield Cassovia vnto his hands. He takes this aduice, for a preface of what might happen. To free himself from this feare, and to pull so troublefom a thorn out of his foot, he holds it the best course to take off L I P P A Y'S head, whom he caused to be executed, with 50 other Gentlemen of note, by the great Turke's consent (seizing on 100000 Duckets, and saucau chaines of Gold, which L I P P A Y had gotten being his Lieutenant.

Lippa Lieutenant
sent to Botskay
beheaded.

BASTA did still sollicite BOTS KAY to forsake the Infidel; from whom he could expect nothing but false friendship, with a dangerous Catastrophe of his bad faith, which had been so often tried. The Arch-duke MATHIAS, sent commissioners vnto him in the Emperors name, to treat of a Peace: and he, to shewe himselfe a Prince that would not make the warre immortal in his owne country, referred this treaty to H A L I E HASKAY, who, hauing conferred with the Emperors Commissioners, gaue them to vnderstand, that his master BOTS KAY would not refuse a Peace, if those conditions might be granted which had been propounded; demanding moreover, that in the Senate of Hungary, there should be but one Bishoppe, which should be Chancellor; that no man should be forced in Religion; and that none should be preferred to Bishop-ricks, if they were not borne in Hungary, and Noble; and that al that was past should be pardoned & forgotten. If these things might be performed, he promised to procure a Peace betwixt the Emperor, and the Turk, with the best conditions he might.

A party of a
Peace betwixt
the Emperor and
Botskay.

During this treaty which was somewhat long, A C H M A T sends a Basha to BOTS KAY with a present of eight hundred thousand Florens to maintain the warres, with ten Horses of great price, and assurance not to faile him of his promise. In the meane time, BOTS KAY sends to the King of Polonia, to craue aide from him in this warre, which he made for the defence of Religion. The King accepted of his offered friendship: But, he could not approue his defection from a house to the which he was so neerly allied; yet he would acquaint his Lords with his propositions: who afterwards decreed in Councell, that no man should assist BOTS KAY, vpon paine of death. In the meane time BOTS KAY'S seditious Army ioyned with the Turkes, being fifty thousand in their Campe, and besieged Strigonium in the end of August: they battered it with forty peeces of Ordinance continually during a moneths space. Hauing overthrowne all their defences, and slaine nine hundred of their best men, with the Earle of Oettinge, then they attempted the Castle: the which they fired in such fort, as the souldiers were scarce able to quench it. Whereupon, they came running to the Earle of Tampiery, importuning him to yeeld it vp: who refusing at the first, he perswaded them to remember their oath, and to continue constant with him in the defence of the towne: but seeing the Turkes presse the siege more violently, and the Souldiers to cast away their Armes, he was forced to compound: And so on the third of October, they yeelded vpe the Towne and Castle, vnto the Turkes.

Strigonium ye-
lled to the Turke.

All the Nobility of Transilvania, Moldavia and Valachia, hauing sworneto BOTS KAY, who had an Army of twenty five thousand men, he resolved during the treaty of Peace to take in the other places of Hungary. The Arch-duke MATHIAS had sent one of his chiefe ministers vnto him; who returned with this charge: That the Hungarians required MATHIAS for their King; and that he should keepe his Seate at Possion or Vienna, and gouerne the affaires of the kingdom in person: and if they could not obtaine this within one moneth; they would chuse themselves a King.

The Hungar-
ians enquire the
King for their
King.

The Imperiall Army had lien long about Comorria, vnder the command of Generall BASTA: But, they were not able to giue the Turkes Generall battaille, and to relieue Strigonium.

Winter approaching, the Turkes began to disband, and to retire towards *Buda*; and the Christians left their lodging neere vnto *Comorria*. The 25 of November, 14000 Turkes came and charged a Regiment of Reistres, which made their retraite: But, the whole Army turning head, they fled back to the mountaines; but on the third of December, they came early in the morning, and charged the forward: but seeing the whole Army advance, they began to retire; and being pursued to the passage of a River, there were 1500 slain and drowned. In this charge the Earle of *Laval*, a yong Nobleman of *France*, was shot; whereof he died, to the great griefe of the whole Army.

The death of the Earle of Laval.

1606.

The Duke of Brunswick besieged the City of Brunswick.

There was an antient quarrell depending betwixt the Duke of *Brunswick* and the Citie, touching the iurisdiction. The Duke had formerly attempted to take it, by a Stratagem; where he lost many men: and now desirous to have his reuenge, knowing they stood watchfully vpon their guard for feare of surpris, he would try it by open force; and having raised a good Army came to inuelt the Towne. The inhabitants grew amazed, and sent Ambassadors to the Duke: but they stood so stiffly vpon their priuiledges, as the treaty was in vaine. They complained to the Imperiall Chamber; where they obtained Letters from the Emperour, commanding the Duke to giue ouer the siege, and to retire his Army, vpon paine of proscription: but he continued his siege. The Hanfe-townes leuied forces to relieue the besieged. Ambassadors came from the States of *lower Germany*: who concluded a Truce for a moneth; promising to doe their best indeauours to conclude this warre. The Emperour did likewise send his Ambassadors for the like effect: where, after some treaty, the Duke retired his Army, vpon certain conditions.

Lauerin attempted in waite by the Turke.

This yeere in May, a Tower in the Castle of *Buda* was set on fire: the which, being full of powder, flew into the ayre, and slue and hurt about 800 persons in the ruines. In the end of the last yeere the Turkes began to treat of a Peace with the Imperials: how pleasing it was vnto them, the Garrison did finde vpon the eighteenth of March. There was a day appointed at the Turkes desire, where both parties might meete to aduance the businesse: for which cause, there came not about fifty Turkes to the Gate, desiring to be let in. The Garrison, doubting no fraude, prepared to open the Gates, when as suddenly a Centinell espied three thousand Souldiers covered with a thick cloude: whereupon, he cried To armes, discovering the treacherie of the enemies, who were forced to retire by the great Ordinance.

Treache taken by the Haiduques.

Epper, a Towne holding for the Emperour, was so oppressed by the seditious Haiduques, as no victuals could enter into it; hoping that being prest by famine, and the want of all other necessities, the Citizens would yeeld. By the same meanes they had taken *Toccai* not long before; whereas the famine was so great, as they not only boyled their bootes and shoes to make food of, but the Garrison Souldiers had also slaine two children; and some of them had cast Lottes for the killing of themselves to make meate, vntill that extreame necessity forced them to yeeld.

On the fifteenth of Iune, the Turkish Garrison of *Alba Regalis*, ioyning with some other Troupes, made an incursion as farre as Mount Saint *Maryn*: Where they defeated and tooke the Gouernor, and carried away many prisoners of all sexes and ages. The Gouernour of *Breslay* went presently to horse with his troupes; and pursued them with such speede, as hauing overtaken them, hee fought with them, and slewe one thousand five hundred vpon the place: He carried away three thousand prisoners, and freed six thousand Christians from these Infidels.

Holi Haskies taken by the Haiduques.

Haskies (who had beene much employed for the treaty of peace with *Botsca*) wrote letters from *Cassovia* to *Vienna*, giving them to understand, that *Botsca* could performe nothing touching the peace, without the consent of the States; who had often told him, that They would rather seeke protection from the Turkes, then be subject to the seruitude of strange Gouernours: Yet hee would endeavour at the next assembly, to draw the States vnto him; so, as what had beene concluded at *Vienna* might not bee retracted: many fearing, that, what had beene promised for matter of Religion, would not bee observed: and therefore they would not lay downe Armes, nor renounce the Turkes protection, untill they had good assurance for the libertie of Religion, and their priuiledges. They would have no strange Gouernour, with whom they could not confer; nor suffer Clergy men to give their voyces in matters of policy: wherefore hee thought it necessary, the Emperour should gratifie the Hungarians in this point; and leaving *Transilvania* to *Botsca*, appoint such a Gouernour in Hungary as the States should require. That the conclusion of a peace with the Turkes, depended wholly vpon a peace with

BOTS CA Y

BOTS CA Y, and the Hungarians, whereof there was no hope, unlesse that *BOTS CA Y* and the Estates of Hungary did finish the treaty.

The grand Seigneur, being much troubled this yeare with the sedition in *Asia*, and the Persian warres; advertised also of the treaties of peace betwixt the Emperour and *BOTS CA Y*, hee sent his great Vezier into Hungary, with charge to conclude a peace with the Emperour and the house of *Austria*. Being come to *Buda*, *BOTS CA Y* sent Embassadors vnto him, to inform him fully of the propositions made for the peace of Hungary, betwixt the Emperours Deputies & his: And for that hee would not infringe the promise which hee had made to *ACHMAT* the grand Seigneur, not to conclude any peace with the Emperour *RODOLPH* without his priuite and consent, which hee now summoned him to imbrace, seeing that matters might be reconciled: hee intreated the Vezier, not to alter the affaires by any new siege; and to containe his Turks within their campe and garriisons. The Vezier, who came to no other end, was glad to see it so well advanced: whereupon it was concluded, that *BOTS CA Y* should send Embassadors to *Vienna*, to conclude this peace, and that of the Hungarians; and that the Emperour and the Vezier should send some of quality, to make a truce, whilst that the Deputies of either side should meete, for the conclusion of a generall peace.

Embassadors came to *Vienna*, from *BOTS CA Y* and the Hungarians, in September; and within few dayes after, the Articles of peace were signed by the Arch-duke *MATHIAS*, and them. First, that they should live with liberty of conscience throughout all Hungary, where there should bee no exercise of any other Religion, but the Catholike, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist. Secondly, that the Archduke *MATHIAS* should bee Lieutenant generall for the Emperour, throughout all Hungary; and carie the title of Viceroy. Thirdly, that *BOTS CA Y* should bee confirmed Prince of *Transilvania*, Earle of *Siciles*, and Palatine of high Hungary, to which principality and County, his heyres males should succeed; for want whereof, all should returne to the Emperours disposition. Fourthly, that hereafter the Palatine, Treasurer generall, and all the Receivers should bee chosen by the Estates of Hungary. Fifthly, that none should hold any benefit in Hungary but the natives. Sixthly, that there should be a generall abolition of all that had past during this last warre.

Articles of peace accorded with Emperours name only, Hons. Scy and the Hungarians.

In the meane time, a Truce was accorded betwixt the Arch-dukes Deputies, and the Veziers, and euery one prepared to meete at the place appointed, neere vnto *Comorria*: *BOTS CA Y* & Ambassadors returned to *Neuburg*, six French-leagues from *Comorria*, to be, as it were, arbitrators of such differences as might arise. The place of conference, was halfe a league beneath *Comorria*, in an Iland diuided in three parts by deepe Riuers, so as one could not go vnto another, but by boate; being thus chosen to auoide all treacherie. The Deputies for the Emperour, Grand-Segnior, and *BOTS CA Y*, met often and treated, and in the end concluded a Peace for twenty yeeres, contained in fifteen Articles, the which they signed the ninth of November. The same day the Articles were signed, the Bashaw of *Buda* made a stately feast vnto the Emperours Deputies, giuing to cyther of them a goodly horse, or some peeces of cloath of Gold, or of rare silkes. The same day, he sent three Posts to *Constantinople*, to aduertise the Sultan *ACHMAT* of this Peace; the which newes he receiued with so great ioy, as hee went presently to a Mosque to giue thanks to his *MAHOMET*, and the day following made a solemne feast.

Deputies for the Emperour and Turkes met and conclude a generall peace.

But *BOTS CA Y*, after so many toyles and labours, was no sooner acknowledged Prince of *Transilvania* by the Emperour, but (in steade of enioying the Peace which he had propounded to himself, with hope to leaue a posterity to eternize the memory of his valor) *CATRAX* his Chanceller conspired to poyson him; hoping, by the death of his Prince, to make himselfe heir of his Estate: *BOTS CA Y* hauing swallowed the poison, which made him die languishing, discovered that it was his Chancellors deede; whom he caused to be apprehended, and being convicted hee cut off his head in *Cassovia*, giuing that dignity to *IAN IANVS*: but no preferuatives could prolong his life, but soone after hee must go giue an account to the Eternall, for so many ruines, and so much Christian blood, spilt in Hungary and *Transilvania*. The Haiduques which had been accustomed to liue by Armes, some hauing neither lands nor goods to feede them; and other knowing no trade and being now to old to learne any, could not subiect themselves to this peace; and, notwithstanding any commandements, they trouped together, liuing vpon the *Pesant*, and left nothing but desolation where they past: But being come into the County of *Bocasi*, hauing set fire vpon three villages, the Commons came vpon them with such furie, as there were many slaine of either side in diuers encounters.

Botsca poisoned by his Chanceller.

Q994

BOT-

1607

The death of
Botskay.Sigismund Ra-
gotsi chosen
Prince of Trans-
ylvania.Peace ill obser-
ved in Hungary.The proceedings
of the Haid-
duques.An assembly at
Vienna.The answer
of Ragotsi to
the Palatine
Ambassadors.
1608A Diet, at Ra-
tisbonne, from
the

BOTS KAY to redresse these disorders, had appointed an assembly of the estates of further Hungary, at *Cassiania* in December: but feeling his death approach, he could not assist, but gave instructions to his Chancellor and others, what order they should observe, in the assembly of the States after his death; and what they should do for the tranquillity of Hungary, and for the commerce betwixt the Hungarians and Transilvanians; charging them not to infringe any thing of the peace made with the Emperour, and exhorting them to keep their faith with him. And so he died, the 30 of December, being much lamented by them of his party: yet soone after forgetting his advice, they made a change in *Transilvania*, for that he died without children.

The estates of *Transilvania* presently after the death of BOTS KAY assembled at *Clausenburg*, where they did choose SIGISMUND RAGOTSI for their Prince, to whom they went presently and took the oath of allegiance in the great Church. After which, they sent Embassadors to the Arch-duke MATTHIAS, who made their excuse for this election, humbly beseeching his Imperiall Majesty to beleeve, that they had done it forced by necessity, and to prevent the practices of many Noble-men of Hungary and *Transilvania*, pretending to seize vpon that state: and that the election of RAGOTSI should be no hindrance, but that they would alway acknowledge the Emperour for their true Prince. This RAGOTSI was a man admirable in bounty, and who had not affected this election, but did accept it for the good of his country, and left it againe for the quiet thereof, as you shall heare hereafter.

The peace was ill observed in Hungary of all sides. The *Basha* of *Buda* wrote vnto the Archduke MATTHIAS, that he should be forced to take Arms if he did not hinder the courses of the Imperials, the which he should be very vnwilling to do, protesting to observe the peace. The Imperiall garrisons continued their courses and *Nehusol* was sold and deliuered to COLONISTS.

Some discontented Haiduques trouped together, and ioyned their numbers with some Turkes, making a body of 15000 men, which spoiled all Hungary where they past. The *Basha* of *Buda* was the cause thereof, who gaue the commanders money to entertaine this mutinie. To prevent these disorders and the murmurings of the Barrons of Hungary, who desired to haue a King that might remaine in the country, and not at *Prague* in *Bohemia*, who by his presence might disperse all these new alterations, the Arch-duke MATTHIAS appointed an Assembly in the Emperors name, whither the Deputies of Hungary came: and attending the Arch-duke MATTHIAS long, in the end they made a solemne protestation, that hauing attended the said Arch-duke seauen weekes in vaine, they were forced to returne to them that sent them; that if pleased the Emperour to assigne another day for an assembly, and publish it, they would come; and if in the meane time their were any thing decreed contrary to the Articles of peace concluded at *Vienna*, although the Emperour should ratifie it, they protested a nullity against all that should be done in their absence.

The Nobility of Hungary refused to take Armes against the rebellious Haiduques, and Turkes which were ioyned with them; and they sent to intreate the *Basha* of *Buda* to retire the Turkes. The Haiduques continued their hostilities, and proclaimed that they were friends to the Turkes, and enemies to the Germanes and Walloons: They sent to intreat HYMANOY Governor of *Cassania*, to take the Diademe which had beene giuen to BOTS KAY, and to be their King, but he scorned their offer: saying, I will haue no other King but CESAR: finally, continuing their spoiles (being assisted with some Cannon from the *Bashas* of *Buda* and *Agria* and with 300000 duckets) they went to besiege *Elack* with 16000 men; BOSNIACK commanded in the place: who carried himselfe so valiantly against all their attempts as he forced them to raise the siege.

During the Assembly at *Presbourg* the Arch-duke MATTHIAS had called together the estates of *Austria* to *Vienna*, where there were Articles propounded vnto them in writing, touching the estate of the Country, whereon they were to conclude; but there were resolutions taken by the practices of the Arch-duke MATTHIAS contrary to the Emperours intention.

The King of Poland and his Palatines being at warres, the Palatines sent to RAGOTSI Prince of *Transilvania* for aide: who made them this answer; that it was a wicked thing to nourish warres betwixt Christians: That his Armes should neuer fight in a ciuile and vnjust warre: that it was treacherous to Arme against ones Prince, and that they which did fight against their Soueraigne were detested by their posteritie, and their memory buried in infamy; as for such as aided rebels they deserved to be called impious, a surname which I will by no means purchase: obey your King and God will blesse you.

This yeere in the beginning of Ianuary, there was a Diet assembled at *Ratisbone* in which the

the Arch-duke, FERDINAND of *Graz*, did preside in the Emperors name; which bred some jealousie in the Arch-duke MATTHIAS. All their deliberation was reduced to five Articles; whereof the first and principall was, To make provision against the Turkes, in whom there was little assurance for the entertainment of peace: and therefore he desired, that the Princes of the Empire would furnish yearly a certain contribution to resist the Turkes practices when there should be cause, that all the Estates of the Empire should entertaine 20000 foot and 4000 horse at their owne charge, or else; that they would yearly lay by so much money as the entertainment of such an Army would amount vnto: but there was such dissension among the Deputies, that after foure months continuance they brake off, and concluded nothing.

During this Diet at *Ratisbone*, the Arch-duke MATTHIAS practised by what means hee might make himselfe Soueraigne of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Moravia*, and of all that the Christians held in Hungary. Hee came to an Assembly of the Estates at *Presbourg* in the beginning of the yeere, where, to attain to his designe, he propounded to the Noble-men of Hungary, that it would be very profitable to vniue the Estates of *Austria* and Hungary by an offensive and defensive league; so as Deputies being appointed, it was concluded, that for the good of *Austria* and Hungary they should not alter any thing in the Articles of peace, made the yeere before at *Vienna*; and that an offensive and defensive league should be made betwixt the said Countries. The Articles of the resolution were set down by the Deputies, and they were signed by the Arch-duke MATTHIAS, and proclaimed the first of February. The Arch-duke MATTHIAS, being returned to *Vienna*, called the Estates of *Austria* together; to whom he imparted what had passed at *Presbourg*; and that what he had done was for fear that Hungary should be wrested from the Empire, as well by the Turkes as by the Barons of Hungary, and that after this distraction the whole warre should fall vpon *Austria*; aduising them also to provide money for the entertainment of the Army which he must leue, if the rebellious Haiduques would not desist from Arms. The Estates gaue him great thanks, promising to follow and assist him with their liues and goods.

The Arch-duke MATTHIAS (who knew that for the effecting of his designes he must haue a peace in Hungary as well with the Turkes as with the discontented Haiduques) gaue charge vnto HELLHASKAY, that at one Instant he should take order with the Turkes for the reforming of the disorders which had hapned since the peace, and to draw as many of the Haiduques as he could to his pay, to the end the rest should be forced to disperse themselves, or bee careful to liue in peace: wherein HASKAY carried himselfe so politically, that hee drew fifteen companies of horse to the Arch-dukes pay; and the rest in an Instant were scattered and dispersed. GABRIEL BATTORI, the right heir of the Princes of *Transilvania*, hauing retired himself to the Turkes, was now restored to his principality. SIGISMUND RAGOTSI (who had bin chosen after the death of BOTS KAY) yielded it willingly to him, and retired to *Sarenta*; assuring BATTORI by Letters, that he had not accepted the election but to prevent the combustions among great men, who pretended to vsurp and trouble that state.

The Arch-duke, seeing all things succeed according to his desire, sent commandement to haue all his Troops come to the rendezvous vpon the Frontiers of *Moravia* by the fourteenth of April. The Emperour being aduertised of these leues (which they gaue out was for that his Majesty did not ratifie the treaty of peace made at *Vienna*) he sent the Cardinal of *Ditrislein* to the Arch-duke, with a ratification of the treaty; but with this clause, that hee would haue the offensive and defensive league, made betwixt the Estates of Hungary and *Austria*, dissolved: whereto the Arch-duke answered, it could not bee; and so returned the Cardinal with certain demands, who, finding that he had another designe than he made shew of, aduertised the Emperour, that he might provide for his safety. The Emperour growes amazed: hee presently calls the States of *Bohemia* to *Prague*: he summons all his forces together, lodges them about his person, and craves aid from the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire. The Arch-duke, hearing that the Emperour had taken the alarm, came into *Moravia* ioining to *Austria*, with an army of 20000 old souldiers and 28 Cannon. He sent to the Estates of *Bohemia*, commanding euery Town to send two Deputies to *Czassa*, where they should vnderstand from his owne mouth the cause of his taking Arms. The Emperour, hearing this, exhorted them to persist in their fidelity; as no man went to *Czassa*, but the whole Country took Arms for the Emperour: who, hoping to stay him with his Army in *Moravia*, sent back the Cardinal to vnderstand his complaints, being accompanied by the Popes Nuntio, and the Ambassadors of diuerse Princes. But hee marched into the Country towards *Czassa*; where the Ambassadors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg* came vnto him the ninth of May, intreating him not to passe any further, but to grant a truce for eight

The Arch-duke
Mathias practi-
sels to make
himselfe a Soue-
raigne.The Emperour
sends to the
Arch-duke
Mathias.The Emperour
in fear
of his brother
Mathias.The Arch-duke
Mathias enters
Bohemia, and
camps before
Prague.

eight daies, to the end this trouble might be compounded: the which they could not obtaine by any importunities.

The Arch-duke MATTHIAS had a desire to see Prague; not as an humble Petitioner, but with a commanding power, being attended by 8000 horse. COLONITZ the Marshall of his Campe following with the rest of his Army. The poore Emperour was in a strange distress: he had two enemies to encounter and fight withall; without the walles his owne brother, and within the towne the assembly of the estates of Bohemia. And the deputies were of diuerse religions, where they importuned him with many Articles, both concerning religion and the state: all which he was forced to graunt, except that which concerned religion, the which was referred to the next assembly at S. Michael.

The Arch-duke vpon a safe conduct from the Emperour and the estates sent his Embassadors into Prague, who deliuered his demands in writing to the assembly: whercupon a conference was appointed at Debritz, where after much debate, the Emperour obtained a peace of his brother; but it was with the preiudice of his estate & honour: for he was forced to stripp off his clothes before he was dead, and to resigne vnto his brother the greatest part of his patrimoniall inheritance.

This peace was concluded in 17 Articles: whereof the chiefe were, That he should yeeld the Realme of Hungary, and deliuer the Crowne vnto the Arch-duke MATTHIAS, freeing the Hungarians of their oath. That he should yeeld presently all the Arch-duchy of Austria vnto him, and to his heires males. That if the Emperour died without issue male, the Arch-duke should succeed him in the Kingdom of Bohemia, and carrie presently in his titles, Designed king of Bohemia. And that he and his heires should haue the administration of Moravia, with the title of Marquesse, with diuerse others tending to the aduancement of the Arch-duke MATTHIAS.

This peace being confirmed, the Emperour sent the Crowne of Hungary, with all the Regall ornaments, to the Arch-dukes Campe: where they were receiued with great pompe. And thus the Arch-duke, king of Hungary being pleased, raised his Campe and returned to Vienna: where he made a stately entry, and was receiued with great pompe by all the estates of the country, who assuring him of their fidelity and obedience, congratulated his new souerainty, and he gaue them great thanks for their good affection. In October the estates of Austria were to take the oath of fidelity and allegiance to the king, as to their Arch-duke, the which was solemnely performed: but the protestants were not present, for that the king (by the aduice of the Arch-duke, LÉOPOLD, of Cardinall MELCHIOR the Popes Nuntio, and of Cardinall FÖRSTER) had by an edict forbidden the exercise of the protestants religion in Austria. This bred new troubles, for that the protestants assembled at Horne, and made their protestation, sending a petition vnto the King, signed by 150 Noblemen, gouernours and Capitaines; writing also to the Catholikes that if they tooke the oath of allegiance vnto the said King Arch-duke, before the trouble of religion were pacified, they should not be able to excuse themselves to be the causes of the miseries that would ensue.

The Ceremony being ended at Vienna, King MATTHIAS went to Presbourg, where on the 22 of October the Noble-men of Hungary receiued him with great state, there being about 10000 men in Armes, where soone after they presented diuerse Articles vnto him conformable vnto the edict of pacification made at Vienna, but with some explication. The protestants of Austria, sent their requests vnto the estates of Hungary, letting them vnderstand, that King MATTHIAS denying them the free exercise of their religion, they were forced to take Armes, requiring them to assist them with the succours which were promised by the offensive and defensive League.

The Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN was intreated by the Hungarians, to intercede in this difference, who hauing conferred with King MATTHIAS, brought them answer, that the king had neuer any intent to trouble the peace of Austria: but as for the free exercise of the protestant religion within townes, that his maiesty could by no means graunt it, partly in regarde of his confidence, and partly for feare of his Holiness, and of the king of Spain: yet he had his maiesties word, that if the Protestants of Austria would lay downe their Armes, and acknowledge their fault, they should haue liberty of religion allowed them out of townes; and as for publick affaires his maiesty would aduance his subsidies, without acceptation of religion. The Hungarians hauing receiued this answer, he perswaded them to lay downe Armes, and to submit themselves to the Kings will, refusing the aide which they desired; laying before them the dangers of

of a doubtfull warre. The Protestants returned to Austria discontented, yet afterwards by the intercession of the Morauians and others, after some little combustion, they obtained a peace and part of that which they demanded.

MATTHIAS was proclaimed King of Hungary in Presbourg, the foureteenth of Nouember, HARRY HASKAY being first chosen Palatine; and on the 19 day hee was solemnely crowned. After which, beginning to order the affaires of the kingdom, he was forced by the Hungarian Barons, to dismiss all the Germanes which had any offices in Hungary, and to aduance others of the Country. It troubled him much, and his brother MAXIMILIAN that COLONITZ should be deprived of his office of Marshall of Hungary, hauing done so great seruices for that crowne; but he was forced to indure it in regarde of peace. In the end of the yeere he returned to Vienna, so as in seauen moneths the Arch-duke MATTHIAS caused himselfe to be crowned king of Hungary, and acknowledged Arch-duke of Austria and Marquess of Moravia, forcing the Emperour to make his Will before he was dead.

This yeere the Turkes notwithstanding the peace, attempted to surpris Fellek. The Bassa of Agria had corrupted ANDREW DRACO a Captaine within the Cittadell, who promised to deliuer it for 20000 loachins: the hour was appointed at midnight, when as DRACO should set certaine houles of fire; and whilst that euery man should be busie to quench it, he should giue the Turkes entrie into the cittadell, and so into the towne. This enterprise was discouered, and DRACO quartered. The Bassa of Buda also seized vpon about 400 villages, causing the inhabitants to take the oath of allegiance vnto the Turke. The Emperour as we haue said had giuen his brother MATTHIAS what he demanded, and had pacified the estates of Bohemia as well as he could, suffering euery one to liue in the liberty of his religion, promising to set downe an order at the next assembly, which was this yeare in Ianuary. The Catholikes fought by all meanes to entertaine the Emperour in hatred with the Protestants, and to haue that disannulled, which had bene formerly granted; saying, that their opinions had bene condemned, and that the exercise of their religion was but by sufferance. The Protestants sent their Embassadors to the King of Hungary, and to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, to intercede for them to his maiesty, for the continuance of the free exercise of their religion.

The Emperour hauing forbidden the Protestants to make any assembly in the court of new Prague, they went vnto him, and besought him to appoint them a place where they might assemble, and to write their defence, and to present it vnto him, and to let the world know the iustice of their demand the which they could not obtaine: So as on the eight of May, they resolved notwithstanding the Emperours prohibition, to goe and make their assembly in the court of new Prague; where they brake open the dores, and entered, putting themselves in defence, if any should come to assaile them. The Emperour hearing of this alteration, sent the first Burgoane of Prague with his chiefe officers, who said vnto them, that his Imperiall Maiesty had alwaies had a will to loue them as his faithfull subjects; and that he was resolved, shortly to call an assembly, and to end that controuersie touching the liberty of religions. The Protestants made answer by the Barron of Budonitz, that they thanked his Imperiall Maiesty for his good will towards them; and besought him to beleue that they had bene alwaies faithfull vnto him: yet they knew well what had bene treated hitherto in the states by some counsellors, who vnder pretext, of aduancing the Catholike religion, were the cause of these troubles which had followed; and they did hope to let his Maiesty vnderstand, that the end of such counsells and practices, could bring nothing but ruine to Bohemia, and the losse of his Realmes, and prouinces. As for the publication of the assembly of the estates, they desired it might be within three daies, to preuent many accidents which might happen. Both parties, both Catholikes and Protestants, remained 15 daies in continuall ialousie one of another, fearing surpris. But as soone as the Emperour had published the assembly, all was pacified, by reason of the Emperours declaration; whereby he did aow, that what the protestants had done, was for his seruice and the good of the Kingdome. At which assembly, there was free exercise of religion graunted to the Protestants, and Temples allowed them to preach in the vulgar tongue, declaring all them troublers of the publick peace, that should any way infringe it.

The Iesuites were suspected to haue bene the cause of these broiles: both Catholikes and Protestants complained, and presented a petition vnto the King, that they being strangers, and come poore into Prague, had in a short time gotten great possessions, yet payed no tribute or contribution, neither bare any charge like vnto others: wherefore they required that hereafter they might beare the charges of the Common-wealth like others of the Clergie, that they should

The Emperour
in distress.

A conference at
Debritz.

1608

A peace concluded
between
the Emperour &
Matthias.

King Matthias
enters into Prague

New troups in
Austria for
religion.

The Protestants
of Austria came
aide from the
Hungarians.

Matthias crowned
King of
Hungary.

All Hungarians
displaced in
Hungary.

The Bassa of
Agria attempts
Fellek.

A combustion
in Bohemia for
religion.

The troubles in
Bohemia for re-
ligion pacified.

A complaint
against the Ie-
suites.

should not purchase any more, nor accept any donations, by testament or otherwise, without his Majesties permission.

The death of the Duke of Juliers and Cleves, and the pretensions.

In March, WILLIAM Duke of Juliers, Cleves and Berg, Earl of Mark and Ravenspurg, died without children: to whose succession there were many Princes and Noble-men pretended, which drew great miseries upon those Countries. Among the Princes of Germany, were the Elector of Brandenburg, who was issued from MARY ELIZABETH, eldest sister unto the said WILLIAM deceased. The Count Palatine of Newburg descended from ANNE the second sister. The third Pretendent was the widow of the Duke of Deuxponts. The fourth was the Marquess of Burgun, who married SYBILLE the fourth sister. The Elector of Saxony pretended these estates to belong to him as maleline issues of the Empire, and that they had been given to his Predecessors, and to their Successors for the services which they had done to the Empire and Emperor, in case the Duke of Cleves should die without issue male. In BRANNE was the Duke of Siewers, who maintained, that he was the only Prince which carried the name and Arms of Cleves; and the Earl of Markwiler, who is the right heir of the house of Mark, whereof he carries the name and Arms. Every one maintained his pretension, fortifying themselves by Arms, and engaging their friends: the relation of which war I refer to divers others which have written thereof; the cause being yet undecided.

In October, there arrived at Prague an Ambassador from the grand Seignior with many rich Presents to the Emperor: among the which there was a goodly pavilion, let with many precious stones, four goodly horse, with rich caparisons, a Turkish habit whereon there was nothing to be seen but gold and stone, with certain other precious stones. Having presented his Letters, and seen the Emperor confirm the truce, he returned with Presents.

About the same time, the Prince of Anhalt came Ambassador to the Emperor from the Princes and Estates of the Empire; giving him to understand by his Chancellor, that the Princes required to have DONAUERD in SUEBIA (which had been some years before taken by the Duke of Bavaria, by the virtue of the Emperors Letters of proscription) restored again to the Empire and to the former estate, some burdens being taken away; that justice might be duly administered, and the peace of religion confirmed; that Princes Ambassadors when they came, might be dispatched without delay; that suits in Courts might be amended: and for that Princes Ambassadors had been much neglected in Court, they required that some Protestants might be chosen into the Senat and Councell. The Emperor heard the Prince willingly; yet excusing himself, that by reason of the troubles in Bohemia he could not then attend it, he promised that he would soon give the Princes and States satisfaction.

This year there was an attempt against the person of GABRIEL BATTORI, Prince of Transilvania, by a Noble-man of that Country, being induced thereto by a wicked religious man: whereof the Prince being advertised, and of the day of the execution, he made shew to go forth to hunt, having first laid an ambush without the Town, into the which he drew the venturers, who followed him to execute their enterprise: whereas some of them were cut in pieces; and among them the religious man. Some report that BATTORI banished the rest, and some being fled into Hungary, he wrote his Letters to GEORGE TYSON, intreating him to cause them to be apprehended, lest they should attempt the like there, being incited by the Jesuits, and the hatred to religion.

The spirit of division had set all Germany on fire, and drawn them into factions, for the defence of the Pretendents to the Duchy of Juliers, either party seeking to fortifie it self, for the effecting whereof, they made severall Assemblies. The Princes Protestants Noble-men, with the Deputies of fifteen Imperiall Towns, holding the part of the Elector of Brandenburg and Palatine of Newburg, met at Halle in SUEBIA: where there assisted an Ambassador from the French King, who offered them protection in the King his Masters name; and to assist them with 8000 foot and 2000 horse, with cannon and munition, upon condition that they should not alter any thing in matter of religion within the Country of Juliers, and that the Catholics should be maintained in the same rights and priviledges which they enjoyed during the life of the last Duke.

At the same time, the Princes and Towns of Germany, holding the Emperors part, assembled at Pilsen in BRANANIA, where they resolved of the forces which every one should furnish for the Army which they appointed to raise: after which, they beganne to leue soldiours throughout all parts of Europe; what succeeded, you shall hereafter hear.

The protestant Princes, having concluded of their succours for the warre, published a declaration

ration of the causes of their union; shewing, That their confederation was for the defence of the glory of the name of God, and the maintenance of iustice and peace in the Empire; and not contrary to their obedience which they did owe unto the Emperor or against any estate of the holy Empire: beseeching his Imperiall Majesty, and all the Electors, Princes, and States, not to give credit to such as had maliciously published, that their union was made in contempt of the Imperiall Majesty, and to oppress the Roman religion; to prophane the monasteries, and to take againe with violence those goods which their predecessors had given to Churches, employed in pious uses; and to trouble the peace of religion. Finally (relating the estate of the pretendents of Juliers) they concluded that they were united with them, to the end they should not be by force molested in their iust possession of the estates of the house of Juliers; intreating all Princes of the Empire, & others not to misconstrue their union; nor to hinder it, but rather to assist them; that all jealousies & distrusts being taken away, love & concord may be firmly settled hereafter.

The Electors, Princes and Towns holding the Emperors party, which had bin assembled at Pilsen, made another general assembly at Prague, in which assisted the Arch-dukes, MAXIMILIAN & FERDINAND of Austria. The propositions were reduced unto 4. heads. 1. The reconciliation of the Emperor with his brother king MATTHIAS. 2. The election of a King of the Romans. 3. The restitution of DONAUERD. 4. The composition of the trouble of JULIERS. The king of Hungary sent his deputies to this assembly; from whom the Emperor demanded: the restitution of Austria, & Moravia. The Elector of Cullen, the Arch-duke FERDINAND, and the Duke of Brunswick, went to Vienna to acquaint the King with the Emperors demand, and the proposition for the election of a king of the Romans. It was concluded in the assembly, that the Duke of Bavaria should leue DONAUERD to its former liberty, without any exception, paying him his charges. And touching JULIERS trouble, all the estates which had belonged to the last Duke JOHN WILLIAM, were conferred by the Emperor upon the Elector of Saxony, and his house; conditionally that the house of Saxony should prove that they had more right to the said estates than the Princes pretending; that they should alter nothing in the exercise of the Catholick religion; that the said Elector should satisfie the demands of the Duke of Siewers and the Marquess of Burgun, and should pay the charges disbursd by the Emperor & the Arch-duke LEOPOLD in this war.

The third of July a reconciliation was made betwixt the Emperor and his brother the king of Hungary, upon these Articles. 1. That king MATTHIAS should acknowledge his brother RODOLPH for Emperor, and the head of Christendome, king of Bohemia, Lord of the Marquissate of Moravia, and the first of the house of Austria. 2. That yearly the said king should send him 2000 vessels of wine and pay him 10000 florens. 3. That the said king nor the provinces granted unto him should not make any alliances without the consent of the Emperor. 4. That the king should demand pardon for those things which were past, of his Imperiall majesty, the which he should give him, in a particular forme. 5. That the soldiours of either part should be dismissed within one moneth. 6. That if it should be needful to make warre against the Turke, it should be done by the Emperors authority. 7. That Germans should be put in garrison in the forts of Hungary with the Hungarians: and that the Emperor should continue the ordinary payment, which Bohemia did furnish for the intertainment of the said garrison. 8. That the Emperor and King should hereafter ioyn their forces, to punish rebellious subjects. 9. That if any of their officers did not cause the said Articles to be presently observed, they should be deprived of their offices. 10. That the Electors & Princes assembled at Prague should subscribe the said Articles, and that they should be signed by ether part. 11. That the county of Tirol should be left wholly to the Emperor; and that neither king MATTHIAS nor the Arch-dukes his brethren and cosins should pretend any title unto it.

Soone after, the protestants Princes of Germany, who were united in the behalfe of the Princes pretending the succession of Juliers, seeing that Duke MAXIMILIAN of Bavaria, the head of the union of the Catholike Princes, had leaved many soldiours, they sent an Embassie unto him: where after many conferences, in the end they concluded, that by the first of November, the duke of Bavaria should dismiss his Army, but for that the Arch-duke LEOPOLD had great troupes in his Bishopricks of Passau and Straßburg, he might put part of them into garrison to be ready upon any new accident: moreover that all acts of hostility should cease, betwixt the subjects of the Archbishop of Cullen, and the States of Juliers; and if there should happen any difference betwixt the said parties, they should agree amiably, and not come to Arms.

The Emperor having given no order for the payment of LEOPOLD'S Army (it having committed

An Assembly at Prague.

Articles of reconciliation betwixt the Emperor and King Matthias.

The Protestants Princes sent to the Duke of Bavaria.

The prince of Anhalt sent ambassador to the Emperor from the prince of Germany.

Assembly of the protestant princes at Halle.

The Emperor giving out of Pilsen.

committed great spoiles in the Bishoprick of *Passau* they entred into *Austria*, where they committed barbarous cruelties, being led by *Romeo*. Many thought that he would passe vnto *Prague*, to force the Emperor to pay his Army: Others were of opinion that *Leopold* aspired to make himselfe King of the Romans, and that he would employ this Army to that effect. King *Mathias* (who was then disarmed) found presently that it was against him: wherefore he sent for all his subiects and friends, and fought to crosse the Leopoldians enterprises: He wrote to the States of *Bohemia*, that he would neuer beleue the Emperour would breake the Peace, so newly sworne; yet he intreated them, if neede were, to succour him in his necessity. The Leopoldians entred into *Bohemia*, and surprized *Budenitz* by policie and spoyled it; and then marched towards *Prague*. The Emperor (being required by the States) sent a Herald to the Arch-duke *Leopold*, with commandement to retire the Army to *Cruman*, and there to attend their pay.

Having deliuered his charge in secret to the Arch-duke, he was brought to *Romeo*; who willed him to returne to *Prague*, and to assure them, that they were friends to all such as were faithfull subiects to the Emperour, and were in Armes only to defend his authority; and that being entred into *Prague* (the which they hoped to doe the next day) they would not wrong any man: After whose returne, they marched to *Prague*. Many of the Emperours Councill had intelligence with the Arch-duke *Leopold*, fearing King *Mathias*; and had gotten Armes into diuers Monasteries, providing for all occurrences. They were Armed, and had gotten a gate at their deuotion, to draw *Leopold's* souldiers secretly into petty *Prague*; the which they surprized on the fifteenth of February early in the morning, by the treachery of the Porter: yet there was a great conflict in the Town, with losse on both sides; but, in the end, the Inhabitants were forced to yield. After which, the Castle of *Prague* was yeilded to *Leopold*, causing himselfe to be declared the Emperours Lieutenant generall, taking the oath of fidelity from all the Souldiers. In the meane time, the Nobility and Souldiers within old and new *Prague*, resolved to make a fallie vpon the Leopoldians which were in petty *Prague*: and they, on the other side, threatened to set fire on the Town.

On the 18 of February, the Emperour sent a commandement both to the Leopoldians, and to the States of *Bohemia* and Nobility, to present themselves the next day in the castle of *Prague*, and there to sweare all obedience, and fidelity to his imperiall Maiesty, and to promise not to offend one another by Armes. The Herald having published this command to the Leopoldians, the States would not suffer him to enter into the old Town; giuing him charge to tell the Emperour, that he should proclaim a cessation of Arms for three daies, to the end they might haue time to consult of their affaires. In the end, it was concluded, that the old and new town should giue 100000 Florens, so as *Leopold's* Army would leaue petty *Prague*, and depart presently out of *Bohemia*. During these combustions, King *Mathias* drew together his friends and forces: he had then two great affaires in hand. For *Gabriel Battori* Prince of *Transilvania*, in the beginning of this year, had surprized *Hernstadt* by intelligence, carried away his Lieutenant prisoner, thrust out all his partizans; and placed 1300 Haiduques in *Garrison*. The which did much trouble *Mathias*, hoping to haue had his reuenge this summer; the which he might easily haue effected, the Vauode of *Valachia* and *Battori* being in warre. But the King running to the nearest fire, caused his troups to turne head towards *Bohemia*, to succour the States which craued his aide.

The Emperour hearing that his brother *Mathias* was entred *Bohemia* with an Army of 18000 men, to succour the States; he sent them word by an Herald, that if they would not take some course for the payment of *Leopold's* Army, that it might be discharged, he would depriue them of their liberties: But they, hearing of the Kings approach, refused his demand. The Emperour, foreseeing the danger if these two Armies should meete, caused 300000 Florens to be giuen to pay the Army for three moneths; and so *Leopold* retired away by night, and requered the Frontiers of *Bohemia*.

Romeo, Lieutenant to the Arch-duke *Leopold*, would not leaue *Bohemia* as he had done *Prague*, without the full payment of his Army. Whereupon, he fortifies himselfe within *Budenitz*, and furnisheth it with victuals, Arms, and powder: he melts the Bels to cast Ordnance, and fortifies himselfe so well, as they must compound with him, before they get him out. As for King *Mathias*, hearing that *Leopold* was gone from *Prague*, he sent word vnto the States, that he would not arriue there before the 24 of March. Before which time, diuers of the Emp. Councill were imprisoned; & among others, *Francis Dennaos* who was also

also of secret counsell to the Arch-duke *Leopold*. Being put to the Rack, he confest the Arch-dukes designs, and that he had beene sent by the Emperours to some Electors and Princes, to draw aide from them against King *Mathias*, they being at iarre: That *Leopold's* resolution was to change many things not onely in the gouernment of *Prague*, but in the whole Empire, and that some great men of the Emperours Councill must be disinitt. Whereunto *Dennaos* made answer; That it might be done in *Italy*, but that *Bohemia* was gouerned after, another manner. That the Arch-dukes intention was to seize vpon all the townes of *Bohemia*, to vnite his forces with those of *Bohemia*, to defend the Emperour, and to employ his Armes against King *Mathias*, whose entry into *Bohemia* they would hinder; And if this designe had succeeded, then by an Imperiall edict they would haue forbidden the exercise of the Protestants religion throughout all *Bohemia*. He also confest that he was seruant to the Arch-duke *Leopold*, and that he would gladly haue procured him the kingdom of *Bohemia*.

King *Mathias* having discovered his enemies counsells, marched on, and came within halfe a league of *Prague*; whither all the Nobility and others went to honour this rising sunne, leauing the sunne setting. He made his entry into *Prague* with great pompe: Where after his arriuall the Emperour sent to congratulate his coming, by such of his Councill as he thought should be most pleasing vnto him. The Elector of *Saxony* aduised the States of *Bohemia* to bee well aduised in the pacifying of these troubles, and not to belieue that the Emperour (who had so peaceably gouerned not onely *Bohemia* but the whole Empire these thirty five years) was the cause thereof; but that it proceeded from some busie and turbulent spirits, in the punishment of whom they must vse moderation; not chastizing the innocent with the culpable; That the lawes of *Bohemia* bee not violated, and the Imperiall Maiesty with the dignity of the Electors, and states of the Empire wronged: That all their counsells should tend to obey the Emperour onely, and not suffer his age to be opprest with cares and discontents. By other priuate letters he aduertised *Henry Iuliers* Duke of *Brunswick*, not to abandon the Emperour, nor to suffer any thing to passe preiudiciall to his Imperiall maiesty, and admonished *K. Mathias* that all things proceeding with moderation, the house of *Austria* would be much contented.

The Emperour assembled the States of *Bohemia* vpon the twelfth of Aprill: where hee gaue them to vnderstand, that he could not conceale the brotherly affection which he bare to *Mathias*: King of *Hungary* his first brother, and his successor designed in the Realme of *Bohemia*: he entreated them to resolute he might be crowned in his life time, as many of his predecessors had done to their successors; but with condition to suffer him to enioy the Realme during his life: As for certaine differences betwixt him and King *Mathias*, that they should treat thereof at the end of the Assembly. In the meane time he required them to giue him wherewith to entertaine the Imperiall Maiesty; That his officers might bee paid their wages; his counsellors imprisoned, set at liberty: And that all the power and royall authority in *Bohemia* should remaine to him.

The states in their Assembly drew many Articles, which King *Mathias* was to sweare before his coronation. And they were read in the presence of the Embassadors of *Moravia*: who also for themselves and the *Silefians* (who are incorporated to the crowne of *Bohemia*) presented their complaints and grieuances containing 49 Articles: And the inhabitants of *Prague* required the confirmation of eight Articles, before his coronation, the which concerned the priuate gouernment of their City: all which I am forced for breuitie sake to omit, and to referre the Reader to the originall, whereby hee may iudge what the estate of *Bohemia* might be after those demandes; the Emperour (who was the lawfull King) hauing nothing in a manner but the title. Hee had a good heart; but his body was growne old and weaker: Hee had the greatnesse of courage of his predecessors; but crost by fortune, hee is constrained to yeeld to that which they desire: And he that presseth him to this consent, we see him (being halfe forced) to quit some of the flowers of the liberty of this crowne, to those which did him homage, before that heauen had taken away him, whose successor he had beene without condition. King *Mathias* hauing sworne to all their Articles, and the Emperour hauing freed all the subiects of *Bohemia* and incorporated prouinces, from their oath of allegiance, they proceeded to the Coronation of *Mathias*; whom the whole court and the inhabitants of *Prague* honoured much, hauing much desired it. And after the Coronation, certaine Deputies being appointed to end the differences betwixt the Emperour and King *Mathias*, they concluded (and signed vnto) these Articles: Firstly, That the Castle of *Prague* should remaine to the Emperour, and that the

Demagelacem: Jisim.

The Duke of Saxony writes to the States of Bohemia.

The Emperour propositions to the States of Bohemia.

Propositions of the States Mathias.

King Mathias crowned King of Bohemia.

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Articles of accord between the Emperor and K. Mathias.

king should lodge neere vnto it, hauing the Church common to them both. Secondly, That the gouernour of the Cattle and the guard should sweare fidelity to both; and if there were any change to be made, it should be left to the Emperours disposition. Thirdly, That the gouernment of the Empire should remaine in the Emperor, and that he should not be disquieted in any thing that concerned the Imperial iurisdiction. Fourthly, That the gouernment of *Bohemia* and the provinces depending, should be left to King *MATHIAS*, to whom the Emperor should yeeld all the right he pretended, but as for the difference for the title of king of *Bohemia* it should be referred to the next Assembly of the States. Fifthly, That in regard of the Cession, which the Emperour made vnto king *MATHIAS* of *Bohemia* and the provinces depending, he should pay yearly vnto his imperiall maiesty 300000 florens, at two equal payments. Sixtly, That the Emperour should enioy the Segniories, demefus and reuenues of *Budouis*, *Brandefi*, *Lissau*, and *Petzerau*, during his life; the which he should by no means engage, sell, or transport. Seauenthly, That the Emperor should haue liberty to dispose by his testamēt of 200000 florens. Eightly, That the king should effect his promise made to the Emperour, touching the county of *Tyrol*, and should satisfie his brother *ALBERT*, for his interest in *Auftria*. Ninthly, That the Emperor should recommend king *MATHIAS* to the Electors and Princes of the Empire to be aduanced to the Imperiall dignity. Tenthly, That at the next Diet they should labour by all means to obtaine contribution and succours against the Turke. Eleuenthy, That the priuiledges of the Arch-ducchie of *Auftria* should be deliuered into the Kings hands; with this condition, that if the Emperour had need, the king should assist him. Twelthly, and lastly, That within one year the Emperor should giue the iurisdiction of *Bohemia* to the said king.

The towne of *Aix* (whereas the Emperor receiues his first Crowne) was in great combustions by reason of religion. The Catholike magistrate, by vertue of the Emperours commandement, had hindred the exercise of the Protestant religion within the towne and territory; the which the others taking very impatiently, they fell into a tumult and took Armes, seizing vpon the towne-house and whole town, and dispossessed the Catholike magistrate. The Catholikes fledde to the Arch-ducke *ALBERT* and to the Elector of *Cullen*, for support: And the Protestants sent presently to the Princes possesing *Muliers*, for aide, and to send some men of note to reconcile their differences. In the end by the mediation of the French Kings Embassadors; there were certaine Articles set downe for their reconciliation, but they took no great effect.

Brunswick pressed by the Emperor.

The Duke of *Brunswick* had (as we haue said) besieged the city of *Brunswick*, but had left it by reason of the hope of a peace. This year the Duke was at the Emperours court, to pursue the proscription of the said towne, in case of disobedience. The Hanse-townes (fearing that his fauour in court would preuaile more then the iustice of their cause) intreated king *MATHIAS* by their Letters, to fauour the right of the towne of *Brunswick*. But the Duke preuailed: for hee obtained Letters patents for the proscription of the Senate and inhabitants of *Brunswick*, as violaters of the publike peace; declaring them guilty of treason, and all their goods confiscate to the Duke, if that within one year they did not submit themselves vnder his obedience. Whereunto the magistrate and citizens published a declaration, containing a protestation of their innocency.

An Assembly of Electors at Nuremberg.

Propositions made by the Electors at the Emperor.

About the end of September the Electors had called a Diet to *Nuremberg*: from whence they sent Ambassadors to the Emperor, who found not any person of quality but the Duke of *Brunswick* about his Maiesty. They acquainted him with the present estate of the Empire, telling him, That the Electors required, about all things, a reformation in iustice; That he should make choice of more faithfull officers and Counsellors then he formerly had done; That a general Diet might be called in the Spring following; That what King *MATHIAS* had done, was nothing pleasing vnto them; That the reason of the bad gouernment of the Common-weale, was, for that his imperiall Maiesty did not impart the important affaires of the Empire vnto them, as his predecessors haue usually done. They also besought him, in the name of the said Electors, that if he had no will to stay in *Bohemia*; to let them vnderstand the time when he meant to depart, and the place where he would make his residence: And as for the Election of a King of *Romanes*, they would not treat thereof without his consent; yet, not wishing that the Empire should goe out of the house of *Auftria*, they desired to know which of them he would haue to succede him.

The Emperour made answere, That he had long projected to appoint a successor in the Empire, but the troubles in *Bohemia* had diuerted him; That he desired before they did treat

of

of him that should succede him, there should be a generall Diet, where he might assist; That he was of the Electors opinion, concerning the necessity to proceede to the Election of a King of the *Romanes*; but he aduised them to giue order, that he might tell them freely in the Assembly; what was necessary for the safety of the Common-weale. The Ambassadors being returned, with this answere, the Electors appointed a Diet to be held in Aprill following, in the year 1612, to choose a King of *Romanes* in the City of *Frankford*, after the accustomed manner.

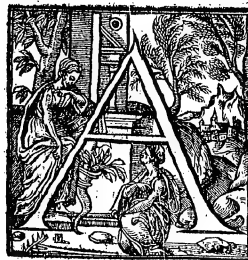
The Emperour *RODOLPH* growing sickly (in the end of December, after the old computation) with extreame paines in his Legges (the which increased daily) he yeelded his soule to God, on the tenth of Ianuary; hauing reigned Emperour about thirty five yeeres. They thought to haue kept his death secret, vntill the coming of King *MATHIAS*, and therefore they sent vpps his seruice at dinner time into his chamber, to the end no man should suspect it; but soone after, being known to *TRANTMANSTORF*, it was diuulged ouerall *Prague*, and in the meane time they sent Postes to aduertise King *MATHIAS*, and the Electors of the Empire.

The death of the Emperor Rodolph.



THE
LIFE OF MATHIAS, THE
FIRST OF THAT NAME,
AND HUNDRETH AND NINETEENTH
ROMANE
EMPEROVR.

(* * *)



After the death of *RODOLPHVS* (according to the Golden Bull, made by the Emperour *CHARLES* the Fourth; in the yeere one thousand three hundred fifty fixt) the Emperour being dead, the Elector Palatine, and he of *Saxony*, were appointed Vicars, Gouernors, and administrators of the Empire, vntill there were a King of *Romanes* chosen to be Emperour; either of them gouerning in his feuerall iurisdiction. The Electour of *Monte*, according to his charge, gaue notice to all the Electors to meete at *Frankford* in May, to proceede to the Election of a King of the *Romanes*; whither all the Princes came with their Traines; where, omitting the Ceremonies which were obserued in that Assembly; In the end, they ioyntly concluded to

choose King *MATHIAS*, for King of the *Romanes*, who was crowned on the fourteenth of Iune, in the said City of *Frankford* with the ordinary Ceremonies; and on the sixteenth of Iune, the Queen, his wife, was crowned Emperesse, who was also of the house of *Auftria*, and descended from the branch of *Tyrol*. The Ceremony of his Election and coronation being

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ended with great magnificency; the Electors, Princes and Noble-men left *Frankford*, to retire home vnto their houses.

The Emperour, as Emperour and King of the Romanes, hath not any City or Towne within the Empire: The whole Territory of *Germany*, belongs to the Electors, Bishops, Abbats, Princes, Earles, Noble-men and Free Townes; yet if the Emperour had no place where to remaine but within the Empire, the Bishoppe of *Bamberg* is bound to giue him his Towne, and himselfe to retire to *Wylas*. Wherefore the Emperour MATHIAS, who had kingdoms out of *Germany*, desiring to retire himselfe to *Prague*, the chiefe City of *Bohemia*, he parted from *Frankford* the three and twentieth day of Iune, being accompanied by many Princes and Noble-men, and past by *Nuremberg* in the beginning of Iuly, where he had a very stately and magnificent reception. Before the Emperours departure from *Frankford*, the Citizens came and presented a Petition vnto him; whereby they required that they might be made acquainted with the priuiledges of the City, which had remained wholly in the custody of the Senate; That the Iewes, whose number exceeded, might be expelled; That there should be a course let downe for vniuersity, and a meale market erected in the City. To whom the Emperour gaue good words, and put them in hope. But when after the Emperours departure, the Citizens saw no point of their Petition performed, there grew a great diffension betwixt them and the Senate: the which would haue grown to a great combustion, if some wise and temperate men had not interposed themselves. CÆSAR aduertised hereof, being yet at *Nuremberg*, he sent command to the Citizens to referre all controuersies to him; who made choice of the Archbishop of *Mentz*; and the Lantz-graue of *Hesse*, to heare the businesse, and to reconcile it, the which after many and trouble some treaties, by their wisdom and moderation, they pacified and gaue contentment to both parties.

The Emperour, leaving *Germany*, returned to *Bohemia*. The Estates, hearing of his coming to *Prague*, sent the Duke of *Teschin* with a thousand horse to receive him, being accompanied by the Duke of *Brunswick*, and many Noble-men of *Germany*, who conducted him to the Cathedral Church, and then to the Castle; where they made great shewes of ioy for his happy Election. Soone after, Ambassadors came vnto the Emperour from the Persians and Muscovites: The Persian, having deliuered his Kings Letters vnto the Emperour, he perswaded him to continue warres against the Turkes, as the deceased Emperour had promised, saying, That if he could prauaile nothing, he should then returne speedily home, his King hauing also resolved to conclude a Peace with the Turke, hauing made trial, to his griefe, that the Christians had made a peace with the Turkes, at such times as they might greatly haue annoyed them. The Muscouite Ambassador said; That the Muscouite intreated his Maiesty, to be an Vmpire betwixt them and the King of *Poland*; that he would procure a Peace to those Countries, and prouide them a good and worthy Prince: That they had formerly required the King of *Poland*'s sonne, to be their great Duke, and to that end and purpose they had diuers and sundry times, sent vnto the King: but when as they found that he had no such intent, but that vnder the pretext thereof, he might the more easily subdue them, they fell from him againe; and, joyning battaile not farre from the City of *Musca*, they slew many Polonians; after which, they had an intent to call in CHARLES, son to the King of *Sweden*; but, if the Emperour could by any other meanes prouide for them, they would most willingly obey him.

News came then to Court, of a controuersie growne betwixt NAERONVS the Emperours Ambassador at *Constantinople* and NASSVS Basha, about the confirmation of the Peace which had been made some yeeres before. The Ambassador, perswading the Turkes to entertain the Peace which had been made, NASSVS Basha required him to shew wherein the Emperour had not been satisfied: To whom he answered, That the sixth Article of the Transfacion had been violated; for that CÆSAR, as King of *Hungary*, hauing a lawfull Title vnto *Transilvania*, he required to haue that Article ratified; the which NASSVS denied, affirming that *Transilvania* did properly belong vnto the Sultan: vpon which point there grew a great contention betwixt them, whereby it appeared the Turkes sought nothing, but some colour to infringe the Peace.

The Emperour, being aduertized hereof, gaue answer vnto the Persian Ambassador, That he would by all means embrace & entertain the friendship, which the king his master had desired of the deceased Emperour his brother: who, although he had resolved to continue the warre against the Turkes; yet, being hindered by the seditions of *Hungary*, he was then forced to make a Peace; but now seeing the Turkes (hauing seized vpon *Moldania* and *Valachia*) to practise to in-

uade

uade *Transilvania*, he would conferre with the Princes and States of the Empire, and aduertise the King what was to be done; perswading him in the meane time to continue the warres. He answered the Muscouites, that he would interpose his authority, for the making of a Peace, betwixt them and the king of *Poland*, and to prouide a great Duke for those Countries. Soone after, the Emperour sent his Letters to the Electors and Princes of the Empire, complaining of the Turkes iniustice, and shewing how dishonorable a thing it would be, for the Christian Common-wealth, to suffer so goodly a Prouince to be invaded, and spoiled by them, without any opposition: writing also his Letters to the States and Imperiall Cities; That, being aduanced to the Empire, his first and chiefe care was to settle peace and tranquillity; and that iustice might be duly administered, and that all jealousies and distrusts being taken away by a firme and desired concord, the States of the Empire might be ready vpon all occasions, with their ioynt forces to resist the enemy of the christian world, specially when against the peace made with him: (hauing gotten *Moldania* and *Valachia*) he practised to make *Transilvania* subiect vnto him: the which being lost, *Hungary*, and the Empire would be in great danger; and that hauing made a peace with the Persian, he had not desired to call the treaty of peace in question, and to make a challenge to *Transilvania*. Wherefore if he should violate the peace, it were necessary they should haue forces, and the finewes of warre ready, by a bountifull and necessary contribution; for the effecting whereof he appointed a Diet to be held at *Ratisbone* on the 24 of April, 1613.

The Emperour going from *Prague* to *Viena*, GABRIEL BATTORY Prince of *Transilvania* standing in feare of BATHAM GABOR (who they said had craued aide against him of the Turkes) sent his Embassadors, and craving the Emperours assistance, he promised him all subiection, and obedience: and withall he sent him many rich presents. Whereupon the Emperour aduertised the Basha of *Buda*, that this attempt of the Turkes did manifestly impugn the articles of peace; by the which it was provided, that the State of *Transilvania* should not be molested. To which the Basha made answer, that the Christians had driuen away much cattell from *Janerin*: That the king of *Poland* had violated the peace; and that it was to be feared, that he would seize vpon *Transilvania* with *Valachia* and *Moldania*; and therefore his Emperour was not to be blamed, if he did seize vpon this prouince, which did immediately belong vnto him. Soone after, the Emperours Embassadors at the Sultans Port gaue him to vnderstand, that he did nourish a monster, and that BATTORY had also sent Embassadors to the Sultan, and had secret treaties with the Bashes. There came also vnto the Emperour certaine Deputies from the Saxons which liue in diuerse cities of *Transilvania* who stole away in rustick habits, lest they should haue beene discovered, complaining much of the tyranny and cruelty of BATTORY; and that contrarie to his faith, and the oath which he had taken, he had deprived them of their priuiledges, and had in a manner ruined them. That from the first yeare of his tyrannicall rule and government, he had practised to extirpate and to root out the ancient families of the Saxons, making a relation of all his insolencies and tyrannies: the which I cannot set downe in particular, being tied to straighter bounds. They also vnderstood that BATTORY did craue fauour and aide from the Turkes against the Saxons of *Transilvania*, excusing himself that he had sent Embassadors to the Emperour, being forced thereunto by feare, and that he had sought to peruert and diuert the Emperours minde with presents. CÆSAR hearing all this, bidde them be of good hope, promising to prouide a remedy for their miseries, at the next Assembly of the States of *Hungary* and the Empire.

The Emperour called an Assembly of the States of *Hungary* at *Pessonia* or *Preshourg*, whither he went in person, during whose absence SIGISMUND BATTORY sometimes Prince of *Transilvania*, hauing liued some yeeres a priuate life at *Prague*, died there of an apoplexie, where he was honourably enterrd. At the assembly at *Pessonia*, there was much contention, for admitting of Germane soldiery into their frontier garisons of *Hungary*. There was great reason to indure it, for that *Hungary* could not be defended against the Turkes without the helpe of Germans; and that an infinite number of all degrees and qualities, had lost their liues in *Hungary*, it being commonly called the Church-yard of the Germanes. The Hungarians refused to subscribe to this request: but in the end the maior part yielded; but with a limitation, that both Germanes and Hungarians should be equally admitted; and whereas the Gouernour was a Germane, his Lieutenant should be a Hungarian, and that there should be an equality obserued in their paie; that Walloones, Italians, French-men, and other strangers, should be held for spoilers rather then defenders of the country, and be wholly excluded. And after the conclusion of all this, the Emperours wife was crowned Queene of *Hungary*, with great pompe & state.

The Emperour
hath no Towne
in the Empire.

A controuersie
at Frankford
reconciled.

Ambassadors
come from Per-
sia & Muscovy,
to Prague.

The Emperour
appoints a Diet
at Ratisbone.

Battory sends a
counterfeit King-
s message to the
Emperour.

The cruelty of
Battory against
the Saxons in
Transilvania.

An assembly of
the States in
Hungary.

The Emperours
wife crowned
Queene of
Hungary.

1613.
The Turks, pre-
paring to war in
Hungary, it dis-
covered by his
rebell.

In the meane time, the Turks notwithstanding the peace had fired and spoiled many villages and carried away many Christians into captivity; committing many actes of hostility, so as all men feared a new warre in Hungary; but it happened by the providence of God; that the people of *Natalia* in *Asia* brake out into rebellion, and burnt and spoiled many places: And in *A- rabia* certain seditious fellow usurped the title of a King, having drawn vnto him 50000 *A- thians*; and seised on the strong Fort of *Aden*, vpon the red sea: this was a great prejudice to the Turks; and very beneficiall to the Portugals and Persians. Whereupon, the Sultan, being incensed with this new rebellion, and an indignity which the King of *Persia* had done him, reuoked his forces that were appointed for *Transilvania*, to be imployed against the rebels of *Asia* and the Persians; disposing of an Army in the garrisons of the Frontiers of *Hungary*, commanding them to contain themselves: so as at this time the Hungarians were freed from the feare of waite.

The day for the Assembly at *Ratisbone* being comen, all the Princes and States of the Empire repaired thither, and went forth of the City to meet the Emperor; whom they conducted into the City with great pomp, as you may read at large in diuerse Authors. In the beginning of this Assembly, the Emperor deliuered to them the chief points and reasons why he had called them; setting down at large the Turks practices to seise vpon *Transilvania* contrary vnto the Articles of peace; the spoils which he had done, and the preparations which hee had made for war: Moreover, although there were no feare of the Turk, yet it was necessary to leuie money to supply the frontier garrisons with munition, and for the building of two new Forts in *Cani- sia*. Wherefore, he intreated the States, that, considering the common danger, they would consent to make some contribution for the five next succeeding yeers, recommending this to the Electors, Princes and States.

Before they came to the conclusion of these heads, the Deputies of the protestant Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, presented a petition of their grieuances vnto him, requiring to be eased (as they had often done to the Emperor *RODOLPHVS*) but could not obtain it: But now, seeing that his Majesty did so much desire to settle a peace in the Empire, hee would also be careful to remove all obstacles that might hinder it; being the only thing they desired, that, being eased of their grieuances, they might liue friendly and quietly, with the rest of the Electors, Princes, and Estates of the Empire. After which, they made a particular relation of all their complaints, concluding again with a petition to the Emperor for the same; and that if they might be eased thereof, they promised to bee ready to aduance any thing that might concern the publike good or his Majesties dignity.

The Emperor made answer to the Protestants petition, that hee would take consideration thereof; yet admonishing them not to preferre their owne priuate interest before the generall good of the state: but they intreated him, that he would not take it in ill part if they preferred a petition of their grieuances; which they could not auoid, for that in the year 1608, when they would not take knowledge of their grieuances, the Diet proued fruitlesse. Thus they pressing relief, and the Emperor standing firm to his first answer, they forbore to come to the Assembly; so that nothing could be concluded. After which the Catholiques made a declaration for the defense of their league, and deliuered it to some of the Councell, wherein they inueighed much against the Protestants of the Vnion, and laboured to lay the blame of all the miseries on them, making a long repetition of their grieuances: which contentions troubled the whole assembly for a long time.

During these fruitlesse contentions at the Diet of *Ratisbone*, newes came vnto the Emperor, that the Turks had made an irruption into *Transilvania*. Wee haue formerly made mention of the tyranny of *GABRIEL BATTORI* in these Countries, and how much he had oppressed the Saxon Cities: wherefore, hauing by this means diuerted the mindes of the Nobility and others, *BETHLEM GABOR*, who (seeing his cruelty) had liued hitherto in exile, embracing this occasion, repaired to the grand Seignior, and solicited him to expell *BATTORI* out of *Transilvania*, and to substitute him in his place; promising to be his vassall and tributary, and to deliuer into his hands *Lippe*, *Gemen*, and certain other Forts. The Sultan, yielding to his request, commanded *SANDER BASHA* to expell *BATTORI*: whereupon, hee entered *Transilvania* with a great Army, and took diuerse places, being accompanied by *BETHLEM*. *BATTORI*, aduertised heerof, sent *ISTVAN* his Generall with a great Army to encounter him: but, being terrified with their numbers, he returned, perswading *BATTORI* to provide for his safety. There entered another *Basha* into *Transilvania*, by the straights of the mountains not farre

The Protestants
prefer a petition
of their grieu-
ances to the Empe-
ror.

Bethlem Ga-
bor is made
Prince of Tran-
silvania by the
Turk.

1613

farre from *Cromsrad*, hauing defeated the Zecclerians who kept those passages; so as in a manner all *Transilvania* was in the Turks power. In the meantime, the Turks in *Hungary* forced many villages to take the oath of obedience to the Sultan, carrying away all their goods and cattell that refused it. The *Basha* of *Agris* hauing notice that they cried To Arms in *Hungary*, *Bohe- mia* and *Silesia*, to suppress these insolencies, sent an Ambassador to *Cassovia* to *FORTGATS*, Generall of the Army; assuring him, that all these things were vnknewne to him, and that hee was willing to entertain the peace with the King of *Hungary* & the Roman Empire; that *BATTORI* had been the cause of all these troubles; whom the Sultan required to haue punishment for his tyranny: but he would not attend and fight with the Turks, but fled vnto *Varadine*; saying, that hee did it to the end that hee should not fall away from the Emperor, whose aide hee had impleord.

The Palatine of *Hungary* and *FORTGATS* sent him some succours, but not such as were able to restore him; and the rather, for that the whole Prouince depended now vpon *BETHLEM GABOR*: who soon after was appointed Prince of *Transilvania* by *SANDER BASHA*; with this admonition, that being taught by the example of *BATTORI*, he should not follow his steps; that he should chuse his Counsellors out of *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, and should doo nothing without the Sultans priuity. He laboured to free the further *Hungary* from the feare of invasion; the *Basha* writing to *FORTGATS*, that he had onely charge from the Sultan, to expell *BATTORI* out of *Transilvania*.

The Diet at *Ratisbone* hauing been prorogued vntill the thirtieth of September, the Emperor came and made an ample relation of all that had past in *Transilvania*. He earnestly intreated all the Electors, Princes and States, that as he himself had so much preferred the publike good of the Empire, that leaving his owne hereditary Prouinces, he had come thither not without the hazard of his life by reason of the plague; so they would fall into consideration of their common danger, and raise a certain summe of money for forty months, to resist the common enemy; who, hearing of their readinesse, might be diuerted from his enterprises: but, after much debating of these businesse, the Assembly was prorogued till another meeting.

The Emperor remaining with his Court at *Linze*, an Ambassador came from *Muscovy*; who, hauing deliuered his Presents, said, that *MICHAEL FANDROVITVS* the great Duke of *Muscovy*, issued from the great Dukes of *Muscovy*, and chosen to that Empire by the generall consent of all the Nobles, desired to continue the loue and friendship which the Emperors his Predecessors had with that state; and that he would disswade the King of *Poland* from his vniust attempts against *Muscovy*; and beca means that (hauing released some Noble-men which hee held prisoners) he would liue in peace with them. The Emperor, promising to bee a mediator betwixt him and the King of *Poland*, dismist his Ambassador with rewards.

BATTORI continued at *Varadine*. The Gouerner of *Tecsey* brought him succours in the King of *Hungary*'s name; who, hearing what numbers hee had brought, said, that they would preuail nothing against the Turks forces; sending presently messengers to *Turnania* and other places for greater supplies. In the mean time hee disdained the Gouerners company; resolving if he could obtain no greater forces, to make his composition with the Turks, and to yield them that Fort for his restitution. The Gouerner, understanding this, conferred with his friends; where they resolved to cut off this incumber, dealing with the Groom of his chamber to kill him as he slept: but when that succeeded not, he perswaded him to go out of the gates to view the Army; where he was shot by his owne souldiers. The tumult being ended, they took consultation with the Gouerner of *Varadine* to preserve the place for the Emperor: yet he perswaded them not to put any garrison into the Castle, lest the Turks should come and besiege it. Yet soon after, he yielded it vp to *BETHLEM GABOR*.

BATTORI being slain, the Turks left *Transilvania*. *BETHLEM GABOR* called the Estates to *Clausenbourg*: where they first of all restored all men that had been banished by *BATTORI*. They concluded free exercise of religion; that the Prince should acknowledge the Sultan for his superior; that he should entertain peace with his neighbours, especially the Roman Emperor; that he should make a league with the Princes of *Moldania* and *Valachia*; that he should chuse his Councell out of three nations, and do nothing without their priuity; that he should maintain all the ancient priuiledges; that he should maintain iustice; and that he should not hinder the free election of a Prince whom the Sultan should confirm. There were many other Articles concluded at this Assembly, which are too long to relate. After which, *BETHLEM* wrote Letters to the Palatine of *Hungary*, of all his proceedings in this action; concluding,

The Emperors
speech to the
States at *Ratis-
bone*.

Gabriel Battori
is Prince of
Transilvania,
again.

Bethlem calls
the States to
Clausenbourg.

ding that he was aduertised, there were some that presumed to invade some places belonging to that Prouince: the which he admonished them not to attempt, seeing that he was ready to perform all good offices, to the Emperour, and King of *Hungary*: But, if they did continue in their designs, he would not dissemble, but that he, and the Sultan in like manner, were bound by oath to defend them, who would haue great care as himself of the Prouince, and would neuer suffer any thing to be drawne away. Wherefore he intreated him, for the loue of his Countrey, and of Peace, to command all his Gouernours and Captaines, not to attempt any thing, whereby any combustions or alterations might arise, but euery man to enioy his owne in Peace.

The Turks admonish the States of Transilvania to yield obedience to Bechlem

There were some yet remaining in *Transilvania*, who, allied to *BATTORI*, had raised some tumults; and some, desirous to draw that Prouince to the Emperour, had taken *Huff* and some other places in his name. The Sultan, hearing this, sent his Letters to the Noble-men and States, letting them vnderstand, that when as *Transilvania* yielded obedience to his predecessors and him, they liued in quiet; and had often craued aide from him, and obtained it; concluding that he had made *BETHLEM GABOR* their Prince, to gouerne the Prouince vnder his protection: But, hearing there were many things done on *SEBASTIAN* side against the Peace, and many Townes and Forts taken; he had fully resolved not to spoile any Fort in *Transilvania*, nor to doe wrong to any man, nor yet to suffer any man to doe it, but would defend that Prouince with all his power. Wherefore he desired the Emperour should know, that if he would haue this Peace inuoliable, he should presently make restitution of the said places, to the Prince of *Transilvania*, or else signifie his mind vnto him by Letters.

An Assembly made by the Emperour at Linz.

The Emp. continuing at *Linz*, called an Assembly of his hereditary Countis & Prouinces, viz. Bohemians, Austrians, Stirians, Carinthians, Carniolans, Silefians, Lufatians, Morauians, and Hungarians: To whom he propounded, that the Peace had been broken by the Turkes, by their many incursions, carrying away men and cattell, and committing many other insolencies in hostile manner: And the rather, that besides *Polachia*, and *Moldania*, they had now of late seized vpon *Transilvania*, and fortified it with Garrisons, vnder the command of *BEETHLEM GABOR*; that they had assembled the Estates, and admonished the Emperour by Letters not to meddle with it.

In the end, he made mention of *BETHLEMS* designe, hauing made himselfe a vassalle to the Turkes, to the end the Prouince might be vniued vnto them. Wherefore considering how preiudicial it was to the Christian state, and behoouefull for the Turkes, he held it necessary by all meanes to be recovered, seeing the time was very fit to make warre vpon either of them. It was further demanded, seeing the Sultan did challenge this Prouince as his owne, and would not suffer the *Germanes*, to prescribe any lawes to the *Transiluanians*, what he should answere in this point, That if a Turkish Ambassador, contrary to the expresse conditions of Peace, and instructed with no charge, should come, and that the Sultan should refuse to confirm the sixt Article of the Transaction; whether this Ambassadour were to be admitted, and his Letters to be accepted by the Emperour. The last question was, whether they should make a new Transaction with the Sultan, when as he would not stand to the first; and how they should proceede in the businesse of *Moldania*, *Polachia* and *Transilvania*; and what they should doe, if *Hungary* in like sort should be invaded before an Assembly. The Hungarians made answere, that they thought it fit to deuiſe some meanes how the Transaction made betwixt the Sultan, and the deceased Emperour might stand firme, and the Emperours authority maintained; and as for future necessity, it was fit some meanes were provided for necessary defence.

The Iews expelled as Wormes.

The inhabitants of *Wormes* had many yeeres complained of the intolerable vsury of the Iews: The Citizens desired much to be freed from this vnecessary loade, and to be vnburthened of their Interests; intreating the Senate, to punish their frauds as it was fit. The Senate therefore, meaning to set downe some course, made a new Edict: but the Iews desiring to prevent them, sent a Petition to the Emperour; who, desiring to be better instructed in the cause, required to haue all the Acts sent vnto him, with the priuiledges of the City concerning the Iews, which had been granted by former Emperours.

In the meane time, the cause was referred to the imperiall Chamber; and a penall injunction sent, to pay againe vnto the Citizens, whatsoever they had exacted, contrary to the constitution of the Empire. In the end, there was a decree made, whereby the Senate was inioyned by the Emperours authority, vpon a penaltie of 10000 marks of Gold, presently after the receipt thereof, to reduce all vsury, both future, and that which was past, and not paid, to fixe

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in the hundred; and that they should suffer them to make a defalcation of that which was past, vnlesse they would incur the said penalty. This Edict was published in October the yeer before: which put the Citizens in good hope that all things would be well compounded. But, finding their hopes frustrate, in the end they resolved to call all the Iewes out of *Wormes*; the which they put in execution vpon the seuenth of April, being Easter Munday: at which time, some 300 of them coming together into the market place, they sent seuenteen into the Iewes street, to let them vnderstand, that they must presently depart the City, carrying with them what they held most precious, the rest should be put in Inventory; and whatsoever they had recovered by judgement, should be restored to them. Hauing received this message, they packed away within one hour, much lamenting their hard fortunes. The Magistrates blamed the Citizens for this attempt; and they constantly maintained the action: and after their departure they ruined their monuments, their Temple, and whatsoever belonged to the Iewish Ceremony.

The peace reconfirmed betwixt the Emperour and the Turks.

In May, the Emperour being at *Vienna*, there came a Turkish Ambassador, attended with a great train. Being brought to the Emperour, he deliuered his Presents which were many, with his Letters; containing in substance, that the Sultan desired much to maintain the peace with the Emperour; and that he should send Commissioners to the Frontiers, as he would do, to take view of the wrongs which had been done on either side, and to make satisfaction. The Emperour, hauing heard his Ambassage, went to *Prague*, and left certain Counsellors to treat with him touching the confirmation of the peace; who said, the Sultan had giuen him great charge to aduance it, for that, being engaged in diuerſe warres, hee could not attend all together; that the sonnes of *EMIR*, Gouernour of *Saida*, relying vpon the *Persians* aid, had lately slain the *Basha* of *Damasco*; and the sonne of *NASSIR* *Basha* had been strangled in *Asia*, where they put all to fire and sword. The King of *Persia* in like manner did not abstain from Arms; and the *Cossacks* of *Polonia* did much annoy his subjects. Being thus assaulted by many, he was forced to retire his souldiers out of *Hungary* to send them into *Asia*, and to desire a peace with the Emperour, the which was concluded vpon these conditions: that the treaty of peace, made in the yeer 1606, should stand firme; and for that, since the time of that treaty, there had been many controuersies for the space of eight yeeres; it was agreed, that the peace should be continued for twenty yeeres longer; that, for 150 villages belonging to the Arch-bishoprick of *Strigonia*, and had been formerly demanded by the Sultan, there should be sixty deliuered; that all controuersies vpon the Frontiers should be compounded within foure months by Commissioners; that the goods taken from the Turks at *Pallanina* by the *Haiduques*, should be restored, and the Authoits punished; the prisoners on either side should be released, and the Forts built, during the last eight yeeres ruined; that Priests, Iesuits and Monks, might repair their Churches in the Turks Territories, and celebrate diuine seruice; that merchants might freely traffick to *Constantinople*, hauing the Emperours Letters-patents to shew to the Gouerners of the Frontiers and to the Ambassador and Consull residing there; that the tribute once paid, the party might pass on freely, and be no more questioned; that a merchant dying in the Turks Kingdom, his goods should be deliuered to the Emperours Ambassador at *Constantinople*. These Articles were signed by the Commissioners, and were to be confirmed by both the Emperours.

The Empire, after the peace concluded betwixt *RODOLPHVS* and Sultan *ACHMAT*, had not been afflicted with the heavy burden of forraign warres: yet was it not free from intestine combustions. The pretensions for *Iuliers* had drawn all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, into factions: and the troubles of *Branswick*, with the mutinies of *Bransford* and *Wormes*, had much troubled the Quiet of *Germany*. The Duke of *Branswick* being dead, there was hope of a reconciliation betwixt his sonne and the City of *Branswick*, by the mediation of the Duke of *Wittenberg*; but, it taking no effect, the Duke presently raised an Army, and besieged it; and the Besieged defended themselves valiantly. The hanse-towns raised forces to relieve them, vnder the conduct of the Earl of *Solmes*; who, approaching with his Troops, was aduertised from the Town, that, if they were not speedily succoured, they should be forced to yeeld: whereupon, he resolved to force his way by the sword, which after a long fight hee effected, to the great comfort of the Townsmen. After which, there was a truce made for ten daies, and in the end a peace concluded vpon certain Articles; which were confirmed by the Duke and the Citizens.

The City of Branswick besieged by the Duke.

At the inauguration of the Emperour *MATHIAS*, there had been some controuersie betwixt the Senate and the Citizens of *Bransford*; the which the Arch-bishop of *Meitz* and the *Lantzgrau* of *Hesse* compounded, vnder certain Articles: the which the Emperour ratified, and they

they

they promised to oblerue. In the yeer 1614, they fell into new combustions; so as a multitude, led by some of the baser sort of the Citizens, came to the Senate-house, and forced the old magistrates to giue-over their places. The Emperor, being aduertised hereof, sent a Herald with commandement to restore the old Senate: the which the Citizens refused to obey, continuing constant in that resolution. The Emperor after this sent a proscription against the chiefe Authors of this mutiny: whereupon, diuerse of them were apprehended, and seuen of the chiefe executed: some were whipt, and others banisht; being all men of base quality.

The Citizens of *Worms* hauing expelled the Iews as you haue heard, and continued all night in Arms, the Magistrates sent to the Elector Palatine (who hath alwaies had a right of protection over the City of *Worms*, and in acknowledgement whereof they do yearly pay him a certain fee) intreating him to assist them to force the Burgeses to their duties. The Elector, considering the importance of this innouation, sent forces presently thither, inuested the Towne, and planted the cannon. The Burgeses cried presently To Arms: but the Magistrate pacified them, letting them vnderstand that they were no enemies, but their best friends; assuring them, that there should be no wrong done to any man, nor their liberties infringed: whereupon, the gates were opened, and the guard thereof and of the walls giuen to the souldiers. After which, the Magistrates making search for the heads of this mutiny, there were twelue apprehended and put in prison. The next day, in the presence of the Electors Commissioners, the Inhabitants took a new oath of obedience to the Magistrate: and the Magistrate in like manner took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor and Empire. And thus the mutiny at *Worms* was pacified without any disorder or prejudice to any man.

The yeer before, *SIGISMOND COLLOMITZ* (a man famous for the great seruices he had done the Empire against the Turk) hauing called the Bege of *Siragonia* to combat for that he had willingly suffered the Turks to spoil his lands, was brought in disgrace with the Emperor, and committed to prison at *Newstad*: his seruants were put in custody, and all his papers & secrets searched by the Emperors command. But, finding nothing wherewith to charge him, he was released, promising to attempt nothing against the Emperor nor the house of *Austria*: but, seeking to be reuenged of those which made spoil of his lands, hee was taken again by the souldiers of *Landaui*, and brought wounded vnto *Vienna*; where hee was againe committed to prison.

The Burgeses of *Wormer*, who had been committed to prison for the former mutiny, did this yeer on the seuen and twentieth of May receiue their Sentence, which was to this effect; that a Doctor of the Law, who had pleaded the Citizens cause during the tumult, should binde himself by oath, not onely to depart the City, but also out of the Palatinate and the Bishoprick of *Spier*; and that he should plead no more, and moreover should pay 1000 Florenes for a fine: Of the prisoners, one of them should be shut vp in his house during his life, yet he should haue leaue to go to the Church to hear diuine seruice, and three should be whipt and banished the Empire.

The Emperor *MATHIAS*, being without hope of any issue, was very careful to leaue a successor in the Realm of *Bohemia*: wherefore he adoped *FERDINAND* Arch-duke of *Austria* for his sonne, recommended him to the Noble men, and sought by all means to aduance him to that Kingdome. Hauing imparted this resolution to the King of *Spain*, hee easily procured him to renounce his right; the which the Earle of *Ognate* the Kings Ambassador with the Emperor did by a solemn Act, in fauour of the Arch-duke *FERDINAND*: and the Arch-duke *FERDINAND* in like manner by a solemn Act did promise restitution thereof to the King of *Spain*; if he or his Descendents of the right line should dy without issue male: which seuerall Acts, being past at *Prague*, the Emperor did ratifie and confirm.

The Emperor, hauing obtained this renunciation from the King of *Spain*, and from *MAXIMILIAN* and *ALBERTVS* his brethren, called an Assembly of the States at *Prague*: where the chief Chancellor made a speech vnto them; that the Emperor, hauing found them so faithfull and ready to do him seruice, would not onely be thankfull vnto them during his life, but would also endeavour to settle a future peace in the Kingdome, all causes of discord being taken away. Considering therefore that he was mortall, and being dead the Realm with the Provinces annexed should be left without a King, whereby might follow dangerous innouations, he had therefore resolved (after the example of his Predecessors) to provide them a good and fit King. Wherefore, seeing that *MAXIMILIAN* and *ALBERT* his brethren were growne aged, and himself not likely to haue any heirs, he had thought it good to adopt the Arch-duke

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FERDINAND for his many good parts and vertues, that he might bee sworn and solemnly crowned future King of *Bohemia*; and the rather, for that his brethren would not pretend any title to this Kingdome: and the whole house of *Austria* had giuen their consents to his election. Wherefore hee desired them to chuse *FERDINAND* for their future King, and that they would appoint a certain day for his Coronation; giuing them to vnderstand, that the Archduke *FERDINAND* was ready for his part to take the oath, to confirm their priuiledges, and perform all other things that former Kings were wont to do.

The States, hauing consulted on this proposition, soon after on the ninth of Iune made answer to the Emperor; giuing him first of all great thanks for his singular care for the peace and tranquillity of the Realm of *Bohemia*, and highly extolling the rare vertues of the Arch-duke *FERDINAND*. In the end they concluded, that they had chosen the said Arch-duke for their King of *Bohemia*, and that he should be proclaimed vpon condition, that if his Maiesty should dy without any lawful issue male, he should then take vpon him the government of the Realm: and the day of his Coronation was appointed on the 29 of Iune. Moreover, it was added, that he should confirm to the States before his Coronation by oath, to maintain all the priuiledges, charters, immunities, municipall rights, constitutions and customes, as the Emperor and his Predecessors had done; and for that this confirmation, during the Emperors life could not be performed, but must necessarily be deferred till his death, he should a month after deliuer it in writing to the chief Burgrauce of *Prague* if he were then liuing, or to the first officer of the kingdome. Moreover, before his Coronation he should promise to the States by writing, that hee would not deal with the government, nor attempt any thing without the Emperors consent, and the chief officers and Senates; that he should rest content till the Emperors death, with the title of elect and crowned King of *Bohemia*: the which if he should infringe, the States should not be bound to yeeld him obedience. After which, the Archduke *FERDINAND* was proclaimed King of *Bohemia*, and crowned with the accustomed ceremonies.

This made the hundreth yeer compleat after that *MARTIN LUTHER* had opposed the Romish doctrine, and propounded his questions at *Wittenberg* against *THEOPHILVS* his indulgences; reducing all to the triall of Gods word. *JOHN GEORGE*, Elector of *Saxony*, a Princefull of zeal and religion, in memory hereof commanded a Iubilee to be celebrated throughout all his Electorate; writing to the Diuines of *Lipsick*, that whereas 1000 yeeres before it had pleased God to stir vp *MARTIN LUTHER* publicly to oppose the Popish doctrines, and to begin to reform religion, which had hitherto bin maintaine in all his territories against their diuellish practices; He had decreed by good aduice to institute a solemn feast, to thank God; the which should continue 3 daies, from Octob. 31, till Nouemb. 2, commanding them to giue public notice in their pulpits, to the end the people might prepare themselves accordingly; that vpon the Eue the Psalms should be sung; and preparation made to receiue the Communion the next day; that on either of the feast daies they should haue two Sermons, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, and their Text specially appointed out of the holy Scriptures to that vse. Which Iubilee was duly obserued in *Saxony*; and in imitation thereof, at *Heidelberg* in the Palatinate, and in other Prouinces and Cities of the reformed religion, was celebrated with great solemnity: and there were pieces of gold and silver coined, both by the Elector of *Saxony*, and by some other Towns, in memory of this solemnity.

In the end of this yeer, the States of *Hungary* were assembled at *Pozsonia* or *Presbourg*. The Emperor went to *Vienna* with his wife and whole Court; but not able to assist at this Assembly by reason of sickness, he commanded *FERDINAND*, King of *Bohemia*, to supply his place. The reason of this Assembly, was, to redresse many grieuances, and to chuse a King who might succeed the Emperor: in which, relation was made to the States of the Emperors great loue to *Hungary*, and his desire to haue bin there present, if his infirmities had not preuented his resolution; telling them, that as the peacefull government of that Kingdome had bin alwaies dear to him, so he would vse all means, that (peace being settled at home and abroad) all interrupting occasions might be taken away. And considering his great age, and the many infirmities which did accompany it, he feared that the estate of *Hungary* would bee very miserable, if hee should dy before a new King were chosen to succeed him, of whom the safety of the Country might depend, which otherwise might be subiect to popular tumults and the incursions of their neighbours: the which the Emperour desired might bee preuented. Imitating therefore his predecessors, he requested they would preuent the calamities of future times, by their present counsellors, and chuse a King to succeede him, and to take vpon him the government of that

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Realm;

The Arch-duke
Ferdinand
chosen & crowned
King of
Bohemia.

A Iubilee celebrated by the
Duke of Saxony
in memory of
Martin Luther

Collomitz put
in prison by the
Emperor.

The King of
Spain renounced
his title to the
Realm of Bohemia.

The States of
Bohemia assembled
at Prague.

Realme, if his Maieſty ſhould dy without any lawfull iſſue male : for the effecting whereof, MAXIMILIAN, and ALBERT Arch-dukes of *Austria* his brethren had not onely renounc'd al their pretenſions by Letters to the crowne of *Hungary*, but had often intreated him, that (foraſmuch as they were aged and without children) he would provide for the neceſſity of that kingdom, by ſome other means. Wherefore he held it right, profitable, and fit for the good of the State, that FERDINAND king of *Bohemia*, his coſin German (whom his Maieſty for his excellent parts, had adopted for his ſon) ſhould be choſen, proclaimed, and crowned king of *Hungary* by the States. Wherefore he intreated them lovingly (the former reaſons conſidered) that they would chuſe and proclaim his deare choſen ſonne, King FERDINAND, for king of *Hungary*, aſſuring the eſtates that King FERDINAND ſhould promiſe faithfully by his reuerſall Letters, not to meddle with the government of that Realme, without his maieſties expreſſe wil, and the aduice of the *Hungarians*; but ſhould content himſelf with the bare title of king of *Hungary*, untill that his Imperiall maieſty ſhould otherwiſe diſpoſe or dy; and if he ſhould attempt any thing to the contrary, the States ſhould be freed from their oath of obedience. Moreover: that he ſhould do any thing for the confirmation of the priuiledges of the kingdom, liberties, immunities, and all other things thereunto belonging, as the Emperor, and other kings of *Hungary* his predeceſſors had formerly done.

Whilſt they are about this propoſition at *Poſſonia*, the Proteſtant States of *Bohemia*, made an aſſembly at *Prague*, the Emperor being abſent at *Piema*, for that his Letters Patents had bene violated. The Archbiſhop of *Prague*, hauing cauſed ſome of the Proteſtant Churches to bee ruined, and the ſubiects who had complained thereof put in priſon; ſome Countellors which remained at *Prague*, excuſed the fact, maintaining that there was nothing done againſt the Emperors Letters, nor the prouinciall conſtitution. The Emperor being aduerted of this aſſembly, admoniſhed them by his Letters to forbear, hearing that this aſſembly was made againſt his perſon: That what had bene done by the Archbiſhop was by his command: That they had exceeded the boundes of his Maieſties graunt, and had preſumed to take vpon them the proteccion of others ſubiects, in an vniuſall cauſe againſt his ſentence: That they had complained of his Maieſties Letters for the abrogating of the tranſactions, and bringing in ſouldiers into *Bohemia*, whereby they bred iealouſies in the ignorant people, and had brought him in hatred with his faithfull ſubiects; whereby many dangers, and tumults, might ariſe in his abſence, which he neuer had expected from ſome of them: That they had abuſed his bounty, and exceeded his grant: And that it was their duties to preuent all innovations and combuſtions. He had therefore reſolued, after due inquiry to puniſh the authors. In the meane time he commanded them to forbear from all aſſemblies, untill he himſelf were preſent, or did otherwiſe determine: That they ſhould not meddle with other folkes buſineſſe, nor miniſter any occaſion of ſedition and tumult.

This admonition did ſo little preuaile, as the States were the more incenſed, ſeeking by all means to aduance the Aſſembly, againſt thoſe that oppoſed it. The day being comm, and the States being aſſembled, with ſome of the Citizens, out of all the Tribes of *Prague*, there was a Sermon in the Bohemian tongue for the preſeruacion of Religion, and the Churches not onely in *Prague*, but through the whole kingdom againſt their malicious aduerſaries who ſought to ſubvert them. On the 23 of May, the Noblemen came on horſeback to Court, every one hauing a ſervant with two piſtols charged; where they deliuerd their grieuances before the counſellors and chiefe officers of the kingdom. The chiefe Burgrauce, and POPPELIUS the grand Prior of S. MARCUS, did ſeeme to yeeld vnto their requēſts: but SLABATA chiefe Iudge of the prouince, and SMBSANSIVS oppoſed themſelues; wherefore the States calling away the other two, they took SLABATA, SMBSANSIVS, with a Secretarie, and caſt them headlong out at a window, into the court of the Caſtle, the which was very deepe, yet by the will of God they were preſerued aliue. There grew preſently in the caſtle a great amazement and tumult: whereupon ſome of the States, and among them the Earle of *Thurn*, went through the city on horſeback, perſwading the people not to ſcare, nor to attempt any thing, promiſing that no man ſhould be wronged; and that they would maintain what had bene done, and preſently aduertise the Emperor thereof. The people being pacified and the chiefe Burgrauce conducted quietly to his lodging, the States did binde the officers of the caſtle, with the gouernor, and porters and all the inhabitants of the three townes of *Prague*, vnto them by oath: and meeting daily in the prouinciall chamber, being guarded by 800 ſhot, they made a league, promiſing to fight againſt the common enemies of God, the King, and Religion; and in that cauſe to liue and dy; to which end they provided for the leuying of a good Army.

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Hauing afterwards published an apology, and declared the reaſons why they were forced to prepare for their deſenſe, they ſent Letters alſo to the conſederate Princes and States of *Sileſia*, *Moravia*, and *Lufatia*; whereby they acquainted them with all things that had paſt, and craued their aid in their future neceſſity.

By the deſenſe or Apology which they had published, his Imperiall Maieſty might vnderſtand (ſaid they) the reaſons why they had attempted to puniſh S. MARCUS, SMBSANSIVS, and POPPELIUS, as troublers of the publick peace; who by their traitorous practices, ſought to deſtroy them of all the liberties granted them; and confirmed by the Emperor ROBERTUS: and his Maieſty, and of all liberty of religion; praſtiſing ſuch dangerous faſhions; that they had bene able to ouerthrowe the State if God had not preuented it; that they muſt neceſſarily proceed to the puniſhment of ſome other factious people: of the ſame quality; whereof they thought good now to aduertise his Maieſty, as hauing regard to the dangers which threatened him in particular, and them in general, hauing means in ſome ſort to preuent theſe dangerous conſpiracies which tended to deſtroy his Maieſty, of the Realm, and them his faithfull ſubiects of their liberties: They had fought the means to maintain the Realm of *Bohemia* belonging to his Imperiall Maieſty: and for that the States could not alwaies continue vnited together at *Prague*, they had therefore choſen Directors of the State of the three Euangelicall Orders; that remaining ſtill there, they might ordain what they thought neceſſary for the preſeruacion of the immunities and priuiledges which his Maieſty had granted: wherefore they hoped his Maieſty would hold them excuſed, hauing not attempted any thing with an intent to offend him or any of his Catholick ſubiects that were louers of peace; being ready to imploy their liues and goods for the deſenſe of his Imperiall Maieſty their ſoueraign Lord.

After this, they made a decree againſt the Ieſuits, as the Authors of all the miſeries and afflictions which had hapned in *Bohemia* and in many other Realms & States of Chriſtendom; comparing them to the Templars, and ſaying that they had incited murderers to kill Kings, which would not liue after their manner; that they meddled with affairs of State, and held all them hereticks which were not Roman Catholicks; that they had ſlanderoſly deſamed the Proteſtant States, and had made an explication contrary to the Letters of pacification made in the year 1609; that they had drawn the whole Countrey into the hands of certain perſidious Catholicks, by whole practices the Countrey was in danger of ruine. For which cauſes they baniſhed them for euer out of the Realm of *Bohemia*; enioyning them to depart within eight daies, and neuer to return: and to keep them from ſpoil during the time prefixed, they ſet 50 muſketiers before their Colledge and Church. As for the other religious Orders, the ſaid State took them into their proteccion; and the Earle of *Thurn* provided daily to haue the begging Friars & the Cappuchens ſupplied with victuals.

The Emperor, hearing of theſe alterations, wrote to them, that he could not allow of that which they had done in the Caſtle of *Prague* againſt the Counſellors of State, before they had bene accuſed and heard; that they ought not to haue made ſo great leuies of ſouldiers without his priuity (ſeeing that no man declared himſelf their enemy) nor by conſequence to aduance the ruine of Innocents, who knew not to what end all this tended; wherefore he enioined them to diſmiſſe their ſouldiers, and not to attempt any thing againſt the ordinances of the Realm; that he would not conceal, that hearing of their preparation to Arms, he had alſo commanded leuies to be made, as well for the deſenſe of the Realm of *Bohemia* and of his faithfull ſubiects, as for the maintenance of the rank & authority which he held: yet he aſſured himſelf they would rather embrace peace than war, and not force him by their diſobedience to come to Arms, the which he would willingly forbear if they would perform their duties.

The Emperor, ſeeing he could preuaile nothing by his Letters and declarations; and that the Proteſtant States of *Bohemia* prepared ſtill to Arms, therefore wrote his Letters to the Electors, Princes, and other States of the Empire, thereby to hinder them from making any leuies in the ſaid States; aduertizing them of all that had hapned in the Caſtle of *Prague*; and that the authors of theſe combuſtions diſdaining all obedience, and making no account of his remonſtrances, perſiſted ſtill in their firſt reſolution; and that to the preiudice and contempt of his Imperiall Maieſty, and of his ſoueraign dignity of King of *Bohemia*, they leuied ſouldiers from all parts, yea in the Roman Empire: and for that they did it without his expreſſe command, and againſt the Edicts, he aduerted all the States of the Empire to take order that no leuies of ſouldiers ſhould be made in the Towns and other places of the Empire.

The Biſhop of *Spire* had for ſome yeers laboured to fortiſie the Towne of *Ydenheim*, ſeated

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vpon

The Emperours
complaints of
the Proteſtant
States of
Bohemia.

The Ieſuits
and
the
Proteſtants
of
Bohemia.

Letters from the
Emperor to the
Proteſtant States
of
Bohemia.

And to the
Princes
and
States
of
the
Empire.

vpon the river of *Rhine*, with good walls, large ditches, and strong rampiers, against all external invasion. The Elector Palatine had often sought by persuasions to divert him from this work, and the City of *Spire* had a privilege, that no castle or fort should be built within three miles of their city. The report was that *SPINOZA* had been the Author of this fortification; and that he would man it with a strong garrison; it standing very commodiously in a marshy ground, to hinder the free passage of the river of *Rhine*. The united Princes and States of the Empire after their assembly at *Silbbrunn*, sent 4000 horse and foot, with 1200 Pioneers to this Castle, which (being yielded unto them, without any opposition) they raised and laid even with the ground; the Elector Palatine soone after publishing a declaration of the reasons which had moved him therunto.

The Estates of *Hungary* proceeded slowly, and were in a manner in suspense, by reason of the troubles in *Bohemia*; yet in the end they proceeded to the Election of *Ferdinand* king of *Bohemia* for their King in *Hungary*; but with these conditions: That hee should religiously observe and cause to be inviolably observed all the liberties, immunities, privileges, statutes, rights, and customs, of the Kingdom with the conclusions and treaties of *Pisna*, with all the Articles comprehended therein, and all others concluded both before and after the Coronation of the Emperours Maiesty in the yeares 1608 and 1609. The which Articles, being many in number I here forbore to set downe in particular, being tied to straighter bounds. Which Articles being ratified by the Emperor vnder his Letters Patents, they proceeded to his coronation according to the accustomed manner.

All things tending to Armes in *Bohemia*, the Emperour sent Letters vnto the Directors for the Protestants Estates, whereby he assured them of his fatherly love and affection, and gave them means to suppress the disorders and combustions within the Realme; yet in the meane time he had beene advertised of the attempts and violences committed by the Earle of *Thurn*, who marching with his Army to *Budwitz*, had summoned the Consuls and Senators, as hee had done the Magistrates of *Croimlan*, to dismisst the Emperours garrison, and to yeeld the towne vnto him, if not hee would put all to fire and sword: That it was not fit that hee being Emperour should endure these indignities: Wherefore hee was forced to commaunde the Leaders of his Army to enter speedily into *Bohemia*, to defend his faithfull subjects from all oppression: whereof he thought good to advertise them, that by the consideration of the ruines which would follow this war, they might desist from their enterprise, and thereby avoid the assured ruine, which threatened them and theirs.

To this Letter the Directors made answer, professing that the Earle of *Thurn* had not committed any spoiles about *Budwitz*; but onely advertised the inhabitants not to entertaine any strange souldiers; That he could not doe lesse then signifie these defences vnto them, being conformable to the ordinances of the Realme; That in case they would dismisst their souldiers and receive no new garrison into their towne, the estates would forget that which was past. But having made refusal, and declared themselves enemies to the country, it was no wonder if the Earle had vied some threats, although he had no intent to hurt them: Whereof the towne of *Croimlan* was a good example, whereas they forced not any man, nor put any souldiers into the towne, for that they had obeyed, and dismisst their garrison; and therefore it was not needfull, that the Emperour should draw an Army into *Bohemia*, in regard of *Budwitz*, hoping that hee would neuer willingly consent therunto, nor give way to the pernicious counsels of their enemies. After this there were other replies and answers, touching the bringing in of forces into *Bohemia*, which I cannot insitt vpon.

The Protestant States having assured themselves of many townes and places within the Realme, resolved to make two Armies: the one vnder the leading of the Earle of *Thurn*, which should ly about *Budwitz* and towards the frontiers of *Austria*, by the which the Emperours troups might enter into *Bohemia*; the other vnder the commande of the Earle of *Mandfeldt* to bessege and force some townes within the Realme, which would not submit themselves to the Protestants obedience. Finally their troups increased daily both of Germane souldiers and other strangers of their religion: And the protestant States of *Silesia* had leuied 6000 horse and foot, for the guard (as they said) of their prouince; But in effect it was to enter into *Bohemia* and to succour their confederates.

The Emperours Army consisted of 10000 horse and foot, with many commanders and Captaines: as the Earles of *Buchheim*, *Tampierre*, and *Colate*, *HENRY IVES* of *Landezberg* Prince of *Saxony*, *Marada*, and *Molari*. The Earle of *Bacquey* was expected with some troups

Troops, and should be General; the which in the beginning bred some iealousie, and crossed their designs. It was bruited they meant to bessege *Prague*, where the Inhabitants laboured daily in the fortifications of the new Town: yet this Army did nothing but preferre it self and *Budwitz*. The Earle of *Tampierre* had commandement from the Emperor to enter with his Army into *Bohemia*, and to crosse the Earle of *Thurn*'s designs vpon *Budwitz*. Coming to *Bistritz*, it yielded; into which he put a garrison, thinking to do the like at *Neubaus*: but hee was prevented by a garrison the Earle of *Thurn* had put into the Town and Castle. Whereupon the souldiers fired the suburbs; giving new occasion of discontent to the Protestants against the Emp.

Some fewe daies after, he attempted to force *Neubaus* by Petard: but he was forced to retire with the losse of 2000 men. Notwithstanding this disgrace, he entred further into *Bohemia*, and took *Pilgrum* and *Pohna*. He had a designe to seile on some place vpon the river *Sassna*, within 7 or 8 leagues of *Prague*, there to fortifie himself, and to be daily at the gates of that great city: but the Protestants meeting him neer that river, there was a great skirmish and many good souldiers slain of either side. The Earle of *Tampierre* was forced to retire for want of victuals; who in his return lost many men, slain by the Peasants. These exploits did incense the Protestants very much against the Emperour, for the ruines and the burnings which the Earles *Haiduques* had committed.

But let vs come to *Pisna*. King *Ferdinand* being returned thither with the Arch-duke *MAXIMIL*, they took counsell to remove Cardinal *LESSELYS* from Court, sending him word to come vnto the Castle at two of the clock in the after-noon, on the 20 of July: whereupon he took his Coach with the Popes Nuncio, having much private discourse with him; where being arrived, he dismisst the Nuncio, and went towards the Arch-dukes Cabinet. Being met vpon the way, he was given to understand that the Arch-duke was not well, and desired to be excused; and being led into another roome, he was told that the house of *Austria* had decreed (with the Popes consent) not to suffer him any longer in Court, for his bad government in the Prouince, and many other causes: wherefore laying aside his Cardinals habit, he should take an ordinary black gowne (which was offered him) and should presently follow such as attended for him. The Cardinal (who could not auoid it by any protestations) was presently conveyed by a secret passage to a Coach, and so conducted vnto the confines of *Siria*, and from thence to *Tirol*, with 200 horse. His secretary and seruants (who attended for him in the Court) were cald into the Arch-dukes Cabinet, where being commanded to deliuer the Cardinals keys, they were committed. This was done with such secrecy, as no man discovered it in Court, neither did the Cardinals seruants know it, vntill at night they saw their Lords house searcht, and his goods seized. The Cardinal being sent away; the King and the Arch-duke went vnto the Emperor, whom they made acquainted with what had past.

In *Bohemia* the Protestant States, seeing the insolencies which the Imperialists had committed, wrote vnto the Emperor, and to the Electors Palatine and of *Saxony*, and to the Protestant States of *Silesia*, to make their complaints of the insolencies and violences which had bin done: And they did also write vnto King *Ferdinand*, and to the Arch-duke *MAXIMILIAN*, to moue his Imperial Maiesty to giue care vnto a good Peace.

All the Protestant Princes and States of *Germany*, or neighbors to *Bohemia*, assisted them with men, money, or counsell, except the Elector of *Saxony*, who did all good offices to reconcile this quarrell, being a friend to the house of *Austria*. The Protestants of *Moravia* and *Silesia* in the beginning sent Ambassadors to the Emperor and the Protestant Directors at *Prague*. The Moravians imploied themselves effectually to procure a peace, and refused to aid the Protestants of *Bohemia*: but at the yeers end they changed their opinion. As for the Princes and Protestant States of *Silesia*, they made shew to haue a particular interest in this war with the Bohemians; to whom they sent 6000 horse and foot. They published a declaration to iustifie their action; concluding, that they found this trouble was meely by reason of the contraventions and persecutions made for religion; the Catholics having rased the Protestants Temples, and committed them to prison which had built them; that the Emperours Officers, of causes of religion made crimes of rebellion; that the Protestants of *Bohemia* had surpris'd Letters of the Iesuits, containing, that *The time was come that Bohemia would be assured for the Catholics*, and that the Protestants would be deprived of their privileges; and the edicts for the peace of religion, renoked: that the said Iesuits had often preach't in their Sermons: that if the Princes and States of *Silesia* had knowne there had bin any other action against the Bohemians but for religion, they would not haue succoured them; desiring about all things to be most obedient to the Emperour.

Ferdinand
obs'n and
crowned King of
Hungary.

The Emperours
letters to the
Directors of the
States of *Bohemia*.

The answers of
the Directors to
the Emperours
Letters.

The Protestants
Army in
Bohemia.

The Emperours
Army.

Exploits of the
Emperour's Army
in *Bohemia*.

Cardinal *LESSELYS*
seizes four cap-
tains in *Tirol*.

Princes and
other States assist
the Protestants
of *Bohemia*.

1618.

The Electors and Protestant princes write to the Emperor.

The Prince of *Orange* and the States of the united Provinces promised to assist them both with men and money. The Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Hollack* brought them goodly Troops out of the *Duchie of Brunswick*. As for the Electors and Princes of the Union of *Germany*, who did much affect the Bohemians for their religion, they wrote to the Emperor, that experience and nature taught how precious a thing public peace was; that they could never have imagined, that his Imperial Majesty would have suffered *Bohemia* to have been engaged in so violent and cruel a warre, seeing there had been means to preferre his royall authority, and to contain his subjects in obedience; that the successe of ciuill warre was doubtfull, and the end ruinous and miserable; that it was greatly to be feared, that this ciuill warre of *Bohemia* would set the neighbour States on fire, and breed a great alteration during his Raige; that the question being touching priuiledges granted to the Protestants of *Bohemia* for the liberty of their religion, they doubted not but if his Imperiall Majesty would grant them a fauourable hearing, all things might be well reconciled, seeing that many Electors and Princes offered to imploy themselves: wherefore they intreated him to continue the proposition of peace which they heard he had made, to pardon his subjects offenses, to restrain his souldiers violences, and to quench the fire which was in his State; it being also to be feared, that the Turk, embracing this occasion of ciuill warre, would break the truce, and invade the rest of *Hungary*.

The Earl of Bucquoy enters into Bohemia.

Count *Bucquoy* arrived in September with some Troops, and marched towards *Budwitz*, where, at his coming to the Army, he made a proclamation upon pain of death, that none should set fire vpon any place, nor commit any violence. They write, that, being at *Pilsen*, it would him that the rustick and new souldiers of *Bohemia* would be easily vanquished; but he found the contrary, being at *Budwitz*; where there were two Armies, one of either side the river of *Malox*: the which made the Earle to contain himself within his trenches.

Four Ambassadors appointed by the Emperor to treat a peace in Bohemia.

The Emperor hauing resolved to referre the difference betwixt him and the Protestants of *Bohemia*, to the arbitrement of four persons, two Catholiques, and two Protestants; that is to say, the Elector of *Mentz* and the Duke of *Banaria*, Catholiques; and the Electors *Palatine* and of *Saxony*, Protestants: to them he wrote his Letters, intreating them to take some paines to reconcile this difference; appointing the place of their meeting to bee at *Pilsen*. The Elector of *Saxony* sent one presently to *Prague*, to exhort them to accommodate themselves to the Emperors intention. To whom they answered, that they would willingly referre themselves to those four Princes: but as for the place of meeting (hauing resolved to besiege *Pilsen*) they could not yeeld vnto it, the Inhabitants being Catholiques, and great enemies to the Protestants; desiring him to consider, that the Directors absenting themselves, the Imperialists might make some enterprise vpon the Towns of *Prague*, whereof the surpris which the Earle of *Tampierre* had lately made of the Town and Castle of *Cannitz*, was a sufficient proof.

The Earle of *Mandsfeld* had commandment from the States to besiege *Pilsen*; and the Inhabitants, seeing the Army approach, set fire on the suburbs. The Emperor heerupon wrote to the Elector of *Saxony*, and taxed the Bohemians to haue besieged the Town, which he had appointed for the conference; desiring, that the said Electors Ambassador should return to *Prague*, and propound a suspension of Arms in the Electors name to prevent the forcing of *Pilsen*, and to resolve with the Directors vpon the assurance of the conditions and the place of conference. The Electors Ambassador went to *Prague*, where he had nothing but words from the directors. The Duke of *Banaria* wrote also vnto the said States, that if they continued this siege, they would shew the contrary to that which they had formerly published in their apologie and protestation.

The Protestants, growing then strong, made answer to the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Banaria*, that they had not been well informed of the causes of the siege of *Pilsen*; the which they would not haue vnderaken, if there had not been great occasions offered; that the Inhabitants of *Pilsen* had promised to ioin with them in friendship, and had broken their faith, suffering a new garrison to come into their Town; which had ouerrun the whole Prouince, taken many Protestants of quality prisoners, spoiled the Country, and ruined the Farms of the Protestant Nobility; and seeing that no warning could diuert them from these acts of hostility, they had resolved to present a siege to draw them to their duties: but they grew more insolent, threatening to ruine all the Protestants houses within the Prouince: Whereupon, they had given commandment to the Earle of *Mandsfeld* to presse the siege, that the Inhabitants might be forced to vnit themselves with the other Towns of *Bohemia*, and to liue in peace.

The Earle of *Thurn* in the mean time going towards the Frontiers of *Silesia* to ioin with the

Mar-

1618.

The Earle of Thurn comes to charge the Earle of Bucquoy.

Marquesse of Lagerndorff and the *Silesians*, the Earle of *Bucquoy* made an enterprise vpon the Towne and Castle of *Neubaus*, meaning to surprize it by night; but it succeeded not, for hee found the garrison and inhabitants ready in Armes, so as hee durst not attempt to batter it. The Earle of *Thurn* hauing ioyned with the *Silesians*, being within twenty foure houres march, he returned with his troups to *Budwitz*. The Earle of *Thurn* hauing recovered *Pilsen*, with all the places which *Tampierre* had taken at his entrie into *Bohemia*, he made his Armie to turne head, to charge the Earle of *Bucquoy* in his lodging at *Cannitz*; whereof being aduertised he caused his troups presently to returne towards *Budwitz*: yet he could not doe it, so speedily, but the Protestants Foreward came to skirmish with the Rereward of the Imperialists, whereas *Bucquoy* had some difficulty to retire his Cannon: and if he had not broken a bridge, and lodged some Harquebuziers in a wood, where the Protestants were to passe, he had bene in danger to haue bene defeated. The Protestants hauing past the wood, they returned againe to fight: the which was valiantly maintained on both sides, during five houres space; but if the night had not favoured the Imperialists in their retreat, the Protestants had gotten an absolute victory. The losse was equal: but the Protestants had the place of battle, and 200 prisoners.

After this exploit the Earle of *Thurn* hearing there were 30 waggons comming from *Viena* to *Budwitz*, with a conuoy of 800 men, he laied an ambush for them: which charging them within a mile of *Budwitz*, they put the souldiers to flight, and took the waggons. The siege continued still at *Pilsen*; where hauing made a breach they were vpon teames of composition, but the inhabitants grew obstinate; whereupon *Mandsfeld* doubted his batteries, and made a great breach right against a house which the Emperor *Rodolphus* had built; the which the souldiers took by assault and lodged there. Yet the inhabitants and garrison annoyed them much from *S. Bartholomewes Church*, and began to set fire on their houses to keep them from passing: so as all things tended to a great ruine and desolation, if God in an instant had not mollified their hearts on either side.

The Protestant commanders foreseeing the ruine and inevitable losse of this town, and the consequence thereof, sent to aduise the Burgesses and souldiers not to lose themselves, and that there was means to giue them an honourable composition: that the Burgesses should be preferred in their goods and liberties, ioyning to the vniion of the Protestant Estates, carrying all their Armes into the palace, an deliuering the keyes of the town vnto the Earle *Mandsfeld*: As for the souldiers (if they would not serue the States) they should depart with their Armes and bee conducted to a place of safety: and so the town was yielded the next day vnto Count *Mandsfeld*, and some of the souldiers followed the Protestants Army.

After the taking of *Pilsen*, all the towns of *Bohemia* yielded to the Protestant Estates, except *Budwitz*, and some few places thereabouts, which were couered by the Imperial Armie: and the Earle of *Bucquoy* extending his limits took *Cromlau*; which he mand with a good garrison. Winter being farre aduanced, the Directors lodged part of the Earle of *Thurn's* footmen in *Neubaus* and other townes neare to *Budwitz* and *Cromlau*. With the rest (being in a manner all horsemen) the Earle transported the warres into *Austria*, making an incursion within nine miles of *Viena*, where they spoiled many Burroughes, Monasteries and Churches, and among others the Abbey of *Sueball* (which was a retreat for the Austrian Boot-halers) in the which they found a great bootie: they chased away the Abbot, who retired to *Vienna*; and hauing mann'd it with a good garrison, they returned into *Bohemia* with great spoiles. The Emperour hearing that the *Silesians* were in Count *Thurn's* Foreward, hee wrote vnto the Princes and Protestant States of *Silesia*, that he would neuer haue thought the *Silesians* would haue attempted to come and spoile his faithfull subjects of *Austria*: That the Protestants of *Bohemia* hauing demanded succours to defend themselves, he would not beleaue that they would haue imployed them to wrong him out of *Bohemia*, and in the view of his capital City of *Austria*: wherefore he aduised them to retire their troups.

The *Silesians* desiring to be satisfied in this point, The Protestants of *Bohemia* made them answer, that they were not to be blamed for this attempt, seeing that the Austrians had come into *Bohemia*; and committed horrible infolencies, and carried away great spoiles: the Abbey of *Sueball* being their first retraite; so as they had reason to seize vpon that Abbey, to prevent their enemies entring into their country that way: That their enterprise to transport the warre into *Austria*, was done for two ends. The first to force their enemies to seek a peace. The

S I F 4

second

second, that there were many Protestants in *Austria* which desired to vnite themselves in the cause of religion with the Bohemians and Silesians, and to be assured of the liberty of Religion: That the same day they had received Letters from the States of *Moravia*, signifying, that they had dismissed their Governor and his Lieutenant, being Roman Catholics, and had established Protestants, and that they desired to vnite and combine themselves with all the other Protestants of the neighbour Countries, for the defence of Religion. That they also expected Letters from the Protestants of *Austria*, both above and beneath *Ense*, and their answer made vnto the Emperour: wherefore they intreated the said States, and Protestant Princes of *Silesia*, not to giue credit to their enemies, but to believe that the entry of their troups into *Austria*, concerned the generall good of the Protestants of all the neighbor Princes to *Bohemia*.

The Emperour demands to the Protestants of Austria.
The Protestants of *Austria* about the River of *Enne*, having built a Fort vpon the River of *Danow*, to hinder the passage of the Forreist by the which they entred into *Bohemia*, the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Townesmen of *Passau*, gaue charge vnto their Agents to make their complaints vnto the Emperour: who at their request sent the chief Marshall of his Court to the said States, to perswade them to raze that Fort, to leaue a free passage into *Bohemia* by the Forreist, to carry themselves lovingly and friendly towards the Earle of *Bucquoy*, Generall of the Imperiall Army at *Budwitz*, to relieue him with corne and victuals, and to suffer the Souldiers to passe freely from *Bohemia* into *Austria*, and from *Austria* into *Bohemia*. Thereunto the said States made a long answer. That the Fort was built vpon the lands of *Austria*, with no intent to offend any man, but only for the defence of the Country. That they were not resolu'd to open the passage by the Forreist, by reason of the Neighborhood of the Bohemians. That it would be dangerous vnto them to haue any familiarity with Count *Bucquoy*, seeing they were so neere to the Bohemians, who might easily invade and spoile their Country, as they had threatened by their Letters. As for the victuall and munition which was demanded for the Armie, they were ready to supply him, so as the Earle would send for it and fetch it at his own perill.

1619
A. Austria.
The Protestant States of lower *Austria*, being preist by the Emperour to make head and resist the Bohemians, and to preterre the publicke good before their owne priuate Interest, touching the point of Religion: they made answer, That they had great cause to complaine of the Catholics, for that they could not enioy the free exercise of their Religion, granted by the deceased Emperour *Maximilian*: That they could hardly believe that his Imperiall Maiesty would euer haue attempted a war against the Bohemians, without the generall consent of the States of *Austria*, and without their approbation being then assembled, and hauing not made them acquainted with the causes of that Assembly: That whatsoever concerned this warre of *Bohemia*, was kept hidden from them as a mystery, and that the Earle of *Bucquoy*, Generall of the Army, and the chiefe officers being strangers, it had giuen them cause of discontent and ialousie: For that they could not obtaine from the Catholics an answer to their iust demand, for the free exercise of their Religion: That they doubted not if they had taken aduice at the generall Assembly of the States of *Austria* before the beginning of this warre, all the ensuing miseries had not happened; as might be verified by former presidents: That his Maiesty refusing in this action to follow the ancient presidents, and to giue care vnto the whollom counsell of the Electors and Princes, it was reasonable that the miseries which had happened should be imputed to those which gaue him counsell to warre, who should now finde meanes to free their country from so many afflictions: That they would not aduize his Imperiall Maiesty to begin a warre, knowing that the end is alwaies doubtfull, and the errors irreparable: much lesse to such a warre as this, in the which we may behold plainly the ruine of *Bohemia*, with the ouerthrowe of Iustice, of the Lawes, and all good constitutions, and which drawes after it all sorts of miseries: That to diuert all these great calamities, and more, which threatened those Countries, they could giue his Maiesty no better aduice, then to make choice of some worthy personages of the States of *Austria*, to send them vnto the Directors of *Bohemia*, to exhort them to abstaine from all acts of hostility; and that his Maiesty for his part would doe the like, and then call a generall Assembly of the States of *Bohemia*, and there to consult of the meanes to settle a peace in their country.

An enterprise upon Cramlau.
On the 8 of Ianuary the Protestants had an enterprise vpon *Cramlau*, where the Hungarians were in Garrison: who were aduertized of this plot, and were in Arms; so as they returned to their quarter neere to *Nephaus*, without any exploit. In this returne, the Earle of *Bucquoy* sallied forth of *Budwitz* with 1000 horse, to giue them the chase: but he found opposition and sharpe encounters, so as the Protestants forced the Imperiallists to retire towards *Budwitz*: Some write that

that there were slaine of both sides 500 men, and that the losse was equall.

In the beginning of the yeere, the Emperour wrote his Letters to the Directors of *Bohemia*, to induce them to a suspension of Arms; and the Elector of *Saxony* (to whom the Emperour had referred the conditions) sent his Ambassadour also to the Directors, to know their will: But, they excused themselves, that they could not giue any answer, without the aduice of the States of *Silesia*: Yet afterwards they sent him an answer, and intreated him to consider well how this suspension might be made, and vpon what assurance, that it should not be violated: For, all these troubles (said they) haue no other beginning, but for promises made and not obserued: That the Earle of *Bucquoy*, Generall of the Army, was a stranger, and had no dignity in the Roman Empire: That hauing many times transgressed even the Emperours commandements, and continued the burnings in *Bohemia*, he might when he pleased breake the suspension: And that in the last troubles of *Austria*, during the Truce, the Earle of *Tampierre* had transgressed; to whom they only made a verball reprehension. Hereupon the Elector of *Saxony*, seeing the Emperour with the States of *Moravia*, *Silesia* and *Austria*, desire a treaty for the concluding a peace with the Bohemians; he appointed the place of meeting in the Town of *Egra*, on the fourteenth of April: whereof he aduertised the Directors of *Bohemia*.

The Emperour was much incensed against Count *Ernest* of *Mansfeldt*, who had commanded the Protestants Army at the siege of *Pilsen*: whereupon, hee caused a proscription or banishment to be set vp against him in all the publicke places of *Vienna*; intimating, that whereas by the Imperiall constitutions, all men of what dignity or quality soeuer were forbidden to carry Armes against the Emperour, or against any State of the Empire vpon paine of Proscription; to the end that the Peace of the Empire might be the more religiously obserued: yet it was notorious, that *Ernest* of *Mansfeldt* had not only leuied souldiers without his priuety, conducted them into *Bohemia*, and employed them against his faithfull subiects; but also had besieged and forced the Towne of *Pilsen*, whereby he had incurred the punishments inflicted by the said constitutions: Wherefore according to the same he declared him a Proscript and banished man, abandoning his life and goods to him that could take them.

The Directors of *Bohemia*, being aduertised that they leuied in *Flanders* six thousand Foote and two thousand Horse for the Emperour, they sent forth a commandement, That all Bohemians, hauing attained the age of twenty yeers, should be ready in Armes; the Cavaliers with two horses, and the Souldiers with their Musket or Harquebuz, and reduce themselves into companies. Moreouer, they gaue them to vnderstand, that touching the suspension propounded by the Emperour, there had been nothing concluded by the Elector of *Saxony*, who had only said that the Assembly to treat of a Peace should be held at *Egra*, and that they should begin by a suspension of Armes; the which was not very certain to be concluded, for that the Earle of *Tampierre*, hauing leuied new troups, had renewed his incursions; putting all to fire and sword as he past, and that coming into the towne of *Grauszen*, and not able to take the Castle, he had set fire of the Town. On the tenth of March one thousand six hundred nineteen, the Emperour *MATHIAS* died in his Castle at *Vienna*, being sixty two yeers old and fifteene daies. After which *FREDERICK* the Elector Palatine; and the Electors of *Saxony*, being Viceroyes of the Empire during the vacancy, wrote their Letters vnto all the Princes and States of the Empire, in their severall Iurisdiccions, for the maintenance of the Peace of the Empire, vntill the Election of a new Emperour.

The Protestant States of *Bohemia*, by their decree, had expelled the Iesuites out of *Prague*; and out of the whole Realme, who retired to *Brin* in *Moravia*, which is a member of the Crown of *Bohemia*: Into the which the old Earle of *Thurn* was now entred with an Army, to draw them into an offensive and defensive league with the Bohemians, vnder fauour of whose Armes the Protestants of *Moravia* sent their Deputies to an assembly at *Snam*. The Cardinall of *Dirisfein*, who was great Master and Capitaine generall of *Moravia* for *FREDERICK*, had called an assembly of the Catholique States at *Brin*, and with the said Cardinall ioyned the Senate, the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, the Baron of *Tseratine* and others, who would gladly haue maintained their Faith to *FREDERICK*, but they wanted forces to make good their authority: For the Burgesses and Towne-houle inclined to the Protestants, whose deputies came with a conuoy of 800 horse from *Snam* to the gates of *Brin*; where they entred the third of May, and went presently to Councill: and soon after the Townesmen went to Arms, drawing in 7 Cornets of German horse-men: Then they seized vpon the keyes of the Towne, the Ports, Bulwarks, and all the approaches.

After

After this, the Protestant States came from Councell to the market-place : Where inuironed by the Towne-men they invited one another to take an Oath there publicly in the light of heaven, to maintain the liberty of Religion, the authority of the States and their priuiledges. From thence they went to the Cardinall, to the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, *Tzserain*, and other Noblemen Catholiques, being in their seuerall lodgings : who seeing this alteration and apprehending the danger, gaue them to vnderstand, that they desired Peace, and to maintain themselves vnited with the Protestants, for the preservation of the authority of the States. But this could not satisfie them : For in the end they commanded the Cardinall to forbear to call himselfe Capitaine generall of *Moravia*, or to execute the charge, which he promised to doe ; and also to send back his Commission to King *Ferdinand*, and to remaine vnited to the will of the States : And it is written that the same night of the third of May, they sent a Commandement vnto the Cardinall and to *Tzserain*, not to goe out of their lodgings vpon paine of death, placing guards about them.

Cardinal Dietrich and Tzserain, detained prisoners by the Protestants.

The next day, they changed all the officers, deposed the Papisticall Senators, and placed Protestants. In the end, they made an irrevocable Decree to banish the Iesuits out of *Brin* and *Moravia*, as the Bohemians had formerly done : And on the last of Iuly following, a generall League was concluded betwene the Protestants of *Bohemia*, *Silesia*, *Moravia* and *Lusatia*, vpon certain Articles, which are too long to relate.

The Iesuits expelled Moravia.

The Directors had resolved to presse the States of *Moravia* to chase the Iesuits out of their Prouince, for two reasons which moued them. First, That since they had been chased out of *Bohemia*, they had practised to breake the vnion and correspondency which the State of *Bohemia* had with the States of *Moravia*, and their neighbours : And Secondly, That they animated the people to hold good for the house of *Austria*. Whereupon, the Directors of *Bohemia* made a Proclamation in *Brin* with the consent of the Magistrats, that the Iesuits should depart out of *Moravia* within fifteen daies, vpon paine of corporall punishment : But, for that it was not made in the name of the States of *Moravia*, the Iesuits regarded it not. Whereupon the Directors of *Bohemia* sent two Commissaries, who (saouored by the Magistrats of *Brin*) went directly to the Iesuits Colledge ; and finding them ready to sit downe to dinner, commanded them in the name of the States of *Bohemia* to depart the Towne presently. The Iesuits desired leaue to take their refection : which being denied, they were forced to pack vp their baggage and begon. Before they were a league out of *Brin* their Colledge was on fire, and burnt with such violence as it was wholly consumed, and some twenty houses adioyning. The Protestants said that it was a practice of the Iesuits to ruine the Towne of *Brin* : and the Iesuits on the other side affirmed, that the Protestants had set it on fire to incense the people, to massacre both them and the Catholiques.

The exploits of the Imperials.

The Earle of *Thurne* after the Emperours death vpon an aduertisement giuen him by the Protestants of *Austria*, of an enterprize vpon *Vienna* (which they held assured by reason of the great intelligence they had with them of their Religion) being entred into *Austria*, hee was aduertized vpon the way that the enterprize was discovered : which made him returne into *Bohemia*, hauing receiued some losse by the Imperialists. The Earle of *Bucquoy*, being in *Budwitz*, with some forces more then ordinary, hauing receiued the Troupes of *Hungary*, and 1000 horse from the Low-countries, he resolved to goe out *Budwitz* with his Army to assaile the Castle of *Atzels*, the which being summoned yielded presently : After which, he went and forced the quarter of Count *Mandsfeldt*, and defeated all his troupes being 3000 men, at which charge they tooke seven Ensignes, two Cornets, the one being Count *Mandsfeldt*, three peeces of Ordinance, eight or nine hundred slain, one thousand four hundred prisoners, among which there was a Capitaine of Horse, seven of foote, foure Lieutenants, six Ensignes, and the Sergeant Maior to Count *Mandsfeldt* : And so hauing taken a great booty, they returned to *Budwitz* : Herupon the Protestants, being with their Army within two leagues of *Budwitz*, retired in order of bataille, towards *Perinam* and *Newham*.

Count Mandfeldt quarter forced by Bucquoy.

The Directors of *Bohemia*, seeing the Imperialists fortified, and to haue had good successe in some enterprizes, they sent vnto the Protestant States of *Moravia*, *Austria*, *Silesia*, and *Germany*, for succours : and withall they wrote Letters vnto *Bethlem Gabor* Prince of *Transilvania*, acquainting him with the estate of their affaires, and the cause of their warres ; intreating him to assist them in the generall defense of Religion. To whom he made a long answer, assuring them, that for the pacifying of those combustions in Christendome, he would not be an idle spectator, but would employ both heart and hand, to find out fit and holisome remedies :

But

But for that his Countrey lies in the very mouth of the Turke, who in his Connells (like vnto the waues of the Sea) is neuer quiet, but still watchfull vpon the least discord of Christians (and the rather now, when as all things were pacified in *Asia* and *Persia*) to take from them all meanes to annoy, and to invade the neighbour Prouinces, and (the diuision of Christians being speedily suppressed) to settle a more firm security, he had propounded vnto himselfe two things : The one, to procure the fauour and good liking of the Ottoman Emperour, for the working of this reconciliation ; the other, that he might truly vnderstand the state and intent of the States of *Bohemia* : wherefore by the Prouidence of God, these occasions did so concur, as he vnderstood by their Letters of the seuenth of August, how they stood affected vnto him : And in like manner, on the seuenteenth of the same moneth, he had receiued from the Sultan, his consent and fauour (beyond his expectation) for the preservation of Christian affaires. Whereupon, he promised to be with an Army the next moneth vpon the confines of *Moravia*, vnlesse some great cause should stay him in *Hungary* ; perswading them to preferue their forces together, and not to hazard any battaile before his coming.

Bethlem goes with an Army into Hungary.

The Directors hauing sent an Ambassadour with Letters in answer of his ; vpon the receipt thereof, hee presently gathered together a great Army at *Clausenbourg* : with the which, he marched into the higher *Hungary*, with eightene Cannon : Where, the people being terrified, hee reconciled the Noble-men vnto him, *HVMANI* only excepted ; who, being too weak to make resistance, fled into *Poland*.

Cassovia taken.

He sent part of his Army to besiege *Cassovia* : the which being vnable to make resistance, and out of hope of all succors, yielded vnto him, taking an Oath to *BETHLEM*, and the States of *Hungary*. This strooke a great terror into the Hungarians, and made the Iesuits and Clergy-men to flee the Countrey.



THE LIFE OF FERDINAND, THE SECOND OF THAT NAME, AND HVNDRETH AND TWENTY TITH ROMANE EMPEROR. (*)



THE death of the Emperour *MATHIAS* being published, the Elector, Archbishop of *Mentz*, Chancellor of *Germany* (according to the duty of his charge) gaue notice thereof to the rest of the Electors of the Empire ; and appointed a day for their meeting at *Frankford* vpon *Main*, on the tenth of Iuly this yeere one thousand six hundred nineteene, for the choosing of a new King of Romans : Whither, *Ferdinand* King of *Bohemia*, with the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cullen* and *Treuen* came in person : but, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of *Saxony*, and the Marquess of *Brandenbourg*, sent their Ambassadors. Before they fell to the Election, they entred into consultation touching the combustions of *Bohemia* ; writing Letters to the Directors ; importing that they were desirous to employ their best care and endeavors to compound the diffusions which had growne betwixt them and the deceased Emperour *MATHIAS*, and their new king

The Electors met at Frankford to choose a King of Romans.

FERDI-

1619
They write vnto
the Directors
of Bohemia.

FERDINAND, according to right and equity, and to settle a desired peace in the kingdom, entreating them to com to *Ratisbon* the 20 of Nouemb. following, removing all impediments which might make the treaty difficult; and in the meane time to abstaine from all acts of hostility: but receiuing no answer, they gaue them to vnderstand by other Letters, that FERDINAND (being chosen Emperor) had promised to be present at the treaty of *Ratisbon*, or to send his Ambassadors: wherefore they thought good to admonish them, that they might prepare themselves accordingly; and so moderate their counsels, as all extremities being layed aside, all men might conceiue an vndoubted hope of the conclusion of a peace.

The Bohemians
oppose against
Ferdinand
touching the
Electionship.

The Directors of Bohemia were careful to send 3 Ambassadors to *Frankfort* to the election; but, they were not suffered to enter into the towne: whereupon, they retired to *Hannau*: from whence they wrote Letters vnto the Elector of *Mentz*, intimating, that King FERDINAND had no right to the Electionship of Bohemia, for that he had neuer bene in actuall possession of that kingdom; neither had the summation bene made immediately to the residence of *Prague* as it ought to haue bene, but was sent directly to *Vienna*. Wherefore they humbly entreated him to impart their Letter vnto the rest of the Electors, and take order that the Diet assigned might be suspended and deferred vntill the troubles and combutions were pacified, and the point of Election decided: If not, that they would be pleased to call the States of the Crowne of Bohemia to the Diet, for that they pretended a proprietarie right to the Election. But, this preailed nothing with the Ecclesiasticall Electors, who would needs proceede to an Election: so as on the 18 of August, FERDINAND was chosen King of Romanes, and crowned the 30 with the accustomed solemnity.

Ferdinand
crowned king of
Romanes.

This Emperour was called Archduke of *Austria* of *Grets* in *Stiria*, to distinguish the Families. For, the Emperour FERDINAND the First had three sonnes. MAXIMILIAN, the eldest (who succeeded him in the Empire) had diuers sons; all which were titled Arch-dukes of *Austria*, without any distinction. FERDINAND, his second son, was intitled Arch-duke of *Austria* of *Grets*; from whom this Emperour now liuing, descends. And CHARLES, the third son to FERDINAND the First, was Arch-duke of *Austria* of *Inpruck*.

These ciuill warres of Bohemia troubled the mindes of many Christian Princes, fearing that this distaction would open a gappe for the barbarous Turk to aduance his conquests in Christendome. Our Kings Maiesty of great *Britannie* (who hath alwaies been a Prince of peace) desirous to see these dangerous warres suppress in the breeding, by some good accord; sent an honourable Embassie by the Lord HAYS, Viscount of *Danester*, now Earle of *Carlisle* to FERDINAND newly chosen Emperour, to treat of a reconciliation betwix him and his subjects of Bohemia; but it did not sort with his Maiesties religious intent and desire; for in the Interim, the States of Bohemia (being distast with the reiection of their Ambassadors at *Frankfort*, and before the receipt of the Electors Letters after the Emperors Electors) being assembled together in *Prague* with the Deputies of the incorporated Prouinces, concluded and protested by oath, neuer to acknowledge FERDINAND for their King, resolving to proceede to a new Election; so as on the 26 of August *Stile vnto* they made choise of FRIDERICK the Fifth Elector Palatine of the *Rhine* to be their King; whereof they aduertised him by Letters, and that he had bene solemnlie proclaimed; yet he would not presently accept of this election, without the aduice of the Princes and Protestant States of the union in *Germany*; whom he entreated to meete at *Rottenburg*, to assist him with their counsells: where they were all of opinion, that he should accept of this dignity, as necessarie for the generall good of *Germany*, and of other Princes and states their confederates.

The manner of the Bohemians proceeding to winne the Elector Palatine to allow of their Election and to accept of the Crowne, hath not bene written so particularly by any Author, as I haue receiued it by the relation of a worthy iudicious Knight, who was in those parts, and informed himselfe curiously of euery circumstance how it pass. The States of Bohemia (as he saith) hauing made choise of the Elector Palatine to be their King, sent their Ambassadors vnto him being at *Heidelberg* in the lower Palatinate: whom although he entertained well; yet he gaue them a dilatorie answer, being not yet fully resolved: which was the cause of a meeting at *Walsdon* in the vpper Palatinate, betwix the Elector Palatine and the Directors of Bohemia. At this assembly, the Elector seemed not vnwilling to embrace so braue and free an offer: yet he held it not fit to accept thereof suddenly and rashly, knowing well to what cares, toiles, and danger, this dignity was subject: and therefore he entreated them to haue patience and to respite him for a time, vntill he had acquainted the King of great *Britannie* his father-in-law,

with

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with their Election; whose approbation he much desired in the acceptance thereof: whereupon he sent CHRISTOPHER, Baron of *Dum*, as his Ambassador, to acquaint his Maiesty with their proceedings; promising, vpon his returne, to giue them a direct answer.

The Lords of Bohemia held themselves no way safe, vntill they had preuailed with the Elector Palatin, and wonne him to accept of that Crowne, being conceited that if he were once crowned, not only himself, but all his friends and allies would employ their forces, and be engaged in their defence: Whereupon, they took aduice, what persons they might treat withall, and who had greatest power and interest in the affection of the Elector: In the end they fell vpon CHRISTIAN, Prince of *Anhalt*, to whom they made such golden promises both for himselfe and for all such as depended vpon him, as he forgot the dutie of a true and faithfull counsellor, and became one of their partie; preuailing so much by his perswasions with the Elector Palatin, as he yielded suddenly to accept of the Crowne of Bohemia, before the arrivall of his Ambassadors into *England*.

The Elector accepts of the
Crown of Bohemia.

The offers which the Bohemians made to the Prince of *Anhalt* and the rest, were, That the Prince should be Generall of all the Army: That CHRISTOPHER, Baron of *Dum*, should be Chamberlaine of Bohemia; That TOTHOSIVS, his brother (who was afterwards sent hither as Ambassador) should haue the best marriage in Bohemia; and (which was worst of all) that the Earle of *Holoch* should be made Lieutenant generall of the Army. These great offers drew all these great persons (who aymed at their owne priuate ends) to the Bohemians purposes: Besides, they gaue way to others in both the Palatinates, to come into those places which these men had formerly enioyed. The King being crowned, and these men possessed of those places, they did as needy greedy men vse to doe, looking only to their owne profit, and neglected wholly the honour of the King and safety of the State; still disgracing Count THURN and Count MANDSELDY, who were the only men that euer gaue good counsels, or performed any worthy and generous Act during the warre.

The newes of the Electors suddaine acceptance of the Crowne of Bohemia, were very distastefull to our kings Maiesty, the Prince Palatines father in law; who held it a president of dangerous consequence for all Christian Kings, to auow this suddaine translation of a Crowne by the authority of the people; nor yet warrantable by the word of God, to transerre a Crowne vpon any pretext of Religion, being bound to obey our kings and temporall superiors whatsoeuer they be; and therefore he protested to remaine Newer touching the affaires of the kingdom of Bohemia.

The Emperour, after his coronation, went to *Ausbonig*: and from thence (being accompanied by the Duke of *Banaria*) he came to *Munich*, the Dukes chiefe place of residence; where he had a princely reception. During his abode there, as some write, he had much conference with the Duke, touching the warres of Bohemia; promising, that if he would assist him in those warres, he would giue him the Electorshippe of the *Rhine* and the vpper Palatinate, for a reward of his labour: and for such summes of money as he should disburse, he engaged vnto him lands in the vpper *Austria*. This was a sweet baite, able to moue any ambitious Prince to forget all the ties & bonds of blood and consanguinity, vpon hope to adde a Princely title to his owne dignity, and a large extent of land to his Territories. You may presume by the future events what their conclusion then was: After which the Emperour went to *Gretz*, and so to *Vienna*.

The Emperour
promiseth the
D. of Banaria;

In the meane time before the Emperours returne into *Austria* BYCQVOY hauing taken Pissek in Bohemia, he resolved to goe to *Thabor*: But, being preuented by the Bohemians; he went and encampd at *Merowitz*. The Bohemians followed him, and campd opposite vnto him; obseruing all his enterprises; so as they had many skirmishes: And the fourth of September, a troupe of Spaniards, going somewhat farr from the Campe; were charged by the Bohemians, and five hundred of them slaine. Thus the two Armies lay encamped; when as suddenly BYCQVOY receiued aduertisement, from the Arch-duke LEOPOLD, of the vnexpected coming of BETHUN GABOR into *Hungary*, commanding him to man his chiefe Castles and Townes, and to returne into *Austria*: But, before his departure out of Bohemia he took the Castle of *Rejemburg*, and hauing fortified all the passages he left the Countrey. After which, the Bohemians sent part of their Army to recouer *Rechin*: the which they forced with the peard; slew most of the Garrison; and took the Governour with his Lieutenant, and sent them to *Prague*. After which, they recovered *Thin*, which BYCQVOY had formerly taken: and in the meane time the Earle of *Tampierre* had taken *Lundelsburg* in *Moravia* to the Emperour; but with great losse of his men.

Bethuny goes
out of Bohemia.

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ices taken by
Transilvian.The Palatine of
Hungary abouts
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GABOR, having settled all things at *Cassovia* to his will, sent *RENEDI* and *SATSCHEV* with 1800 men, and twelve peeces of Ordnance to *Fillec* and other places; which yielded unto them. Then writing their Letters to other towns upon the Frontiers, they exhorted them to submit themselves willingly to the Transilvian; assuring them that this expedition was made with the knowledge and consent of many States of the Christian Common-wealth. After which they subdued *Vacia*, *Tirman*, *Nentra*, *Nemigrade*, *Posinga*, and others: The Haidiques of *Jeremah* deliuered vp their Gouvernour with the Fort. After which, *Neuenfals* yielded, and the Gouvernour was sent bound to *Cassovia*. The Palatine of *Hungary* wrote his Letters to *BATHLIN GABOR*, exhorting him to remember his Faith to the Romane Empire and his common Country, and to desist from his enterprises. And withall, writing to *RENEDI*, he writ him to consider how great the powers of the Kings of *Spain* and *France* were, who were so strictly allied to the house of *Austria*, and that the Electors of the Empire (some few excepted) would undoubtedly send succours to *CÆSAR*. Whereunto they answered, that they doubted not of the forces of the Kings of *Spain* and *France*, or of the assistance of the Electors of *Germany*; but they did hope before their coming all should be finished, and their dinner made ready.

In the meane time there was an Assembly of the Princes and States, held at *Preßburg* in *Silesia*, for the confirmation of that which had been concluded by the States of *Bohemia* at *Prague*; where they had concluded, that King *FERDINAND*, now chosen Roman Emperour, had deprived himselfe of the kingdome of *Bohemia* and the rest of the Prouinces, and that the States and all the subjects were freed from their oath of obedience, whereby they had recovered their right to choose a new King; whereupon they had elected *FREDERICK*, the first of that name, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, Duke of *Banaria*, and Elector of the sacred Empire, for their King. This was confirmed by all the States of *Silesia*; who exacted a solemn Oath from the Clergie of *Preßburg*, that they should faithfully observe and keepe what-focuer had been formerly decreed in the Assembly at *Prague*, and liue a quiet life, free from all practices against the Protestants: That they should attempt nothing against the Emperours Letters-patents, touching the exercise of Religion; that they should respect no mans fauour, nor hatred: that they should not be diuerted from their Oath with any intreaties, or rewards, promises, or threats; nor with any absolutions, treaties, constitutions of Councels, or Decrees nor to keep Faith with Heretiques, or any other exception what-focuer. All which they did wittingly and willingly renounce, vnder the penalty ordained by God and the Magistrates, and the losse of all their benefices, faculties, and goods which they held in *Silesia*.

The Elector Palatine having settled his affaires in the Palatinate, and committed the ciuill gouernement to *JOHN* Duke of *Dupons*, a Prince of that house, and the affairs of warre to *JOHN* Earle of *Nassau* the elder, he went with the Princeesse his wife, and children and his whole Court to *Amberge*, from whence he certified the Elector of *Saxony* by his Letters, of his resolution, and of the reasons which had induced him to accept thereof. To whom the Elector of *Saxony* made a generall answer; concluding, that he referred all to the prouidence and will of God, wishing with all his heart, that he might embrace such counsell, as might be fitting for his Electorall and Kingly dignity, profitable to his subjects, honourable to the whole Empire, helpfull to the kingdome of *Bohemia* and the annexed Prouinces, and might tend to the procuring of a Peace, and the auoiding of all ruine and desolation. In the meane time, he would pray vnto Almighty God to diuert all danger from the bounds of the Empire, and that no occasion might be giuenthe Turks, to obtaine that which hitherto they could not do by Arms.

The Transilvian
plants ioyne with
the Bohemians.

In the beginning of October, a Collonell called *GOLSTENE*, entered *Bohemia* with 400 shotte, committing infinite inuolencies and spoiles in the territory of *Sasser*: where the Country-men fell vpon them, and slew most part. Count *BYEQVOY*, being called out of *Bohemia* by the Arch-duke *L. ROPOLO*, presently took *Horne* a Towne in the lower *Austria*, and left it againe, and then marcht to *Swam*, a Towne in *Moravia*, with nine thousand Horse and Foote, which hee presently summoned: but the Garrison prepared for defence; and he, hearing that twelue thousand Hungarians and Transilvians drew neere, marched away by night, and went to ioyne with the Earle of *Tampierre*. In the meane time, the Transilvians ioynd with the Bohemians, and Morauians; and certaine companies of the Hungarians left the Earle of *Tampierre*, to goe vnto the Transilvians.

A great fight
betwixt the Im-
perials and the
protestants.

The Earle of *Thurm*, seeing himselfe thus fortified, hauing six and twenty thousand men in his Army; resolved, with *RENEDI* Generall of the Transilvians, to goe and fight

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fight with Count *BYEQVOY*; who, finding his forces too weak, left his first lodging; and went and encamped at the outward bridge of the riuer of *Danubius*: whither the Archduke *L. ROPOLO* came from *Vienna* to view the Army. The enemy came with great fury vpon the forward; and slue fute hundred of the Earle of *Tampierre*'s men. *L. ROPOLO* preit Count *BYEQVOY* to fight: but he, finding his counsell to be very dangerous, contained himselfe within his Camp. In the euening they began to skirmish; the which continued almost till midnight; their ordnance playing continually, with no small losse on either side. In the morning, the Fight began againe very furiously; where many were slaine and murdered by the ordnance. The Earle of *Bucquoy* had a great losse in his Camp, there beeing three barrells of powder set on fire by negligence and carelesnesse, and very many slaine and drowned in the riuer. The Fight continued vntill it was night: but, being ouerpressed by the Bohemians; they abandoned a Fort at the end of the bridge, and retired vnto the other side, breaking the bridge after them. The number of the dead bodies was vncertaine: but there were very many carried the next day vnto *Vienna* in waaggons, whereof most died soon after. Count *BYEQVOY* was shotte into the arme; and his Lieutenant Generall had three seuerall wounds; but they were not mortall.

BATHLIN GABOR in the meane time marcht with a great Army to *Preßburg*, taking in the way the Castle of *Petrard*, the which he burnt. The newes heereof being brought vnto *Vienna*, they sent three companies of foot with three peece of ordnance by boat, which entred the suburbs of *Preßburg* on the 13 of October. The night was very tempestuous, rainy and windy; and the Transilvians embraced this occasion, and surprised the fouldiers, who slept without fear; whereof most of them were slain, and their Commander with some few others fled away. The suburbs being surprised, *BATHLIN* summoned the Palatine to answer him, whether he would defend the Town and Castle, or yeeld it without force. Hauing some daies granted to consult with *PALEI* and other Noble-men being not able to defend it, he resolved to yeeld it.

Bethlin takes
Preßburg.

In the mean time, the new elect King of *Bohemia*, with his wife, children, and whole train, came to *Walsacken*; whither the Ambassadors of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces came vnto him: whereas one, in the name of all the rest, deliuered the reasons why they had rejected the Emperours gouernment in *Bohemia*, and made choice of him to be their King; giuing him many thanks for his acceptance, and praying for his happy and long continuance. Which ended, he deliuered vnto them his reuerfall Letters: by the which he promised before his Coronation to take the oath after the example of his predecessors Kings of *Bohemia*, to confirme all the priuiledges, immunities, liberties, rights, statutes, and the ancient laudable customes of *Bohemia*; and especially the Charter granted by the Emperour *ROBERT* the Second, as king of *Bohemia*, to the States and Inhabitants of the laid Realm, for the free exercise of their religion, or what-focuer else might concern the good of the Realm and the incorporated Prouinces: which Letters of reuerfall were confirmed vnder his hand and seal; these beeing receiued by the Deputies, they returned to *Egra*. After which, the King with his Queen and whole Court past on, and arrived at *Prague* the last of October.

I may not omit the Elector Palatines course before his going into *Bohemia*. Hauing met with diuerse of the confederate Princes at *Rattenbourg*, before his departure hee sent to the Arch-bishop and Elector of *Mentz*; to whom he propounded, that whereas it had pleased God that he had been lately chosen King of *Bohemia*, and was resolved to accept thereof, he desired to know of his Grace, in what terms his estate stood with the Electorall house of *Mentz*; and whether that correspondency which had for a long time been maintained betwixt both houses, should continue still firm and inuolable: and whereas the Prince Palatine vnderstood, that there were good forces neer at hand, hee demanded whether they went, and whether his Grace would vouchsafe them passage. To these the Elector of *Mentz* answered, that he would oblige the ancient correspondency which the Electors of *Mentz* haue had with the Electors Palatines, inuolably in all lawfull things; that touching that which concerned the tumults in *Bohemia*, hee was appointed no Iudge, neither did they concern him; as for the Army, he knew nothing certain: that hitherto he had denied no man passage, and continued still in the same minde, so as they gaue good security according to the constitutions of the Roman Empire, to repair all damages: yet he would conferre touching this Article with the other Electors. And soon after, the Vicar generall or Gouverneur of *Heidelberg* had staid all the reuenues of the Clergy, which they of *Mentz*, *Spire*, *Wormes*, and the *Teuton* Knights hold in the Palatinate.

The Palatine to
the Archbishop
of Mentz, and
his answer.

The Elector of *Mentz*, being moued with the many complaints of the Clergie, sent vnto the

Vicar general and the Councell of the Palatinate, to expostulate with them for the seizure of the Clergies rents; adding withall, that hitherto there had not onely a good concord been maintained betwixt the Electorall house of *Mentz* and the Palatinate; but, before the departure of the Prince Elector Palatine to *Prague*, he had sent an Ambassadour for the confirmation and future maintenance of the said correspondency betwixt both houses, so as he neuer expected this prohibition would have been made by so good a neighbour. Whereunto they made answer, That they were not ignorant of the promises made on either side; but, being advertised that the Clergy had promised a great summe of money to the Crowne of *Spain*, for the oppression of the Bohemians, to whom the Elector Palatine was especially bound; for this consideration they had granted this inhibition of Ecclesiasticall rents, neither were they to be blamed, nor any man of iudgement would thinke it fit for aide to go vnto forraign Princes, out of the territories of their owne Prince, to subdue the Bohemians, and their Lo. the PALATINE: If therefore the Elector of *Mentz*, and others whom it concerned, would take a course that there should be no aides sent to prejudice the Bohemians, and their Lord the Palatine; then no other resolution might be expected: And soon after the Elector of *Mentz*, having written other Letters to the Elector Palatine, freed the Clergy from this inhibition.

The Elect king of *Bohemia* (as we have said) being come to *Prague* on the last of October, was met by the Directors and Nobility, with certain troupes of horse and foot, and so was conducted into the City, they being all in Arms; where he was received with great joy and acclamations. After which, it was decreed by the generall States of *Bohemia*, That the king should receive a moiety of the tributes, rents, and contributions; and the Queen, a fourth part; and every man should pay his due, yearly, at the feast of S. GEORGE: That the Directors should be freed from their Oath, and giue an account vnto the Assembly, of such money as they had disbursed for the Common-weale; That the Directors and Gouernors for the kingdom, should yield the government of Arms vnto the king, who should employ them for the defence of himselfe, the kingdom, and incorporated Prouinces; vntill yet the aduice of the Gouernors of the Realm and Prouinces; That Commissioners should be sent out, to examine what harms had bin done in the Countries, that consideration might be had thereof at the next State-assembly, &c. MANDSFEELD, meaning to recouer certain places which BYCVOY had taken, marcht to *Wintzenburg*; where, the Gouernor refusing to yield vpon summons, the Earle forced a Port with the Petard; where, entering, he put all the garison to the sword, except some fewe that were taken prisoners: After which, diuers towns and Castles yielded willingly, the garisons departing to *Endauitz*. Then the Earle marcht to *Praguditz*, where the garison put themselves in defence; but he took the town by force. On the 24 of October the Army marcht to *Wodeau*: which they knowing was but weakly mand, and that two Noblemen of *Bohemia* (which had serued the Emperor) were retired into the town, having stopt all the passages, they fought to force it; but the garison made great resistance: yet the next day the Gouernor compounded to depart: the which was willingly granted, so as the two Noblemen might be deliuered vnto them, who were sent to *Prague*, and committed to prison.

All things in the meane time were made ready for the coronation at *Prague*; a Theater was erected in the Temple, no suspected person admitted; all cloysters and corners searcht for feare of treason; the Chanons and Clergy men remoued out of the Cathedrall Church, and another appointed them for diuine seruice, and a weekly stipend allowed them: They changed the Armes of the kingdom vpon the new-gate; and for those of the house of *Austria* which stood vpon the breast of the Lion of *Bohemia*, they set the armes of the Palatinate. All things being thus in a readinesse, FREDERICK was crowned King the fourth of November, all the Citizens and souldiers being in Armes. The office was performed by the Administrator and an Elder, who supplied the places of Bishoppes in that action, the which was performed with great pompe and zeale. The particularities whereof you may reade at large in GOTARDVS. And on the seauenth of November the Lady ELIZABETH, wife to King FREDERICK was in like manner crowned with the same ceremonies. After which, the King made publike declaration of the causes which had moued him to take vpon him the gouernement of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces, sending it to all Christian Princes and States; and withall, writing particular Letters, That he had received the gouernement and Crowne of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces, with the accustomed solemnities, and the generall applause of all the States and people; That no priuate profit of his owne had induced him thereunto; but, a desire to free the afflicted from a generall ruine had moued him to take vpon him their Protecti-

protection; and that he would equally defend both Catholiques and Protestants, in the free exercise of their Religion; hoping they would ioyfully allow of his dignity, and not faile to assist him, with their counsel and aide, against the inuasion of his Enemies.

On the tenth of November there came an Ambassadour from BETHLIN GABOR and the States of *Hungary* to *Prague*, who propounded certain Articles to the Councell. First, They required that there should be a perpetuall League concluded betwixt *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, and *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces; and that they should fight with their ioynt forces for the common good. 2. That no Prouince should conclude a Peace or begin a war, without the priuity and consent of the rest; and that they should not make any peace with the house of *Austria*, to the preiudice of the other part: But if they would make any league with other Kings, Princes or States, it should be with the consent of the rest. 3. That they should continue the warre against the house of *Austria*, at the common charge of the Prouinces. 4. That whereas BETHLIN GABOR had assisted the Bohemians with his Army, to his great charge, and at their request; in consideration thereof, they should pay him 100000 Dollers. 5. That it being necessary in this dangerous Estate of affaires, that the limits and forts should be well mand against the Turkes inuasions; they required (for that the benefit redounded to the whole Christian World) that the Crowne of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, should pay yeerely 300000 Dollers. 6. That it was necessary, Ambassadors were sent in the name of the new King and States, with others from *Hungary*, to the Sultans Port; and that the Prince of *Transilvania* was ready to undertake that Ambassie. 7. That, whereas the treasure of *Hungary* was much exhausted, they required that the hereditary lands of the house of *Austria* (which in time might be conquered, in *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, and other places) should be annexed to the Crowne of *Hungary*. 8. That if the Polonians should attempt any thing against *Transilvania* and *Hungary*, in fauour of the Emperour; then all the Prouinces, especially *Silesia*, should be bound to lend aide vnto that Prince. 9. That the States should moue their King to confirme the said Articles; and that they should giue caution for the performance thereof: and they in like manner should receive assurance from them.

The King of *Bohemia* (before his going to the Assembly at *Nurem*, having heard the Prince of *Transilvania*'s Ambassadour) made answer, that he could not presently giue him a full resolution; for that some of their demands concerned the whole Romane Empire: That as concerning the League, the Earle of *Hohenloe* should come presently to the States at *Presbourg* with full power and authority to confere with them touching the raising or leuying of a great Summe of money. With which answer the Ambassadour returned forthwith to *Presbourg*.

The King of *Poland* sent vnto the Bohemians to solícite them to a Peace with the Emperour, and they returned him in wrighting a declaration of their reicction; perswading the King and the States of *Polonia*, to remember their old treaties, and not to attempt any thing against them. Some Counsellors perswaded the King not to engage himselfe in these combustions; nor to attempt any thing against the Realme of *Bohemia* or the incorporated Prouinces: That hee should remember, that when as *Polonia* was on fire with intestine warres, they contained themselves: That they entertained friendshippe with the Turkes and Tatarsians: That the Hungarians, the English, the vnited Prouinces, the Danes, with many other Princes and States were their confederates: In so much that it appeared plainly the warre would bee long and bloody, and dangerous for *Poland*, if they ingaged themselves in it.

In the meane time, there being rumours of great preparations for warre in *Polonia*, and that HYMANOT (who fled thither from *Hungary*) would invade *Silesia*, *Moravia*, or *Hungary*, with a great Army; they commanded every twentieth man in *Silesia* to take Armes, and had eight thousand choice men alwaies in readinesse. The lower *Austria* was wonderfully afflicted by the insolvency of Souldiers, and the inhabitants were forced to flig with their wives and children. About *Vienna*, the Earles of BYCVOY and TAMPERRE, spoiled and burnt many villages, that they might not be of any vse to the enemy; which bred a great dearth in *Vienna*, especially when it came to be besieged. BYCVOY and TAMPERRE, hearing that the gouernor of *Heinburg* had been defeated by the Hungarians, they went to succour him with 6000 horse and foot, where there was a great encounter and many slaine on either side; after which they returned to *Vienna*: but there were 1600 Hungarians forsooke them, and went to their Country-men.

A complaint.

The auerture of
the Elector of
Bohemia, to the
Electors of
Germany.

The king of Bo-
hemia enters
Prague.

A decree made.

Diuers towres
recouered by the
Protestants of
Bohemia.

The coronation
of the king of
Bohemia, and of
the Queen.

Publike decla-
ration made.

Ambassadour
from the Trans-
ilvanian and
Hungarian
States of
Bohemia.

Propositions:

The Polonians
perswade their
King not to aide
the Emperour.

The miserable
state of lower
Austria.

The fire of these ciuill and intestine warres of *Bohemia*, beganne to flame out in *Germany*, the Electors, Princes and Imperiall Cities and States grew into factions, and made particular Assemblies, to prouide forces to support their parties; cyther pretending a feare to be supplanted in their religion. And although I am tied to strict bounds, and cannot relate actions at large, considering the copiousnes of my subject, and the short time this Emperour hath yet reigned, vnlesse I should make it exceed the liues of many of his Predecessors; yet, to giue the Reader the better satisfaction, I should it fit to set downe in particular how they were cantoned, as you may judge by their particular Assemblies.

The Electors, Princes, and Protestant States of the Vnion, met at *Nuremberg* in November, whither came in person the Elector Palatine newly chosen King of *Bohemia*, AVOUSTVS and FREDERICK Palatines of *Newburg*, JOHN ERNEST Duke of *Saxony*, WILHELMUS, with his two brethren, ERNEST of *Brandenburg*, Marquess of *Olmsbach* or *Ambach*, with his brother, JOHN FREDERICK Duke of *Whitemberg*, with his two brethren; MAURICE Lantzgrau of *Hesse*, and FREDERICK Marquess of *Baden*: the rest sent their Ambassadors; namely, the Elector of *Brandenburg*, the Duke of *Deuzpouts*, the Marquess of *Culmbach*, the Prince of *Lunbourg*, the Duke of *Brunswick*, the Marquess of *Baden*, the Earls of *Peteravia*, the Earls of *Frankonia*, the Earl of *Oettingen*, and in the name of the Nobles and Knights. There came also Deputies from the Imperiall Cities; as, *Strasbourg*, *Bransfort*, *Nuremberg*, *Wormes*, *Vime*, *Spire*, *Rottembourg*, *Hall*, *Nordlingen*, *Landa*, *Vimpfen*, *Buren*, and from the Protestants of the higher & lower *Austria*: all these fauoured the Bohemian party.

The Electors, Princes, and Catholique States which adhered to the Emperour, met at *Virrbourg* in *Francia*: whither came Ambassadors from the Emperour, from the Electors of *Meinie*, *Cullen* and *Treuer*, from the Dukes of *Baharia* and *Lorraine*, from the Palatine of *Newburg*, and from many Princes, Bishops, Abbats and Prelates; as, those of *Salzbourg*, *Ausbourg*, *Virrbourg*, *Ratis*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Heildesheim*, *Constance*, *Strasbourg*, *Passau*, *Ratisbone*, *Brissigen*, *Balle*, *Munster*, *Paterborn*, *Liege*, *Fuld*, *Eluangen*, *Kepten*, and others. Thither came also Agents for the king of *Spain*. In this Assembly, the means how to maintain peace in *Germany* were treated of, and how to defend themselves against the Arms of the Protestant Princes, and what leuies euerie one should make; so as it seemed all tended to warre in *Germany*, both parties being much incensed.

The Emperour sent the Earl of *Hohenoller* to the assembly at *Nuremberg*; who, making a long relation to them of the troubles of *Bohemia*, and of his Majesties peaceable inclination, exhorted the Electors, Princes and States there assembled, to giue credit to his words and promises, rather than to false impostures and slanders; and not to suffer themselves to be corrupted by the false reports of the Bohemians; but rather to employ their counsels and care to prevent so many miseries as would vndoubtedly growe in the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, if matters continued in the same estate they then were: the which might giue a great aduantage to the Enemie of Christendome, and be very dangerous for the Empire. Wherefore, they should direct their consultations to some good end, so as the honour of the Imperiall Majesty might be preferred; who protested, not to do any thing that were not iust and honest, and worthy of his Imperiall grace and fauour; promising to recompense the pains and merits of such as had imploy'd themselves to end so great occasions of trouble.

Heerto the Assembly at *Nuremberg* made answer, that they were glad of his Majesties good resolution, conformable to theirs, which was onely to prevent the miserable estate of the sacred Empire. They made repetition of the diffensions of the Empire, and of the grievances of the Protestants; which I must for breuities sake omit. But, touching the affairs of *Bohemia*, they said that they were not to be blamed, if, seeing the Catholiques begin motions of warre, they were carefull of the welfare of their subjects, and prepared themselves to some kinde of defense; knowing, that they are not onely bound to chase away the danger out of the frontiers of their Country, but also to succour the Protestants; yea, even the Elector Palatine FREDERICK, chosen King of *Bohemia*, especially when he shall be molested in his lawfull inheritance and seigneuries in *Germany*; being bound thereto by the Imperiall constitutions, and by their Vnion.

They therefore besought his Imperiall Majesty to dispose his counsels for the pacifying of the present troubles in *Bohemia*, and to be carefull that no disaster might fall vpon the Empire. As for them, they would neuer suffer themselves to be wonneby any contrary perswasion; hoping, that his Majesty should not giue ear to those which were more desirous to entertain for-

rain

rain forces in the Empire, than to seek the safety and authority of the Emperour; and that hee should rather giue care to the iust reasons of so many Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, then vnto the discourses of certaine men, who breathed nothing but warre; and a desire to ruine and roote out those whom they falsely called Heretiques.

By this answer the earl of *Hohenoller* finding that this assembly at *Nuremberg* was wholly bent to support the Elector Palatine in the possession of his new Election to the Crowne of *Bohemia* against the Emperour, hemade a long Apology, and presented it to the same Assembly. It contained a short relation of all the troubles of *Bohemia*, during the life of the Emperour MATTHIAS, with answers to their oppositions against the admission of King FERDINAND to the Election of a new Emperour, and to their declaration touching their reiection of FERDINAND, and their Election of a new king: finally, his conclusion was, that the States of *Bohemia* had no free Election to chuse a king if any male or female of the blood royall were liuing, which hath bene the occasion of all their warres: a point which I will not decide, but leaue it to ENRIAS SILVIVS DV BRABIVS, and others which haue written learnedly thereof.

The Prince of *Transilvania* after the assembly at *Presbourg*, made an incursion with his Army towards *Vienna*, putting all to the sword: He took *Eberdsdorf*, with other townes and villages, spoiling some and wasting the rest by fire, and then returned to *Presbourg*. In their retreat, they writethat Count BYCQVOY and TAMPIERRE charged the Rereward, and slew 2000 Hungarians.

The Emperour commanded the States of high *Austria*, to send their Deputies to court, to take their dew oath of allegiance, whereby they might prevent the imminent danger, and giue no cause of greater miseries: But they delaying to make any answer, he sent other Letters vnto them, signifying, That they had not onely forborne to send him an answer, but had also made an incursion into the lower *Austria*, and surprised certaine townes; which were apparant signes of hostility. Wherefore he admonisht them againe to send their Deputies to take the oath; to call back their souldiers; and to desist from their enterprises; if not, he would vse other remedies. About that time there came out of the Duchie of *Atlas*, into the Bishopprick of *Passau* (having past the Alpes through *Switzerland*) 9000 souldiers, leaving behinde them mournfull marks of their bloody cruelty; who hauing no meanes to passe into the vpper *Austria*, the country-men hauing stoppt vnder the passages; part of them past into *Bohemia* towards *Budwitz*, vnder the leading of DON BERTHAZAR: who being entred, caused the Kings edict to be set vp in all places written to this sence; That it was knowne to all men, how that his subjects of *Bohemia*, partly through their owne malice, and partly by the perswasion of others, had runne into rebellion, violated the oath which they had taken to him, being their elected and crowned King, and had presumed to chuse them another King, and settle him in his throne. Wherefore to preferue his right and to defend his subjects from ruine, he had bene constrained to send in new forces; That he doubted not but there were many who either not pleased with these attempts, or changing their opinions, would performe their due obedience to their lawfull King; admonishing all others, that remembering the oath whereunto they were bound, and hauing a care of their wiues, children and families, they should speedily returne to their obedience, and giue in their names, to such commanders as hee should haue in the Countrey, and thereby preferue themselves from ruine; promising pardon to all that should demand it in this manner.

The Emperour being come to *Vienna*, the Hungarians and Bohemians marcht with a great Army towards the City; they took *Eberdsdorf*, and then laied siege vnto *Vienna*, spoiling all the townes and villages round about. The Countrey people flying into the City, there grew a great dearth of corne, which made the enemy hope that in short time they should force them to yield by famine. In the meane time HENNAVOI made an irruption into *Hungary* with 8000 *Polonians*: but he was incountred by RACOTZI, whom the Prince of *Transilvania* had left at *Cassovia*, and receiued a great overthrow. Then ioyning with RADUL, and the Earle of *Althem*, being in all three or foure thousand men, they encountered the *Polonians* againe: where there was a cruell combat, the which continued almost the whole night, there being slaine on either part three thousand men. The *Polonians* retiring, made a shew of flight; whereupon the Hungarian foot fell presently to spoile: but the *Polonians* returning suddenly (the Hungarian horsemen flying away) they were for the most part slaine. RACOTZI hauing escaped, cried presently To Armes, to repaire this losse: and BERTHAZAR being aduertised thereof, he forbore to presse

T t t 4

Vienna,

Assembly of the
electors Princes
at Nuremberg.The Catholique
princes & states
assembly at
Virrbourg.The Emperour
sends to the As-
sembly at Nu-
remberg.

Their answer.

An Apologie
made for the
Emperour.]Exploits of the
Transilvanian.The Emperour
requirer an oath
from the States
of high Austria.The Emperours
edict against the
Bohemians.Vienna besieged
by the Hungari-
ans and Bohe-
mians.A great slaugh-
ter of Polonians
and Hungari-
ans.Bethlin Ca-
sovia slaine.

Vienna; and sending part of his Army into *Hungary*, to *Rheda*, he returned to *Presbourg*, having taken *Edenbourg*, and mand it with a garrison of 400 men.

The States of the vpper and lower *Austria*, had many consultations for their defence against the incursions of *BETHLIN GABOR* Prince of *Transilvania*. Under the pretext of this defence, the Protestant States levied forces: and having drawne together some thousands of horse and foote, they seized vpon *Lipsa*, which they ruined for that the citizens had made resistance. After which they took *Sibilsberg*, *Leisdorf* and *Bechling*; and then they marcht to the Monastery of *Melcha*, which was very well fortified. The Abbat offered certain thousands of florens, to haue his monastery spared, but he could not preuaile: they having three feuerall batteries; they cut off the water from the Garrison: and the souldiers which fetcht it from the river of *Danow*, were much annoyed by the short, but it was relievied by *BVCQVOY*. Nor long before, the Earle of *Mandsfield* had recovered *Piffek*, after a moneths siege, being valiantly defended by *Don MARTINO* a Spaniard, who was taken prisoner with diuerse other Capitaines, and sent to *Wilsen*. The souldiers, being 400 in number, and many of them sick, were let goe freely with their baggage, and conducted to the frontiers of *Austria*. *Piffek* being taken after this manner; the Emperours souldiers left all the garrison towns in *Bohemia* (except *Budnitz* & *CROMLAU*) retiring into places of more safety, and carrying with them what they had gotten. There was such a stink in *Piffek*, by reason of the dead carcasses of men and beasts, that both souldiers and citizens were forced to leaue the towne: the which, *MANDSFIELD* caused to be repaired, and manned with a good garrison.

BETHLIN GABOR (as we haue said) being retired towards *Presbourg* to resist the invasion of *HVMANOI*, and the Bohemians being gone towards *Moravia*; Count *BVCQVOY*, embracing this occasion, followed the Hungarians towards *Presbourg*: Where having taken some places which had revolted from the Emperour, he slew one thousand five hundred Hungarians. And the Emperour, hearing there was some small difference betwixt the Hungarians & Bohemians, sent his Commissioners to the Hungarians to perswade them to obedience, and to dissuade them from entering into League with the Bohemians. During these several actions in feuerall places, the provinciall States of *Moravia* met at *Olmu*; whereas they seized vpon all the goods of the Clergy, amounting to many millions, and put all the plate which was in the Romane Catholike Temples into coyne; where with they payed their souldiers. And the States of *Lusatia* were also assembled to provide for the necessity of the prouince: who with the protestants of *Austria* (hearing that there were 12000 souldiers come out of *Italy* to *Passau* for the Emperour) drew all their forces towards those frontiers for their defence.

The King of *Poland*, meaning to assist the Emperour conditionally, made a declaration; That for as much as the troubles of *Bohemia* concerned Religion, and that the Bohemians with their confederats, had expelled a Bishoppe out of *Silesia*, and burthened the Clergy contrary to their priuiledges, liberties, and immunities; he was therefore resolved to assist the Emperour with thirty thousand Souldiers. But if the Bohemians and Silesians would restore their Bishop, Clergy; and other Romane Catholiques to their former dignitie, and maintaine them in their priuiledges, and withall reuerse what they had done against the house of *Austria*; he was then resolved not to meddle any more in those quarrels; yet, notwithstanding, he kept his forces ready, attending a finall resolution of the Bohemians.

In the beginning of November, certain troupes of the Earle of *BVCQVOY*; meaning to surpris *Odenbourg*, *BETHLIN GABOR* posted thither, and entered the Town, and mand it with two thousand Hungarians. That moneth, *JOHN CHARLES* the Emperours eldest sonne died at *Gretz*; and within few daies after, *JOHN STOISMYNT* Marquesse of *Brandenbourg* left this life. On the one and twentieth of this moneth, all the images in the Church of the Castle of *Prague*, were demolished by the kings commandement; and on Christmaffe day, the kings Preacher made a Sermon, prouing by the sacred Scriptures, That images were not to be allowed in Temples: After which, the King, with his brother, and the whole Court, receiued the Communion.

On the seven and twentieth of Nouember, the Lady *ELIZABETH*, Queene of *Bohemia*, was deliuered of a sonne, to the great ioy of his maiesty, and the whole court. The chiefe officers of the Crowne of *Bohemia* came vnto the King to congratulate the birth of his new heire, all the Bells rung, and the ordinance of the towne often discharged. This yeare in December the Earle of *Fussenberg* Ambassadour from the Emperour arrived at *Paris*, where he was receiued with great state, defrayed at the Kings charge and serued by his officers. The subject of his

Dinner taken by the Protestants.

Piffek taken by G. Mandsfield.

Assembly of the States of Moravia & Lusatia.

The Poland promises to aid the Emperour conditionally.

The Queen of Bohemia delivered of a son.

1620

The Emperours Ambassadour comes to Paris.

his Ambassage was, To demand aid and assistance from the King against the Elector Palatine, who had invaded his Realm of *Bohemia*; from the which the Duke of *Bouillon* by his Letters did seek to dissuade the King; shewing, that those troubles grew not from any question of religion, but from matter of State; hoping withall, that his Maiesty would not fauour and assist the house of *Austria* against a Prince of the Electorall house of the Palatine, alwaies allied vnto his Crown and house, by whom the Kings his Predecessors, and especially his father of happy memory, had been assisted in the defense of his house and person, and of his lawfull succession. The King desired to let the Emperour and German Princes knowe, that if he intermeddled in their quarrels, it should be onely (after the manner of his Predecessors) in sending an honourable Embassie; which, visiting the Emperour, and the Princes and States of the Empire of both the Vnions, should labour to reconcile the troubles of *Bohemia*, and the combutions which began to growe in *Germany* among the Princes.

The Emperour had great succors promised him by the King of *Spain*: and the Pope commanded a great contribution to be made by the Clergy throughout all *Italy*, *Spain*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, and other Prouinces, for the payment of the Emperours Army. And in the mean time the Elector of *Saxony* (lest he should seem to be too secure) took order for the leuying of certain troops of horse and foot, and the prouiding of sufficient Commanders. Count *BVCQVOY*, making an expedition towards the vpper *Austria*, took the Town of *Lipsa*, being without a garrison.

Before his coming, *STARZENBERG*, chief Gouernor of that Prouince, having left the siege of the Monastery of *Melcha*, marched towards the Frontier with his Army, to attend Count *BVCQVOY*. The peasants in the mean time, coming from the vpper part, moved with the zeal of religion, slue and put to flight all the Italians which remained of *BALTHAZAR*'s forces. The lower *Austria* was much afflicted with hunger and other miseries. The States of vpper *Austria* were prest daily to come to *Vienna* to take the oath, the Emperour offering them vituals and a safe conduct: but they protracted the time from day to day. In the mean time, the Hungarians, with the Bohemians and incorporated Prouinces, being assembled at *Presbourg*; they concluded a perpetuall league vpon certain Articles; which I am forced to omit to avoid tediousness.

A league concluded betwixt Hungarians and Bohemians.

The Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* went from *Vienna* into *Alsatia*, where he leuiued many troops of horse and foot for the Duke of *Banaria*; and, there coming into those parts five hundred *Venetians* which desired passage, they were denied it, and sent to the Duke of *Banaria* to serue in his Army. There were also great forces leuiued for the Emperour and Duke of *Banaria* in the Bishoprick of *Cullen* and the Territories adjacent. To prevent these leuiues, the States of the vnted Prouinces wrote to the Electors of *Cullen* and *Treues*, exhorting them not to suffer any thing to be attempted against their confederates, especially against the Elector Palatine and his Territories, vnlesse they would haue the like done in their jurisdiction. Part of these forces when they could not get passage through *Halsia* and the County of *Nassau*, they entred into *Brabant*; where they were forced to stay some weeks, being hindred by the Princes of the Vnion: and in the end they they were constrained to repasse the river of *Rhine*, and to return the same way they came. The Duke of *Banaria*, being aduertised hereof, he sent to the Deputies of the vnted Princes and States: where there was a transaction made for the passage of these Troops, the number whereof was certainly knowne; and that the vnted Princes and States should haue also free liberty to passe through *Banaria*. The conditions were, that they should passe away within three or foure daies; the footmen by the Diocesse of *Hamburg*, and the horsemen by *Wismberg*; that the Army should commit no insolencies in the estates of the vnted Princes: that they should march on with speed towards *Banaria*, and should pay for that which they took in their passage.

After this, there followed a truce betwixt the Emperour and *BETHLIN GABOR* Prince of *Transilvania*, the which should continue till the Feast of Saint *MICHAEL* following; that the Realm of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces should be comprehended in that truce if they would; and all troubles ceasing, a treaty should be made for the conclusion of a peace: that, during the truce, all things should remain in the same state they were in, and *BETHLIN* should hold the Countries, Castles, Forts and Towns which he had subdued, vntill it were otherwise disposed of; that an Assembly should be appointed at *Nenheusall* by the Emperours consent and authority, and there all grievances repaired, and all diffensions betwixt the Emperour and the States of the Kingdome compounded; that the commerce should be free in all places, and the passages open; that the souldiers of *Polonia* should forbear to enter into the Realme of *Hun-*

A truce concluded betwixt the Emperour & Bethlin.

1620

the Arch-duke
Leopold raised
his forces in
Bohemia.

Hungary; that the truce and league should be inviolably kept and observed, and all acts of hostility cease.

This year in January (for, they begin to account the year from the birth of CHRIST) the States of *Austria* met again at *Horn*; where the Emperor sent to press them to take the oath of allegiance: whereto they consented, so as the souldiers might be dismissed, the league betwixt *Hungary* and *Bohemia* confirmed, and a firm peace concluded; if not, they were not bound to do any more. About the same time, the Arch-duke *Leopold* searcht all the store-houses in *Misissia*, drew out great store of ordinance, and caused many troupes of horse and foot to be leui'd. He gaue commission to raise 1500 horse in *Lorraine*, and some thousands of foot there, and on the frontiers of *France*; and appointed money for the payment thereof.

In February, the Emperour held a secret Councell at *Vienna*, where there assisted the Popes Nuntio, the Embassadors of *Spain* and *Florence*, the Earles of *Bucquoy* and *Tampierre*, with other Commanders at warre; where they consulted of a new enterprize against *Bohemia*: For the recovery of which Countrey, the Emperor protested, that he would spend the last drop of his blood, and the rather, for that the Florentine Embassadour had brought eight hundred Souldiers to his Maistie; and moreover, there was promised from *Spain*, *Italy* and the Lowe-countries three millions of gold, with the which the Emperor thought to performe great matters. During this consultation, *Niclasburg* in *Moravia* was besieged by the Morauians; and in the end the towne was taken; but, the Castle held out, and was battered continually for sixteen daies together. The Cardinall of *Dieherichstein*, was much perplexed, and grieved, pressing the Emperour to send forces to relieue this towne, for that the Emperour and others had carried much wealth into it, as into a place of safety. Whereupon, the Earles of *Bucquoy* and *Tampierre*, resolving to take it from the enemy, cast a long bridge over the river of *Dannew*; but they were so hindred by great frosts and cold that they were forced to desist from their enterprize.

This month of February, the King of *Bohemia* went into *Moravia*, being accompanied by his brother and other Princes: he made his entree into *Brin*, where he was received with great pompe by the Senate and States, who conducted him to the Iesuites Church: where hauing heard Diuine seruice, he went to the Palace, and their receiued the oath from the States, and confirmed all their priuiledges: after which he took his way towards *Silesia*. He was scarce gone out of *Moravia*, but there entered 4000 Cossagues from *Dolania*: yet they staid not long there, but marche day and night vntill they came into *Austria*, sending some which knew the Countrey, to discover, breaking all the bridges behind them as they past. In their passage, they spoiled many villages and townes; and among others, *Meseritz*, where at that time there was celebrated a very solenne marriage: but, they marr'd the feast, and carried away their ornaments; which they sold afterwards at *Viena* for a little money.

The Horsemen of *Moravia*, being aduertised hereof somewhat too late, followed them with all speed, and ouertaking them in *Austria* about midnight, nere vnto the banks of *Dannew*, they slew 1000 of them, the rest passing over the River vnto *Vienna*. These Souldiers afterwards committed horrible murders and spoiles in the lower *Austria*: they wasted fiftie villages belonging to the Protestants, forcing many of the inhabitants to fly into the woods with their wives and Children, where they perished with hunger and cold. It was reported, that 8000 more followed them. Whereupon, the Silesians and Morauians went to Armes, and sent to *Bohlin* for aide: who gaue notice to the King of *Polonia*, that if he attempted any thing against him or his confederates, he would cause the Turkes and Tartarians to invade *Polonia*: and withall he sent word vnto *Viena*, that vntill they discharged the Cossagues (whom they had drawne in, contrary to the truce) he would presently assist the oppressed with 16000 Hungarians.

At the same time Count *Bucquoy* (hauing received some losse by the Bohemians at *Chiefe*) went with 8000 horse and foote to *Langaus*; where ther were seuen companies of the Earle of *Amalsfelds* in garrison, he himselfe being gone to *Prague*. Comming to the towne hee sent some troupes before, and laid the rest in ambush: The garrison slyng forth fell into this ambush, where there was a great fight: but the Bohemian horsemen being disperst, there were 900 footmen slaine, where the Imperials also lost 400 men.

Some write that this enterprize of the Earle of *Bucquoy* was vpon a quarter of the Bohemians Army, where the Barron of *Pettis* Marshall of the Army commanded, and who in the charge was slaine and their troupes put to rout: That there were slaine vpon the place 600 horsemen and 300 foote, among which were many Noblemen, Captaines & Commanders, and namely a Duke

Duke of *Saxony* who serued the Bohemian party. There were almost 300 prisoners taken; most gentlemen and officers, and as they write *Bucquoy*'s losse was very final.

Some few daies after, they charged a troupe of the Earle of *Halochs* and slew 600. So pursuing their victories, they forced *Laam*, and slew 200 which were there in garrison. The Earle of *Tampierre*, hearing of this successe, ioyned his forces with Count *Bucquoy*; and then they resolved to goe to *Prague*, commanding the souldiers to make sufficient provision of poulder and victuall for six daies. But the Prince of *Anhalt*, hauing presently gathered together the Bohemian and Morauian forces at *Egenbourg*, stoppt all the passages, commanding all the officers and souldiers which were in *Prague*, to return to the Camp within 24 houres. The Spaniards, which came vnder *BALTHAZAR*, made an incursion towards *Wodiam*, and *Pragadis*, spoiling the countrey with fire and sword. After which they went to besiege *Muldau*; but, the garrison, not able to keepe it, yielded it vpon composition. Whereupon, there was a new commandement, that euery twentieth man in *Bohemia* should be alwaies ready in Armes.

FREDERICK K. of *Bohemia* comming to *Preissau*, the Princes and Noblemen of *Silesia* met him with a great traine: entering into the City, there marcht before three Senators, with many citizens, who had presented him with the keys of their City by their aduocate; after whom, followed the Gentlemen of *Preissau*; then the Bayons, and after them, the Princes of *Silesia*: After whom came the kings brother, betwixt the Duke of *Lignis*, and the Marquesse of *Jagerndorf*. The Marshall of the Realme, carrying a sword, marcht alone: and the King followed him; and after him, the whole Traine. There were 50 shot at the gate: and all the Citizens were in Armes euen to the Kings court. Comming to the market place, there was triumphant Arch, with very rare musick. From whence, the king was conducted to S. *ELIZABETH*'s Church; where he was entertained by the chiefe Pastor, with an Oration in Latin: and hauing heard Diuine seruice he went vnto the Palace; where, on the seauen and twentieth of February, he receiued an oath of the Noblemen; and the day following, foure Chanons, the Abbats and Priors of the monasteries, came to court and took the same oath: after whom, the citizens did the like. All this being happily performed, and certaine Deputies being appointed by the Princes of *Silesia* to go in Embassage to *Constantinople* and *Poland*, in the behalfe of the Realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces; the king hauing viewed the city and the bishopps Palace, and confirmed all their priuiledges, he prepared to goe vnto *Lofnitz*: but, hearing of Count *Bucquoy*'s attempts, he deserd that Iourney and returned to *Prague*.

The Bohemians hauing resolved to assemble the States at *Prague*, by the kings commandement; the Emperour refused to doe the like at *Budwitz*, to hinder and direct the assembly, meaning to prosecute all the States which should not come to *Budwitz* with fire and sword, and in like manner to besiege *Prague*. *Bucquoy* and *Tampierre* marched forward with their Army meaning to seize vpon *Horne*, and the Castle of *Echenberg*, places neere adioyning; but being ready to assault the castle, the States of that prouince thinking it would be very preiudiciall vnto them, entreated the Prince of *Anhalt* (Generall for the king of *Bohemia*) to releue the said Castle: who although he were inferior in number to the Imperials, yet knowing how much it did import, hee resolved to stop *Bucquoy*'s passage towards *Budwitz*: to which end he marched forward with his Army being fortified with certaine troupes which came vnto him, so as he was esteemed to haue 12000 men. The 10 of March the Armies met and ioyned battaile. *Bucquoy* thought to terrifie the Bohemians with a stratagem, causing the bodies of trees to be laid vpon carriages, as if he had had many Cannons; which at the first sight amased the horsemen: but hauing discovered his sleight by their neerer approach, they charged valiantly. The Prince of *Anhalt* vsed another policie, causing his Artillery to be charged with small shot behind his horsemen; who were commanded after they had set vpon the enemy, to open their ranks in the middelt: which being speedily executed according to direction, all their ordinance was discharged together, which made a great spoile vpon the enemies horsemen, and forced their Army to retire into a wood. Whereupon the P. of *Anhalt*, finding his aduantage, planted his ordinance vpon certaine hils, which did so annoy the enemy as he forced them to leaue the wood, and at their coming out pursued them so hotly, as they were forced to fly to *Crembs* a Towne 15 English miles from thence: the pursuit continued diuers daies. By report of prisoners they lost about 2600 men most Polonians and Cossacks, with their munition, baggage, bullets for Cannon and many horses. The Sergeant Maior of the Army was slaine, with the Generall of the Cossagues with his Lieutenant, and diuers other Captaines and officers: The Earle of *Tampierres* horse was slaine vnder him, and hee was relieued by a Cossaque who mounted

The king of
Bohemia enters
Pratibana.

Count Bucquoy
defeated by the
Prince of
Anhalt.

Niclasburg
taken by the
Morauians.

mounted him vpon his owne. At his coming to *Vienna* he made great complaints to the Emperor of Count *Bv q v o r*; who they write was so much grieved for this losse, that hee would not for three daies together speak with any man. It is thought, the Bohemians lost not about 100 men in that fight, and some hurt.

An Assembly of
the States at
Prague.

In the mean time, there was an Assembly of the States at *Prague*; where they consulted of the confirmation of the league with the States of *Hungary* and the Prince of *Transilvania*, and to offer it to other Princes and States, for the sending of an Ambassie vnto the Turks Port; and to make a perpetual peace with the Sultan; to provide for the charges and presents of this Ambassie; to provide money for the necessary defense of the frontier Forts in *Hungary* every year, for the punishing of those traitorous rebels of the Country, which refused to acknowledge the King for their head; for the repelling of the enemies forces, and refusing of Edicts published within the Realm; for the providing of present money (after the example of the united Belgick States) for the payment of souldiers; for the providing of a storehouse with arms, victuals and horses for publike service; for the making of hospitals for sick and wounded souldiers; to make a necessary provision against all vnexpected irruptions, to prohibit the insolency of souldiers, to reform the prouinciall constitutions, to appoint a place for the keeping of the Crown and Regall ornaments, and to assign reuenues for the King, after the presidents of former Kings and Princes.

An edict against
the King of Bo-
hemia.

This year in February, the Emperor sent forth an Edict against the election and crowning of the Elector Palatine K. of *Bohemia*; in the which, after a long deduction of the troubles and tragedies committed in *Bohemia*, and of the insolency and rebellion (as he terms it) of the Bohemians, both against his Predecessor the Emperor *MATHIAS* and himself, notwithstanding their fatherly care and affection to the good of their subjects, and their desire to reduce them to their obedience by all milde and friendly courses; which they had obstinately refused, and (contrary to all law and equity) had rejected him for their King, and chosen them another: this their election by his Imperiall and Royall authority he disannulled, and declared void and of no effect; protesting before God and the world, to bend all his thoughts and means to recover the Prouinces vsurped from him by force and rebellion, and to reuenge his Imperiall and Royall Majesty so much wronged in his authority. Lastly, he implored the fauour and aid of all Kings, Princes, and Christian Potentates, to whom the newes of this dangerous example of the rebellion of these traitorous subjects should come. But chiefly he exhorted and required the Electors of the sacred Empire, with the Princes and States thereof (much wronged in this election, made against all iustice) to giue him aid and assistance, promising to requite them with the like fauour and curse, and to imploy his Imperiall authority for the defense of their estates & seignories.

Assembly of the
Catholick Elec-
tors at Mulhus.

This year, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, adhering to the Emperor, assembled at *Mulhus* in *Thuringia*; whither came in person the Electors of *Mentz*, *Cullen* and *Saxony*; and he of *Treves* sent his Ambassador; the like did the Duke of *Banaria*, and *L. v. r. s.* Lantzgraue of *Hesse*. Being come together, they treated of the means to free the Empire from so many dangers which seemed to threaten her ruine; sending their Letters to all the Princes, States and Imperiall Towns whom they held opposit to the Emperor; namely, to the Elector Palatine (whom they did not stile King of *Bohemia* in their superscription) to the States of *Bohemia* and incorporated Prouinces, to the Princes of the Vnion, to the States of *Austria*, to the Earles of the *Cylerania*, to them of the country of *Suenia*, to the whole Nobility of the *Rhine*, *Franconia* and *Suenia*, and to the Imperiall Towns of *Nuremberg*, *Strausbourg*, *Vlm*, *Spire* and *Wormes* (all, Estates depending vpon the Empire) and likewise vnto the States of *Hungary*: All which Letters were dated vpon the eleuenth day of March, and did wholly concerne the great troubles of *Bohemia*.

To the King of
Bohemia.

In their Letters to the Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia*, they made a relation of his acceptance of that Crown, contrary to their former admonition and expectation; whereby he had approued the Bohemians attempts against the Emperor whom they had wholly reiected. They exhorted him to consider of the great error he had committed, being the first Elector, who had neuer been wronged by the Emperor, but rather honoured; hauing chosen him with the other Electors to treat of the peace of *Bohemia*: the which charge he had accepted, and often promised to perform; being his duty to aid the Emperor, his fellow Elector, and to endeavour by all means to see peace maintained throughour all the States of the Empire, willing him to consider what prejudice might befall the Roman Empire and the neighbour Kingdomes, espe-

cially

cially that of *Bohemia*, by this reiection and the new Election, which could neuer be approued either by God or men. That his posterity thereby would receive infamy, and his family in general danger. Lastly, they exhorted him, that as a Christian Prince born of German blood, and an Elector, to consider carefully of these things, and not to giue way to these miseries, but rather apply his counsels, that the Bohemians might lay down Armes; that all Leues of Souldiers might cease; That *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, might be restored to the Emperor; That all things might be againe compounded by a friendly Peace, according to the wishes and desires of all good men; and that he, being Elector, would make it appere to the World, that he had more regard to the safety of his Country, then his own particular.

To the States
of Bohemia.

The Electors Letters, to the States of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, were to the same effect; wishing them to giue way to their wholesome admonitions; and not to giue care to those who (rather seeking a remedy for their crimes and offences in confusion) had more respect to their private profit, then to the publike good of their Country: which if they did, it was to be feared that the other States, faithfull to the Empire, by the Emperours commandement, would seeke meanes to reuenge the losse of that kingdom of *Bohemia*, and free the Empire from danger and ruine.

To the Princes
of the Union.

Their Letters to the Princes of the Vnion did import; that They did not beleue that, being Princes, they were pleased with these combustions, hoping they would not doe any thing which might encrease them, or hinder the Emperor from recovering his Realme of *Bohemia*; being bound, by the constitutions of the Empire, to assist the Emperor as souerain head of the Christian World. That it was a dangerous thing, if they allowed of this reiection, and the new Election which the Bohemians had made; That if they continued these troubles, not only *Bohemia* would be ruined, but also *Hungary* lost; and, in the end, *Germany* it self exposed to the spoile of the Barbarians; at the tyrannous discretion of the Turke. In the end, they entreated them so to employ themselves, both to the Elector Palatine and the States of *Bohemia*; that the miseries, which threatened these Realmes, Prouintes, and Frontiers of the Empire, might be diuerted; and that the complaint might not passe to their posterity, that they had beene the cause that their country had been shamefully reduced vnder the yoke of the Ottoman seruitude.

The Electors
Answer.

F. B. R. C. K. Elector Palatine, chosen King of *Bohemia*, made answer to the Electors Letters, whereby he complains that they had not giuen him the Title and qualirie of King; That the Emperor could not be iudge and partie in his owne cause; That they should forbear to counsell him any more to quitte the Realme of *Bohemia*, and that they should assure themselves he would not forget any thing to preserve the right of his vocation to the said crowne. The States of *Bohemia* made answer, That by the Letters sent (as well to their King lawfully chosen, crowned, anointed and sworne, as to them and the States of the incorporated Prouinces) appeared how diuersly the Electors and Princes assembled at *Mulhus*, had thought of the State of *Bohemia*, after so many publications made by Letters and Apologies, which iustified the equity of their cause; That they had sent threats made to their King, and them contained in the said Letters: But the question being now not only touching the preservation of their Country and Liberty, but also their Religion and Consciences; they would not resolve alone, but as all things had been formerly managed by their common consent with the incorporated Prouinces, so they would attend to send them an ample answer, with their ioynt aduice. What answer the Protestant Princes made vnto their Letter, you shall heare hereafter from the Assembly at *Vlm*.

The States an-
swer.

After that vnfortunate battaile with the Prince of *Anhalt*; the Earle of *Buquoy*, being returned to *Cremas*, the Coslaques went to their ordinary spoiling in the lower *Austria*: where, sparing neither Catholiques nor Protestants, they grew so odious to all men, that their owne fellow Souldiers, namely the Wallons, slew some of them, and carried some Captiues to *Cremas*, for the Sacrileges which they had committed. The Emperor, publishing another Edict, commanded the States of *Austria* to appeare at *Vienna* on the 8 of April, there to take the Oath of obedience; saying, that he had now obtained from the Arch-duke *A. B. R. T.*, a full cession of his right; threatening, that he would hold them for treacherous contemners, if they appeared not, and would force them to obedience. The soldiers, which had remained in *Peterania*; and could get no passage, came into the territory of *Treues*, being very troublesome to the inhabitants: and, seeking in vain to passe into the territory of *Cullen*, the Peasants armed withstood them; and though they had set some villages on fire; yet they, neglecting the fire, slew many of them, and put the rest to flight. Many which had got passage, being come to the confines of *Banaria*, fel-

The Emperor
calls the States
of Austria to
take the Oath.

1620 to a mutinie, who tearing their colours asunder, went to the Marquess of *Onoltzbach* camp, and most of the rest returned home.

The Marquess of *Durlach* commanding the Army for the Princes of the Union, went and planted his Camp betwixt *Brylac* and *Priskow*, giving notice to the neighbour States, that he had received commandment not to suffer any souldiers to passe into *Asia*. There went before in this expedition, three troupes of horse, with four peeces of ordinance, and 100 Caris full of Armes. Then followed foure troupes of Armed men foure companies of foote, with 70 Caris with Armes, and then three troupes of Horse, with 150 waggons loaden with Armes and other warlike instruments, amongst which there were some waggons with six wheeles to turne every way. Soone after, the Arch-duke *L. A. R. O. T. O.* sent to craue passage for these troupes: to whom the Marquess made answer, that it was not in him to grant, that they must goe to *Onoltzbach*, and that having obtained leave there he would not oppose.

The Christning of the Kings Sonne of *Bohemia*, was performed with great solemnity on the last of March. There were present the King himselfe, his brother, two Princes of the house of *Saxony*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earle of *Hohenlo*, with many other Noblemen. There were Deputies sent to be the Godfathers for the Duchie of *Silesia* for *BETHLIN GABOR* Prince of *Transylvania*, for the States of *Bohemia*, and for the Marquissates of *Moravia* and *Lusatia*.

On the thirtieth of Aprill, the Emperour sent out his monitorial Letters to the Elector Palatine, for that the Bohemians had chosen him their king: where after relation of the whole proceeding of these Bohemian troubles, by his absolute power and Imperiall authority he did enioin & expressely command the Elector Palatine, vpon paine of his indignation, and the rigor of iustice, and the lawes and constitutions of the sacred Empire, to lay downe Armes and cease from al Acts of hostility towards his Imperial and Royall Majesty; and by the first of Iune next coming without al delay to relinquish all pretensions and wholly to abandon the said Realme of *Bohemia*. And if after that time expired, the said Count Palatine should continue obstinate and refractarie, he was then resolved to proceede against him according to the constitutions and ordinances of the Empire. And to the end he should not haue any excuse or pretend any cause of ignorance, he sent vnto him a copie of the said Letters.

There were also three other Monitorial Letters. The first directed to the Protestant Princes and States of the Empire which did adhere to the Bohemian party; containing, that against the Edicts of the deceased Emperour *M. T. H. A. S.*, some Princes and Estates of the Empire fauoured his rebellious subjects of *Bohemia*, and assisted their new King vnlawfully chosen, with men and money; and contrariwise would not giue passage to such souldiers as he had leuiued for his iust defence, and to recouer his realm: To preuent the which he might iustly in this rebellion execute that which was ordained by the Imperial constitutions: But he preferred his clemency before rigour, admonishing them to abandon this faction, especially of the Elector Palatine their pretended head, and rather strue to maintaine the imperiall authority.

The second Letter, was to all the Colonels, Captains and Officers arwar, following the Bohemian party, enioining them to abandon it, & to return vnto their houses, vpon paine of proscrition and the losse of life and goods. And in the third, he admonished the Imperiall Townes, that hauing bin aduertised that som of them did aid his rebels of *Bohemia* and the Palatine there head, with men, monie and means, and to that end had leauied contributions vpon the inhabitants of their Towns (a iust subject for the which they had incurred the penalties of the Imperiall constitutions) preferring his clemency before his iustice, he admonished them hereafter to giue no succors nor aide in any sort whatsoever to the said Elector Palatine & Bohemians, vpon paine to incurre the said Imperiall punishments.

To this declaration or monitorial Letter of the Emperour, the Palatine chosen King of *Bohemia* made an ample answer, containing diuers points, which in breefe are these: That the Emperour hath not any right to the crowne of *Bohemia* but so farre fourth as it is a fee of the Empire. That the iudges of the Emperours court are no competent iudges in the cause of the Bohemians, neither can they determine of the right of the Princes and States of the Empire. That the Emperour cannot cause his pretensions to the crowne of *Bohemia* to be decided before his counsellors, but must seeke the iurisdiction of his aduerse partie and there demand iudgement: when as any one commence an action against the Emperour as he is Emperour the action is iudged by the Elector Palatine. The Emperour according to the constitutions of the Empire cannot denounce banishment or proscrition before the parties be first heard. The Elector Palatine as King of *Bohemia* is not bound to obey the Emperours monitorial Letters.

This

This he thought good to make knowne vnto the world, as he ought, for his necessarie defence: That he hoped that such as should know the vanity of this the Emperours Edict would not undertake the execution thereof; if he commanded any, nor imploy the charge, but rather refuse it; remembering what one owes vnto another being vnjustly oppressed in the Empire: that is, that they should repell all violence from their Provinces, and do their best endeouours to maintaine the Countrey in peace: which he required of all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire.

On the twentieth eighth of Aprill the States of *Banaria* hauing ratified the league betwene them and the Hungarians, in the presence of *T. V. R. S.* Ambassadour to Prince *BETHLIN* and the States of *Hungary*; it was propounded in council, that their King hauing a sonne of six yeares of age, he should be declared King of *Bohemia*, after the decease of his Father; the which would for euer assure the peace, preuent all troubles, and settle the State of *Bohemia*: The which the Deputies aswell of the States of *Bohemia*, as of the incorporated provinces thought expedient to be done; whereupon they made a decree which they caused to be proclaimed. Their King was so well pleased with this declaration made in fauour of his Sonne, as feasting the States the next night at supper, hee caused all the Cannon at *Prague* to be discharged in signe of ioy.

Soone after there happened a strange sedition at *Tabor* in *Bohemia*; for many thousands of Peasants being drawne together, demanded either to be discharged from souldiers, or that they should prescribe them lawes whereby they should abstaine from all force and violence to their wiues and children. Commissioners were sent from *Prague* who reduced them to their duties. They also required to be freed from all impositions, alleging that it was offered them by the Emperour, the which they verified by Letters which they produced: Moreover, that part of the Iesuits goods and others, which had bene wholly confiscated, should be appropriated vnto them. The first point of their demande was granted, and likewise the third: As for the second it was referred to another consultation: By which means they were pacified, & returned to their countrey labours; many of them enuolled themselves and became souldiers. *M. A. N. S. F. I. L. D.* seeing his troupes encreased by 2000 Hungarians, made a roade towards *Budwitz*, where he tooke great store of Cattell, and entered into the Abbey of *Guldencrone* and took the Towne of *Thien*: the Hungarians, committed great insolencies, and entreated the Monks and Churchmen very roughly.

The warre continuing in the lower *Austria*, the Earle of *Tampierre* of the Imperiall party, hearing that 5 companies of Bohemian foote and 2 of horse were lodged in *Carlshe*, he went from the Imperiall Army with 1000 horse and 1500 shot, making such speede, as entering the Towne by night, he put all to sword which he found in Armes. Some seeking to saue themselves in the Castle, he pursued them so hotly, as the bridge being drawne many casting themselves into the ditch to auoide the sword were drowned. On the other side the Bohemians encountering a great number of Cossagues seeking for spoile after their accustomed manner in *Gillelsdorf*, they charged them so furiously as there were 200 slaine vpon the place and the booty recovered.

The Wallons and Cossagues of the Emperours partie, running between the frontiets of *Hungary* and *Moravia*, surpris'd *Marcouzen*, belonging to the Baron of *Landan*, which they wholly spoiled. Soone after on the eighth of Iune, the Baron recovered it againe, and put all the Imperiall Garrison to the sword. In like manner the Morauians being aduertised that in *Sonneberg* there lodged a Conuoy of many cartes which went vnto the Imperiall Army vnder the escorte of 200 souldiers, who being so neere vnto their Army, thought themselves to be secure, they made such speede as they surpris'd the towne by breake of day, slew all which made resistance and carried the conuoy to the Bohemians Army.

The Inhabitants of the lower *Austria*, bearing the whole burthen of the warre and sustaining great losses by both parties, made the States of that Countrey to send Deputies to *Pienna*, to present a Petition vnto the Emperour, shewing their complaints against the ruiues, spoiles, burnings, murders and rapes, committed by the Wallons and Cossagues: and therein they represented the ruine of *Stocerau* which was wholly inhabited by catholikes, and did belong to his Imperiall Majesty, whereas on the fourth of May after that the Wallons & Cossagues had committed all the villanies that can be spoken, they set fire on the towne and ruined it quite. They knew well his Imperiall Majesty was not the cause of these miseries, but they besought him by the mercy of God and by the wounds of our Saviour *I. E. S. V. S. C. H. R. I. S. T.*, that taking pity of his subjects, he would be pleased hereafter to free them from souldiers, that

V V V

1620.

The State of Bohemia declares the kings son his successor after his death.

A sedition at Tabor pacified.

The Bohemians defeated Carlshe.

The Cossagues defeated.

A Conuoy of the Imperials taken.

Lower Austria complains to the Emp.

The Christning of the Kings son at Prague.

The Emperours monitorial Letters to the King of Bohemia.

To the Colonels and Captains of the Bohemian party.

The Prince Palatines answer to the monitorial Letter.

they might once againe taste of Peace and quietnesse; but the Deputies, which presented this petition, were forced to return without answer, for that they joined in league with the Bohemians, & would not take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor; whereto they had bin oft called.

The Earle of *Strum*, having leuied 500 horse in the Territories of the vniuersal Prouinces for the Bohemian party, marching through *Westphalia*, he was set vpon by the Peasants of the country, who defeated part of his Troops: yet he continued on his journey with the rest, and came into *Bohemia*. Soon after, *JOHN BARST of Saxony*, Prince of *Weimar*, hauing also leuied in the same Countiees 200 horse and 2000 foot for the Bohemians, found not any one to oppose his passage, but only the Earle of *Buchheim*, who (being not able to make head) was forced to let him passe towards *Bohemia*: where he arriued without any let, and had his Quarter next to *Egra*; where the Peasants, discontent with such guests, would haue risen.

About the same time, Colonell *CRAV*, a Scottish Knight, leuied a Regiment of 2200 foot, Voluntaries, English and Scottish, for the King of *Bohemia's* seruice. They landed at *Ham-bourg* in a manner all together, of which there were not aboue eight hundred Scots. They marched vnarmed, and, most, without Swords, through the Duke of *Lunenburg's* Countrey, where they found good visage; then they passed the River of *Elbe* into the Marquise of *Brandenburg's*, where they had very kinde entertainment, and so continued their Journey without any crosse (but by their own diuisions) vntill they came into *Lusatia*, where they receiued their Armes, and so passed into *Bohemia*.

The French-king being desired (by the Earle of *Tussembourg* the Emperors Ambassador, as we haue related, in the end of the last yeere) to giue his Maieity aide and assistance, being resolved to procure Peace, and reconcile the troubles in *Germany*, rather then to adde matter which might entertaine the warre; he made choice of the Duke of *Angoulesme*, Earle of *Emergne*, bafe son to *CHARLES* the 9, to goe into *Germany* as his extraordinary Ambassadour, accompanied with the Baron of *Bezhunes* and the Abbat of *Prenaux*; to goe aswell to the Protestant Princes and States (who are all antient Allies to the Crowne of *France*) as to the Emperour; to exhort them, first, to take some course that the said Protestant Princes and States, on the one side, and the Catholique Princes and States on the other, might not fall to warre as it was very likely; and that they might only giue succor to the Emperour, or the Bohemians, according to their affections, and that within the Realme of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, and not else-where. And, Secondly, to labor for some good reconciliation between the Emperour, and the States of *Bohemia*, and the Elector Palatine, whom they had chosen for their King.

These Ambassadors, being honorably attended with 400 horse, parted, in May, and arriued at *Vime* the sixt of Iune, wherethe Protestant Princes of the Vnion were then assembled. The French Ambassadors, comming into the Assembly, and hauing the place of precedence giuen them, the Duke of *Angoulesme* gaue them to vnderstand, that the king had commanded them to visite all in particular, and to assure them of his loue as his good friends and Allies, and to let them know, That, hearing of the contributions in in *Germany*, he was desirous (like vnto other kings his predecessors) to be a mediator in their controuersies, and to let them know, as a most iust Prince, that after he had giuen Peace to his owne subiects, he would be most glad if he might procure it to his good friends, neighbours and Allies, whom he coniuied to contribute what was necessary for their parts; considering, that if the Generall suffer by the fury of ciuill warres, whereas Religion and temporall interests haue a share, with greater reason reason priuate men shall be much oppressed: A feare which should touch you neere; seeing, that besides the miseries which are prepared for you by this present danger, the successe is most perillous and without remedy, but by reconciliation; the which vndoubtedly will come out of season if you suffer the Enemy of Christendome to make vfe of your diuisions: It is in you, my Masters, to lay open vnto vs the means of your rest and Peace: the which we will gladly embrace, as well to performe the commandement of the King our Master, as to discharge our Consciences for the generall good of all Christendome, & the particular affection we beare to all your interests.

The Princes hauing giuen thanks to the most Christian King, for his loue and affection towards them for the Peace of *Germany*; there were many propositions made, touching the grievances which they suffered, and whereof they had often complained to his Imperiall Maieity, and to the Catholique Princes, whereof they gaue instructions to the said Ambassadors, which was the subiect of a second speech, made by the Duke of *Angoulesme* on this manner: My Masters, It were superfluous to offer any new matter on his Maieities behalfe, seeing that his intentions being to good, and his assurances to certaine, there wants not any thing, but that

his good offices might be seconded with a happy encounter, for the good and quiet of all *Germany*, which must be furthered by the iust and reasonable propositions of the parties interested, and not to stand vpon such things, which only seeme to colour the pretences of warre, and to make it not only more bloody, but also lesse iust in their eyes, which, hauing no passion vnto the businesse but the generall good, might rightly condemne them: That if the King had beleueed, that, from the complaints of the vniued and correspondent Princes and States, these present troubles would haue sprung, he would not haue failed to haue carefully embraced any occasion to haue vied all good offices for remedy thereof, well remembering himselfe of the good affection and seruices which they haue done to his Crowne: Which, the more easie they may beleuee, seeing that (following the glorious actions of his Ancestors) as well in the case of *Wesell*, as that of *Gulich*, he had contributed all the power and authority he had; and ioynd it with the king of great Brittain; which had surely brought forth a profitable agreement for both parties, had not both the one and the other seemed vnwilling to make any vfe thereof: a subiect, verily, which might haue occasioned the King to slight the course of their affaires; but that his bounty and goodnesse hath herein surpassed all common sense; for that being yet willing to doe the like through all Christendome, he hath now sent vs to procure the Peace and rest of all these people which are in combustion, and whose ruine is very neere if it be not prevented. That to stand talking of grievances past, will no way provide for the cause present; and yet we will willingly receiue your memorialls, which promise to giue all your assistance therein: which, when the Emperour shall deferre, the businesse will not be decided without an Assembly of both parties, in which, each forming his complaints, it will rather be a renewing of the causes of diuision, then a re-establishment of former order: That herein there is question of a Crowne taken from off the head of a Prince who was in possession thereof; here is the ground of the businesse whereupon dependeth not only the Peace of *Germany*, but may prouue the opening of a gappe vnto the generall enemy of the Christian Faith: That the leuying of Armes by the neighbour Princes on either part, doe intend the defence of the Palatinate: That verily it would not be iust the Emperour should be Iudge in his owne cause, and invade the Palatinate, and forcibly appropriate it vnto himselfe, without any other subiect then by vertue of the Imperiall Ban, But, in this Action, we must carefully obserue by the progresse of the businesse, who shall be in fault; from whom shall proceede the first offence; and, in a word, bend the eyes of equity and not of passion vpon the first motiue of these calamities. For, although it may be alleaged that the Elector Palatine (without any practice of his) hath been chosen by the States of *Bohemia* for their King: yet it doth not follow, that, in receiuing it, the Emperour hath not a iust cause to seeke a remedy for this mischiefe which so neerely toucheth him, transferring it vpon him from whom he receiued it; seeing it depended vpon the free will of the Elector Palatine, to refuse or accept the Crowne as others had done: yea, *BATHEN GABOR* Prince of *Transiluania*, shewed himselfe more staid; seeing, that refusing the Title of King, he only admitted of that of Prince; lesse significant, but as powerfull: That for these reasons wee neede not doubt that the Emperour and all his house will sooner lose all they haue, then leaue things at this lay: That the enemies of your Peace and quiet will be very glad that the troubles of *Bohemia* happen to hazard that Crowne, whereby they may haue meanes to invade that, which is next at hand and most commodious: That the forraigne forces, whereof you make reckoning, some of them are without vigour, and the other without power; seeing that opposition in Arms will impeach the one, and the other will want meanes to entertaine those which they haue leuied: That the zeale alone which we beare to their good, according to our Kings commandement, hath giuen vs this freedome of speech, which we pray you to accept as from your most affectionate friends and well wishers, as we haue fauourably receiued what was presented vnto vs by the Elector PALATIN's Deputie: vnto whom if our Presence might be ought amicable, and the causes why we doe not visit him were removed; we should be verie glad to assure him by word of mouth, of the King his good intention, and of the good affection which in particular we all should haue, to do him seruice, as we will make knowne when occasion shall serue; assuring you that we will be euerrude to be of the like mind towards you all.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, Generall of the vniued Catholikes in *Germany*, hauing sent his Ambassador to *Vime*, they began to treat of the means how to maintaine the peace in the Empire, and that the Armes leuied by the Catholikes vniued and the Protestant Princes (whereof the Marquise of *Anspach* was Generall) should not encounter: In the end by the mediation of the French Ambassadors, after a months consultation, an accord was made, as you shall heare hereafter.

Vuu 3

There

Ambassadors
sent from the
French King
into
Germany.

Assembly of the
Protestant prin-
ces at Vime.

Their answer.

The Duke of
Bavaria Gen-
rall for the Cat-
holiques, sends
to the Assembly
at Vime.

The Marquess
of Durlach in
Armes to stop
the Catholics,

the Protestants
answers.

There had been leuied manie troupes of Horfe and Foote by the Catholike Vnion, and the commandement of the Arch-duke LEOPOLD Bishop of *Sirasbourg* and *Passau*, to the number of six or seuen thousand Foote, and one thousand five hundred horfe, in the Countreys of *Trenes*, *Mauis*, *Luxembourg*, *Alsacia*, *Lorain*, and euen in *Flanders*: But, GEORGE FRANK OF *Brandenbourg*, Marquess of *Durlach* (whose lands ly neere vnto *Sirasbourg*) as Lieutenant to the Princes of the vnion, prepared himselfe to oppose their passage which they would make at *Brissach*, betwixt *Basile* and *Sirasbourg*; and, having gathered some forces together, he went and encamped on the other side of the *Rhine*. The Arch-duke LEOPOLD, aduertised of this contradiction, sent him many Letters, but had no other answer, but that he must obtaine a passage from the Marquess of *Ansbach*, Generall for their Vnion, which obtained, he would not hinder them: So as the Arch-duke was forced to send vnto the Marquess; who, with the other *Germane* Princes (who are very warie in their resolutions) seeing that the Emperour had written vnto them, that all the souldiers should passe without doing any wrong vnto their Territories; they gaue charge vnto the Marquess of *Durlach*, to suffer them to passe, according to the constitutions of the Empire; whereupon the passage was open for their troupes, being seuen or eight thousand men, who marched speedily towards *Bavaria*.

At the same time the Princes of the Vnion, assembled at *Vime*, made answer to the Letters sent from the Electors and Princes assembled at *Mulhaus*, to this effect: That the troubles and dissensions happened in *Bohemia*, and which had spread farther, had amazed them, for the danger which might befall the whole Empire; wishing they had not happened or were pacified; That they had fore-seene these inconveniences when the Bohemians were reiected at the Election of the Emperour, and were not suffered to enter into *Frankfort*: Which, being done contrary to the law of Nations, had incensed them, and given them occasion to choose another King; That, matters being as they were, there was no remedy: they were grieved, and left the euent to God, who would call them to an account that were the cause of so many miseries; That it was a fearefull thing (as euery man might conceiue) when as in matters which concern Conscience they found no ease, and yet they would haue been glad they had applied milder remedies, to this euill, then that of Warre, being willing to haue employed themselves therein, if they had thought their labours would haue been taken in good part. To Iudge whether the reiecton or election of a new King had been done according to the laws of the Countrey, they could not doe it, being a point of too high a strain; neither would they, by their censure, preiudice the whole *Romane* Empire, leauing that businesse: yet, notwithstanding, they would preserve the authority of the Emperour, wherein their Vnion might assist him; That it had been more expedient for the Empire, if the Electors and Princes had suppressed all complaints, settled a generall peace, and reconciled the troubles of *Bohemia*; That they were doubtfull whether the threats, published against them, might bring any remedy; Finally, they did not see what might be desired more of them which directed all their actions to the glory of God, to the preservation of the Empire, and that Iustice and concord might be maintained throughout all *Germany*.

The Duke of *Bavaria*, hauing drawne his Army together, being twenty five thousand Foot and Horfe, passed the River of *Dannew* at *Odenauer*. The Marquess of *Ansbach*, Generall for the Vnion, hauing thirteene thousand Horfe and Foote, marched towards them, being fortified by some other troupes from *Virtemberg* and *Vims*: The two Armies came so neere together that they might talke one to another: In the meane time, this accord was made at *Vime*, by the mediation of the Ambassadors of *France*,

We, MAXIMILIAN Duke of *Bavaria*, Count Palatine of the *Rhine*; and We, IOACHIM EARNEST, Marquess of *Ansbach* and *Brandenbourg*, make knowne to all men, that considering the disorders, miseries and calamities which are crept into the Roman Empire and neighbour Nations by means of combustions and wars, threatening a total ruine and desolation; by means whereof, not onely the Electors, Princes, and Catholick States vnited, but also the Protestants haue taken occasion to make Leuies and prepare to warre: the which hath bred a bad intelligence betwixt them, mixt with iealousie and distrust; with this perswasion, that this raising of Forces by the Vnions, is to molest one another, and so to disturb the common peace of the Empire, and to bring it to the extremities of warre: To prevent the which, and to take away all occasions of bad intelligence, iealousie and distrust, by the mediation of the Ambassadors of the French King, they concluded these Articles following:

First, We promise for our selues in particular, and for all the Electors, Princes and States associated

sociated of both the Vnions, that not any of them (vpon any cause or pretext whatsoever) shall assay or molest by way of hostility, force and arms, the persons and territories of the other party, nor inuolute any thing concerning religion and the publike peace.

Secondly, it was agreed, that if any one vpon vrgent necessity should require free passage (giuing good and sufficient caution, according to the constitutions of the Empire) for the defense of his person and subiects, it should not be denied, provided the demand were made in time and place, and not suddenly when they are vpon the Frontiers, or entred into another mans Countrey; which would be an oppression to their subiects.

Thirdly, the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Catholick States vnited did exclude out of this Treaty the Kingdom of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, and did onely comprehend the principalities, lands; countries and seigniories belonging to the Electors, Princes, and States of both Vnions; yea, the Palatinate and other lands adiacent and annexed by successiue right, in regard of the good intelligence and correspondency which was between the said Palatinate and the other principalities (the continuance whereof is in a manner assured): and the said Treaty shall not extend further, or haue any other interpretation.

And We, IOACHIM EARNEST Marquess of *Ansbach*, with the Electors, Princes and States vnited, refferre our selues wholly to the declaration which the Electors, Princes, and Catholick States haue made, as also to the exception of the Realm of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, not meaning to comprehend them in this Treaty, leauing those affairs to their ordinary course.

Fourthly, it is agreed, that in regard of the shortnes of time, and the absence of the greatest and foundest part of the States of the Empire, both Catholiques and Protestants, they shall deferre the restitution and compensation of losses and oppressions hapned by reason of Leuies of souldiers, to a more conuenient time.

After this accord, the French Ambassadors with their whole train embarked vpon the *Dannew* the six of Iuly, and arrived at *Vienna* the twentieth; where they found a hundred caroches attending them, euery one hauing six horses, which conducted them to their lodgings. As for their audience with the Emperour, their stay at *Vienna*, their mediation to accommodate the affairs of *Hungary* with *BETHLIN GABOR*, it belongs to the following History.

In the beginning of Iune and during the assembly at *Vime* formerly spoken of, diuers reports went throughout all *Germany* of the preparation of 2 royall Armies to be leuied in *Flanders*: the one vnder the leading of Marquess SPINOLA consisting of 30000 men for the conquest of the Palatinate; the other of 12000 foote and 3000 horfe vnder the conduct of Don LOUIS DE VALESIO to oppose the Prince of *Orange* and the States of *Holland*, in case they should undertake any thing in SPINOLA'S absence vpon those places which the Spaniard holds in *Cleueland* or vpon the Archbishoprick of *Cullen*.

Vpon report of the diligence which SPINOLA made to compose his Army for to goe into the Palatinate, the two Armies wee formerly said were encamped neere vnto one another vpon the other side of the *Dannew*, to wit, that of the Duke of *Bavaria* which was of 25000 at *Vending*; and the other of the Correspondent Princes led by the Marquess of *Ansbach* consisting of 15000 at *Langenau* neere *Vime*, raised their Camps: and turning taile one vpon another, the Duke of *Bavaria* marched along the *Dannew* into *Austria*: and the Marquess of *Ansbach* aduanced to get the *Rhine*, to the end he might come into the Palatinate to defend it if it were inuaded. What followed you shall here hear after.

The Emperour hauing receiued great forces both of horfe and foote which had been leuied in *Croatia*, *Syria* and *Carinhia*, with those which were sent him from *Italy*; and the Duke of *Bavaria* approaching the frontiers of vpper *Austria*, desiring (before he would vse extremities against the Protestants of *Austria*) to know whether they would persist in their rebellion, he sent them his monitoriall Letters, importing, That the Protestants of the lower *Austria* hauing confirmed the League with the Bohemians (which was contrarie to all diuine and humane lawes and the constitutions of the Empire) against him and the Princes of his howse, there was no reason he should make any fauourable answer, to their petitions, if they did not first desert from the said league with the Bohemians, and acknowledge it by some loyall action. Wherefore his Imperiall Maiesty desired that without any further delay, the Catholick States should come to *Vienna*, and the Protestants send their Deputies, to witness vnto him by a publike Act that they renounced the confederation and League of the Bohemians: This done, he would answer their petition to their contentment.

Souldiers come
to the Emperours
seruice into *Austria*.

1620
Protestants
the lower
Austria
the con-
cession of the
Bohemians.

Then the lower Austrians seeing no colour of vying any more delays, perceiving the forces of the Emperour ready to execute his will vpon them, both the one and the other sent their Deputies to Vienna. The Protestants presented vnto his Imperiall Maieity, their Act of renunciation of association with the Bohemians, and besought him to giue them equality with the Catholics and free exercise of religion throughout all Austria.

Upon this supplication they had answer, that they ought not to doubt, but that his Imperiall Maieity would be a father vnto his faithfull and loyall States, and that he would spend his life to preserve and maintaine them in peace one with another; And as for what concerned the free exercise of the confession of *Ambourg* in Austria, he gaue them his word it should be observed as it had been in the time of the deceased Emperour MATTHIAS his predecessor.

Having received this answer, the States of the lower Austria, both Catholics and Protestants which were at Vienna, staied there to take the hereditary oath vnto the Emperour as Archduke of Austria. As for the vpper Austria, the Protestant States were assembled at *Linz* to oppose themselves against the Duke of *Bavaria*: who before he would undertake anything against them, sent a Commissary to let them vnderstand that hee was advanced with his Army by the Emperours commandment to reduce them to their obedience, requiring them to renounce the League they had made with the Bohemians, and to take the hereditary oath of allegiance, giuing them only five daies to resolve. In the meane time he sent *HASLUND* the chiefe Captaine of his guards with 1500 horse and a regiment of foote into the vpper Austria: where hauing defeated 300 souldiers and many Peasants neer to the castle of *Hagen*, he burnt the village where they were fortified: the Castle yeelded by composition.

The Castle of *Starnberg* was also summoned, and the Captain threatned to be hanged if hee yeelded not presently: wherewith being terrified, he gaue vp the place; and so did many other Castles and Churches whither the Protestants had retired themselves.

At the same time, *ERNEST LEVVS* Duke of *Saxony*, of the house of *Lauenburg*, going down the *Dannew* by boat, hauing landed at *Aschar* foure miles from *Linz*, and telling certain peasants that they should shortly haue other guests, they fell violently vpon him, and murdered him.

The Protestant States of the vpper Austria, assembled at *Linz*, sent to Count *MANSFELD* Marshall of the Bohemian Army, to intreat him to come thither in respect of the danger they feared, in regard the Duke of *Bavaria* was so neer them with his Army. To whom he made answer, that being so weak of men, he could not aid them; but that daily he expected greater forces, and then he would most willingly come vnto them: whereof he aduertised the King of *Bohemia*, giuing him aduice what was to be done for the fortifying of the Country; but his aduice was not followed, there being enuy and ialousies between the Commanders of the Bohemian Army. In the meane time, the Austrians fearing no hope of relief, and that their ruine was apparant if they made any shew of resistance against the Duke of *Bavaria's* great forces, that they had no expert Commanders, and that their confederates of *Bohemia* would not bee able to releue them; they sent their Deputies to the Duke of *Bavaria* to craue pardon, and to intercede for them to the Emperour, that they might be intreated liketo those of the lower Austria, and that they would renounce their confederation with the Bohemians. Answer was made them, that they should return to *Linz*, abandon the Castle, dismishe their souldiers, and that euerie man should retire to his house.

They of *Linz* hecrupon hauing taken vp the chains which crosse the riuer of *Dannew*, they not onely opened the passage, but exhorted all the people not to resist the Duke of *Bavaria*, lest they should cast oil into the fire. Thus, the Duke of *Bavaria*, hauing taken the chiefe Forts and Towns which the Protestants held, seized vpon all the passages, and defeated about eight hundred men which would haue ioyned with the States troups: he entred *Linz* with his Army the fourth of August, where the States excused themselves aswell as they could, promised to yeeld obedience, and took the oath of allegiance.

Meane while, the Bohemian Army lay at *Thym*, where they framed their camp and spent all the month of August vnprofitable: during which staie the souldiers grew discontented for their pay, and Count *MANSFELD* much more, both for the vaine promises he had receiued from the directors and officers at *Prague*, whereby he had beene disappointed of meanes to effect his designs, and disabled to doe any seruice for the crowne of *Bohemia* in time to come, as also for an affront he had receiued in Austria, which was after this manner: The Barron of *Felz* Marshall of the Army hauing beene slaine (as you haue formerly heard) Count *MANS-*

FIELD

1620

FELD, General of the Artillery, pretended the place due to him by the order of war: whereupon, he wrote to his Maieity, to the Officers, and to the Prince of *Anhalt* Lord General for the same; the which was granted him, and he executed the place of Marshall of the Camp at *Egenbourg*, during the space of two or three weeks, without any contradiction.

Soon after, the General, coming one day to visit him, could him, that in truth he had been made Marshall of the Bohemian Army; but as touching the office of Marshall of the royall army, it was refused for the Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Hollock*: whereupon, complaining of that wrong, he grew so discontent, that he desired the Prince to giue him leave to depart, and to withdraw himself elsewhere; the which he could not then obtain. Shortly after, the Prince of *Anhalt* came again to visit him, perswading him to rest satisfied with that office limited as aforesaid, and to suffer Count *HONNLO* to execute the charge of Marshall of the Army Royall: the which he wholly refused; saying, that if hee were but Marshall of the Bohemian Army, hee would go thither, and obey Count *HONNLO* as Lieutenant General: and for that there were many braue Commanders in the Army, there was no great need of him; beseeching thus the Prince again to doo him the fauour as to giue him leave to depart: which he did. Count *MANSFELD*, being much altered with these discontents, and still oppressed with enuy, resolved to retire himself. To this end he wrote to the King and the States; who made him a gracious answer, perswading him to continue their friend, and not to abandon them in so dangerous a time: yet after much importunity, and many messages sent by him, in the end they decreed, that he should presently receiue two months pay for his souldiers, who should be intreated like to those of the Royall Army; that he should execute his office of Lord Marshall as the Baron of *Felz* had done, and not attend the command of any other than the Lord General: whereupon he resolved to continue in his Maieities seruice till the end of October. So matters rested yet his malicious enemies laid a foule aspersiion vpon him, that hee meant to turn his coat and serue the Emperour; the which was generally bruited, and supported in Court: but the King would neuer harbour it in his thought, but still perswaded the Lord Marshall not to respect such malicious reports, assuring him of his royall fauour. I haue been bould to make this little digression, to shew what ielousie and diuision was among the Commanders of the Bohemian Army; which no doubt was very preiudiciall to the Kings affairs and to the State.

We haue formerly made mention, that at the truce made between the Emperour and Prince *BATHLIN*, it was concluded, that an Assembly of the States of *Hungary* should bee held at *Nebenhsal*, to treat of the means how to reconcile the dissensions betwixt his Imperiall Maieity and the States. It began in July; whereas Prince *BATHLIN* propounded the Articles following: that *HE BATHLIN GABOR*, Prince of *Hungary* and *Transilvania*, desired nothing more than to settle a peace in the troubled estate of *Hungary*, and the liberty of religion: and to shew that he desired nothing but peace, he had refused the Crown which had been presented to him; that the ground of a peace was to ratifie the league with the Bohemians; that the truce made with the Emperour, and that which should be treated of in that present Assembly, might help much to a peace; that during the truce he had iustly assisted the confederates, seeing that the Emperour had refused them a truce at their request. As for the resolutions they were to take with the Emperours Ambassadors, he desired the States to aduise speedily; that he had alwaies desired peace, but sincere and without fraud; that to obtain it, he was com to assist his confederates miserably oppressed and afflicted; that the Emperour desired not peace but warre, the which appeared by many signes; yea, for that his souldiers the *Cossagues* had entred into *Hungary*, and ruined diuers places with fire and sword:

That the Emperour hauing stopped and denied all passage to the Deputies of *Bohemia* and *Austria*, they ought not to treat of any peace with him, but of warre; that they should aduise by what means they might conveniently begin it and continue it; how to finde money, which is the sinewes of warre, to repair the Frontiers, and furnish them with things necessary; to send Ambassadors to the Turk, lest that the States being employed elsewhere, they might receiue some losse and preiudice that way; that it being lawful for the States according to the lawes to punish their bad affected Country-men who had done great harm to the confederates, they should do iustice.

The Emperour sent Ambassadors to this Assembly. They demanded to haue the league, made between the Bohemians and their new chosen King with the States of *Hungary* and the Prince *BATHLIN*, broken: but it was in vain. The Ambassadors of *France* which were at Vienna, sent also Letters to this Assembly, making offer of their endeavour to reconcile the differences between

A general As-
sembly of the
States of Hun-
gary.

Propositions
made to the
States of Hun-
gary by Bath-
Gabor.

Submission of
the Protestants
of the vpper
Austria assem-
bled at Linz.

Linz yeelded
to the Duke of
Bavaria.

Discontentment
of Count
Mansfield &
his troups.

1620
The assembly
refuses to be
given warre
against the emp.

between the Emperor and them, But Prince *BATHLIN* made answer, that there was no appearance of speaking of peace, seeing that his Imperial Majesty having so great forces on foote, would employ them whilst they entertained them with an accord. It was therefore concluded in this assembly, at the request of the Ambassadors of *Bohemia*, that they should send 1000 Hungarians to succour the Bohemians against so many Armies as were falling upon their Country, the which was speedily put in execution: That there should be no continuance of Truce with the Emperour; the which being ended, they should beginne warre in *Austria* against the Imperials, to duert the Army marching into *Bohemia*; and that *BATHLIN* changing the name of Prince of *Hungary* which he had assumed in the beginning, should take that of King and be crowned at *Presbourg* in October. It is written, that the Turkes Ambassadors assured the assembly that the Sultan would give consent to this coronation; but the chiefe Noblemen of *Hungary* Catholikes opposed themselves, and continued constant to the Emperour.

The Bohemians, seeing *Austria* wholly reduced vnder the Emperours obedience, thought that the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Earle of *Buquoy* joining their forces, and making an Armie of 50000 men, would enter into *Bohemia*: They sawe that the succours which they expected arced from the united Princes of *Germany*, would be duerted to defend the Palatinate against *Spinola's* Army: that all their Forces were but 20000 men (besides 10000 Hungarians which came to their aide) commanded by *CHRISTIAN*, Prince of *Anhalt*, Generall of their Armie, in the which there were many Noble-men, but few good Commanders. Yet notwithstanding they were of opinion that with these forces they should be able to hinder the Imperiall Armie from performing any great matter, if they did furnish their Frontire Townes with men, monie and munition, to staie them at some Seege, which is commonly the ruine of great Armies: whereupon they commanded Count *MANSFELD* to march with all his Forces to assure the Frontiers of *Bohemia* against the Duke of *Bavaria*, assuring him that all the Countrie was in Armes, and that great numbers of horse and foote were commanded to ioine with him, neere to *GLAS* and *TANX*; but marching thither with his Troupes, he found not anie; and complaining vnto the Officers, they made an excuse that they had been countermanded and imployed in other places against *DON BALTHAZAR's* forces. *MANSFELD* being disappointed of succours & followed close by the enemy, fearing they should take the way of *Pilsen* before him, he resolved to retire thither, which he did in the end of September. He found the Towne full of wants, the fortifications little advanced, few labourers, and no money to supplie all; wherewith he presently acquainted the officers & with the danger if they were not speedily supplied; he requested them to send him some munition, whereby he might be enabled to hold out a siege, and money to satisfie the officer and souldier, who being already discontented, it was to be feared they might fall into a mutinie, to the great prejudice of the place and cause. To these Letters he had a faire answer, but no effects. In the meane time Count *MANSFELD* fortified the Towne all he could, drawing in what provision he might. The enemy was not idle but grew daily stronger, taking *Podnari*, *Prachadus*, *Winterberg*, and *Pilsch* with great effusion of blood: after which, *Scottenhofen*, *TANX*, and *GLAS* yielded by composition.

The Elector of *Saxony*, who made great preparation to Armes, did much perplex the Bohemians; for being assailed by him upon the North side, when as the Imperials should enter upon the South, they should then be shut vp betwixt them. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to the said Elector, with particular instructions, to induce the Estates of his Countrie to duert him from attempting anie thing in fauour of the Emperour, from whom he had received Letters for the execution of the proscription against them, giving him authority to doe what he should thinke fit; to take Townes, punish rebels, and pardon those which should returne to their duties and take the oath due to his Majesty, and not to forget any thing for the recovery of the Realme, and settling all in peace. The Ambassadors of *Bohemia* being at *Dresda* with the Elector, they entreated his highnes to give their King and the States of *Bohemia* that contentment as to declare vnto them his intention, touching the Letters of execution sent vnto him from the Emperour, and whether he desired not to remaine Newer as hee had hitherto done. The Elector made a long repetition vnto them of the progresse of these troubles; concluding in the end, that he had accepted of this commission in regarde of his duty: hoping that it might be executed without force or hostile attempts, if they would shew themselves disposed vnto peace rather then to warre; That his onely aime was to maintaine peace, true religion, the priuiledges of the Realme, and the Imperiall and Royall authority: That if the Protestants amongst them had the like affection, it was the meanes to attaine vnto that end; That the Protestants

The Bohemians
send Ambassadors
to the Elector
of Saxony.

The Duke of
Saxony answers
to the Bohemians.

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stants of high *Austria* had lately made proof thereof; who, accepting of the Emperours pardon, had by the same means obtained the exercise of true religion, with all their priuiledges and immunities, and freed themselves from a thousand miseries which follow warre. But if they did persist in their resolution, and continued the war (which he could not hinder) yet they should alwaies remember his faithfull aduice: and if affairs succeeded otherwise than they expected, he was to be excused, having shewed himself as well affected to their good as to that of his own subiects.

Marquesse *SPINOLA* having leuied a goodly Army in the Arch-dukes Territories vnder the Emperours commission, but with the King of *Spain's* mony, it bred a ieaousie in all the Princes of *Germany*, that it was to inuade the palatinate, & such princes as did assist him. The K. of great *Brittaine*, although he would not meddle with the affairs of *Bohemia* yet alwaies careful to preserve his daughters dowry in the Palatinate, and the inheritance of her children who had neuer offended, sent an Ambassador expressly to the Arch-duke being at *Brussels*, to bee informed of the subiect of this great preparation: to whom answer was made, that these forces were leuied in the name of the King of *Spain*, and that he might learn the cause from Marquesse *SPINOLA*, who, being demanded, made answer, that in the Letter which he had received from *Spain*, hee had found the Commission, but might not open it till he came to the place of Arms; wherfore if it pleased him to be there, he would impart it to him.

In the meane time, on the eighth of August, he took his leaue of the Arch-dukes, and on the seauenteenth came to *Aix la Chapelle*, where he attended his munition and carriages coming from *Antwerp*, consisting of 350 wagons loaden with powder, bullets, boats to make bridges, and all other munition of warre. He had forty cannons that came from *Macklin*, all with the Emperours Arms prepared for this Army; ouens of brasce, and milles vpon wagons sufficient to make bread for 20000 men in foure and twenty houres. All things being ready, he parted from *Aix* the one and twentieth of August towards *Confluence*; where he mustered his whole Army, being six and twenty thousand foot and foure thousand horse. Then hee opened his Commission, wherewith he acquainted the English Ambassador; which contained a declaration to make warre against all those which should be confederate and allied to the Bohemians, rebels to his Imperiall Majesty. Having giuen his souldiers two months pay, hee past the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of boats at *Saint Sebastians*: the which being presently taken vp again, coming to the head of the Army, he made an Oration to the Captains and souldiers, exhorting them to carry themselves valiantly; this warre being for the defense of the Catholique faith and house of *Austria*: whereupon, they all cried out, God saue the house of *Austria*, and discharged their muskets.

From *Saint Sebastians*, neere to *Confluence*, he wrote particular Letters to *MAYRICH Lantzgrau* of *Hesse*, and to some other Princes of the Vnion, aduertising them of his going into the Palatinate, and that they should assist the Emperour in his iust cause, or remaine Neuters: In doing so, they nor their subiects should receiue any harme from his Armie: After which, hee marched towards *Frankfort*. The Princes of the Vnion (who attended him in the Palatinate vpon this side the *Rhine*, with an Army of twenty two thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse) hearing that he had passed the *Rhine* at *Confluence*, thought that he had a designe vpon *Frankfort* and the Palatinate beyond the *Rhine*; which made them to turne the head of their Army in all haste to passe the river of *Rhine*, vpon a bridge of boats at *Oppenheim*; which Towne *SPINOLA* took loone after (the Princes being marched towards *Wormes*, fearing it should be besieged) being yielded by 800 men there ingarrison, who departed without Arms. There was found store of Munition, Wine, Graine, and other commodities, sufficient for the Army for half a yeere; with much moueables, Tents, Pauillions, and other Implements. This Towne of *Oppenheim*, is a very easie passage vpon the River of *Rhine*, for entraunce into the vpper Palatinate.

Whilst that *SPINOLA* busied himselfe to fortifie *Oppenheim*, he sent forth his Commanders with Troupes, like Harbengers with Chalke in their hands, to marke out his lodgings, as if he had feared no Enemy. *DON CARLO de Colonia*, Gouvernour of *Mastrie*, and now Ambassador in *England*, went to *Circuise*, which yielded by composition. *DON GONZALEZ de Cordus*, seized vpon *Canb*, *Bacrae*, and the Castle of *Pelst*; and towards the River of *Mozelle*, *DON IANES MESSIA*, also, with his Regiment of Spaniards, tooke *Turbach* and other places of importance: In these places, so taken, they put in Garrison some six thousand men: which the Arch-duke *ALBERT* vnderstanding, and desiring that thereby the Army might not be diminished,

Marquesse Spinola
marcels towards the palatinate.

his commission.

He writes to some Princes of the Vnion.

He takes towns in the palatinate

1620 nished, he sent a supply of 6000 vnder the leading of Mounſieur de la Motte Gouverneur of *Maſſie*.

ſir Horatio Vere ſent to the Palatinate with Engliſh Forces.

Our King's Maieſty, being aſſured that *SPINOLA* meant to invade the Palatinate, and deſirous to preſerve the inheritance of his grandchildren if it were poſſible, ſuſtained a regiment of 2100 Voluntaryes to be leuiſed vnder the command of that worthy Knight Sir *HORATIO VERR* their Generall for the Palatinate; being followed by two honourable perſons, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Esſex* with priuate commands, and diuerſe gallant Knights and Gentlemen.

Theſe Troops paſt into *Holland*; where hauing receiued their apparell and Armes, they marched vpon the *Rhine* till they came right againſt *Weſel*; whereas the Prince of *Orange* encamped with his Army, not far from *Don Luyſe de Velasco*, who lay about *Weſel* with 12000 foot and 3000 horſe, obſeruing one anothers actions. The Prince, doubting that the paſſage of *Lippe* would not be very ſafe for thoſe Troops which ſhould go into the Palatinate, cauſed a bridge of boats to be made ouer the *Rhine* right againſt his Camp; where the Engliſh paſt over with Count *HENRY* of *Naffaw*, who (as ſome aſſure) had 1500 horſe and ſixe hundred foot. After which, the Prince of *Orange* paſſed into an Iſland lying between *Cullen* and *Bone*; where hee built a Fort called *Pſaffen-muiz*, which might haue the command of the riuer, and annoy thoſe Towns.

SPINOLA, hearing that Count *HENRY* and Sir *HORATIO VERR* marched with their Troops, had a deſire to encounter them and cut them off in their paſſage (and for that intent he paſſed the *Rhine* with 9000 foot and 3000 horſe) and likewiſe to ſee, whether they of *Frankfort* would giue them paſſage through their Town, contrary to their promiſe; but he was deceiued in his expectation, by reaſon of their ſpeedy march (going ſome times twenty miles a day and more) and taking their way about *Frankfort* by the County of *Hannau*; and ſo they drew neer to *Wormes*, where they paſſed the riuer, and in the end ioyned with the Princes of the Vnion.

The day after the coming of the Engliſh and Prince *HENRY* to the Army of the Vnion, there was great expectation of a battell, for that Marqueſſe *SPINOLA* had drawn his Army out of his ſtrength, and could not well retire to his trenches without fighting; for that the Princes Army lay ſo neer them. The Commanders therefore reſolued to giue him battell: whereupon the whole Army was put in order, the foreward being giuen to Sir *HORATIO VERR* with his Engliſh Troops, being ſeconded by Count *HENRY* with his horſe. Euery ſouldier prepared himſelf to fight with great reſolution, the Engliſh being encourag'd by their preacher, who told them the cauſe was juſt, they fought for God and religion, for the honour of their Country, and to maintain the right of their Soueraign's daughter and her children. His ſpeech ſo inflamed the reſolute ſouldiers, that they caſt vp their caps for ioy, attending but the ſignall for battell; but their courages were ſoon danted: for, the Marqueſſe of *Ansbach*, the Generall (inſtead of crying To Arms) cauſed a retreat to be ſounded; whereby the enemy had occaſion to recover his trenches, to the generall grief of the Engliſh. He pretended this reaſon, That the day was too far ſpent: but, by the opinion of ſuch as were there, they loſt a fair advantage, and almoſt the hope of an aſſured victory; their Army being far greater than *SPINOLA*'s, his forces being diuided. This retreat much blemiſhed the reputation of the Marqueſſe: of whom men ſpoke diuerſly, ſome tearing him a coward, others ſaying he was corrupted, and had betrayed the Army: but, doubtleſs, it much hindred the Palatinate's affaires, and gaue the enemy means to aduance his conqueſts; the Army of the Vnion retiring to *Wormes*, where they were incamped: but ſoon after, it being winter, and the German heat abated, their army was garriſoned.

Prince *BATHUR*, poſſeſſing *Preſbourg*, and willing to bring the war on this ſide of the riuer *Dannew* towards *Vienna*, had cauſed a bridge of boats to be made there, with a Fort at the end thereof: vpon which hauing paſt his Army, conſiſting of 10000 men, and his cannon, he went and beſieged *Hainburg*, but the intelligence which he had with the townſmen being diſcouered, he planted his batteries to win it by force: but, after a breach made, and foure aſſaults giuen, with the loſſe of a thouſand Hungarians, he raiſed his ſiege, and retired to *Viſburg*.

When the Imperials perceived Prince *BATHUR*'s purpoſe to bring the war neer *Vienna*, for that he had paſſed the *Dannew*, there was a goodly enterpriſe propounded in the Emperors Councell (if it had happily ſucceeded) to go and break the bridge of boats at *Preſbourg*; and whilſt Prince *BATHUR* was on this ſide of the *Dannew* (where he had no Town of retreat, or means ſpeedily to repaſſe it if this bridge were broken) to force the Caſtle and Towne of *Preſbourg*; The Earl of *Dampierre* propounded this exploit ſo eaſily to be effected, that the execution

1620 cution thereof was committed to him, though many held it a dangerous attempt: but he, hauing a great ſpirit thiſting after fame, and iudging this would be a good means to reduce all *Hungary* to the Emperors obedience by attempting onely this hazard, could by no means bee diſſwaded.

The execution of this enterpriſe being then reſolued, the Troops of *ANHALT*, leuiſed in the Country of *Truenis* in the Spring, were embarked about *Vienna* at *Griſenſtein* and *Cornelburg*, together with thoſe Troops which were alwaies attending the ſaid Earl, which were compoſed of French, Walloons and other Nations. Foure Coluerings, twelue Petards, powder, wilde fire, and other neceſſary munitions were embarked at *Vienna*; ſo as his Army was held to bee eight thouſand foot, forty ſhippes and boats, and two thouſand horſe, which came through the lower *Auſtria*: neither could the extremitie of the weather on the riuer of *Dannew*, nor the ſinking of three boats laden with men and munition, loſt vnder the bridge of *Vienna*, feare him from this enterpriſe.

Thoſe which were embarked about *Vienna* being come thither the 8 of October, *TAMPIERRE* ſet ſail to go to *Preſbourg*. When they were come beneath *Hainburg*, one of his boats wherein there were 200 muſketiers was ſunk: and thinking to arrive by break of day within two miles of *Preſbourg* to put himſelf on ſhore, it was nine of the clock before he had landed all his troops. At his fiſt approach he ſeized vpon the ſuburbs, forced the Fort built vpon the riuer of *Dannew*, and brake the bridge of boats. All which ſucceeding well, he reſolued to attempt the Caſtle by Petard; conceiuing that if it might be taken, the towne could not long hold out. But being aduanced before the Countercarſe with ſixtie muſketiers and one of his Colonells called *ESPAGNE*, the Morauians which were within diſcouering him, ſhotte vpon him without intermiſſion: eight of his men were ſlaine neere vnto him, and a muſket ſhot carried his hat from his head. Heerupon they told him, that he was knowne and leuelled at from a certaine loop-hole, which cauſed him to retire: but as he went off he was ſhot into the reines of the back; and being led away by two of his ſouldiers, one of them was ſlain, and the Earl ſhot into the right ſide, which ſlue him out-right: whereupon, his Troops, growing amazed, retired with more conſuſion than good ſpeed; which thoſe of *Preſbourg* perceiving, the Hungarians iſſued out and ſlue a hundred or fixſcore of the hindmoſt of them: from whom they recovered the Earls body.

Prince *BATHUR* being come again before *Hainburg*, and hauing won the ſame, hee appointed this place for the French Ambaſſadors to meet at; who had ſent vnto him to knowe if he would vſe their help for the pacifying of the troubles. And knowing that they parted the ſixt of October to repair vnto him, he ſent them a conuoy of foure hundred horſe: which being deſcated and put to flight between that place and *Vienna* by the Imperialiſts, he forbore not for all that to ſend forth another conuoy ſomewhat ſtronger than the former, and to receiue and entertaine them two miles ſhort of *Hainburg*, by two hundred Gentlemen attired in cloth of gould, and with many precious iewels; who preſented them with the Princes carriages, in the which they were conducted with no leſſe than an hundred torches forgh on to their lodgings.

On the morrow, the day of their Audience, they were with magnificence led vnto the Caſtle through all the ſouldiers of the guard clothed in blew, and found the Prince in the Hall of the caſtle accompanied with 200 Gentlemen apparelled after the Turkiſh faſhion with long robes of velvet and cloath of gold lined with ſables; who after their reception conducted them vnto his Cabinet: what paſſed in this fiſt audience, and in a ſecond afterwards, is not knowne. A few daies after they returned vnto *Vienna*; where they endeauoured themſelues by all means to reconcile and bring to an end thoſe cruell warres, not onely with Prince *BATHUR* and the Hungarians, but alſo with the Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*: and to that end they ſent one to *Prague* (who had bene alwaies Agent for France in the Palatines court at *Heidelberg*) before he had accepted the crowne of *Bohemia* to treat with Sir *Richard Weſton*, and Sir *Edward Conway*, now Counſellors of State (who were ſent Ambaſſadors from his Maieſtie vnto his Sonne in law, and had charge to employ themſelues ſeriouſly for the pacifying of thoſe troubles) touching theſe alterations, and to vnderſtand from them what courſe they would take for the attaining vnto a peace. But the battaile being loſt within few daies after by the king of *Bohemia*, it changed the face of all thoſe good intentions to treat of peace.

Whilſt they ſtaied yet at *Hainburg*, this Prince ſent for the body of the Earle of *Tampierre* from *Preſbourg*, and cauſed it to bee very honourably interred. The Baron de *Prenen*,

The Army of the Princes prepares to fight with Spinola.

Tampierre slain by two muskets shot.

Hainburg recovered by Bathur.

French Ambassadors magnificently received at Hainburg.

1620.

The Elector of
Saxony writes
to Lufatia, to
renew the Em-
peror's Ban.

taking his charge, assembled 6000 foot of his routed Army, and all the horse; with which hee staid the courtes of the Hungarians and Transilvanians, which made their incursions even to the gates of *Vienna*. Let vs now observe what pass in the other places, and what in the mean time the Elector of *Saxony* doth in *Lufatia*, and the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Earle *BVCQVOY* in *Bohemia*.

The Elector of *Saxony*, having composed his Army of 20000 men with great store of cannon and munition for war, to begin the execution of the Imperiall Ban in *Lufatia*, he sent to the States of that Province *IACVBS GRYNTHALL*, one of his Counsellors, to publish an assembly of the States of that Province in the Town of *Bausen* on the seuenth of September, old stile, that he might communicate to the Emperors commission.

Whereof *FREDRICK* Elector Palatine being aduertised; as king of *Bohemia* and Marquesse of *Lufatia*, he sent to forbid *ADOLPH* of *Gerfsdorf*, Gouverneur of the province, to make any such conuocation. And withall gaue Commission to the Marquesse of *Jagerndorf* of *Brandebourge*, to enter into *Lufatia* with 6000 men to rescue it against the forces of the duke of *Saxony*; which hee executed with such diligence, as he was sooner at the gates of *Bausen* then they had any newes of his coming: where being entered, hee seized vpon *ADOLPH* of *Gerfsdorf* and *GRYNTHALL* with *AVGVSTIN SCHMID*, Agent for his Imperiall Maiesty; and some other Deputies which were already come to *Bausen*. This done and having left 2000 men in garrison at *Bausen*, and a new Gouverneur, he went to *Gorlitz* where he did the like and in other places of this Province. Which the Elector of *Saxony* vnderstanding, he enters into *Lufatia* with his Army, and layeth siege to *Bausen*, where he was 3 weekes before it: and then taking it by force at the fift assault, he caused 40 of the principall rebels to be hangd. Thus was *Lufatia* reduced, and the Marquesse of *Jagerndorf* constrained to withdraw himself into *Silefia*, having attempted in vaine to releue the Towne.

The Duke of *Bavaria* after his taking of *Liniz* as is aforesaid, having no more to do in *Austria*, and his Imperiall Maiesty being also desirous that the 2 Armies, that is to say, his own which the Earle of *Bucquoy* conducted, and was then vpon the frontiers of *Austria* & *Moravia*, and the D. of *Bavaria*'s might ioin together, to enter into *Bohemia* and march towards *Prague*: He turned about the head of his Armie towards *Smethall* and went and ioined it with the Earle of *Bucquoy*.

Before he enters into *Bohemia*, hee sent the Emperors Letters-patents to the States; and by his owne he exhorts them to accept of the grace offered to them, to appear before him, to satisfie his Imperiall Maiesties Commandement; to provide better for their Kingdome, to receive their lawfull King to liberrall and benigne; and to prevent greater miseries, if they loued their owne good.

To these letters the States of *Bohemia* made answer the 30. of August, sending back th'originall of the Emperors Letters patents; Letting him vnderstand, that they would defend their party, to the hazard of their goods and liues: That they committed to God th'event, and did yet notwithstanding hope, that he whom they neuer had offended, but euer reputed as a friend, and a worthy and prudent Prince of the Empire, would not suffer himselfe to be perswaded to vse anie act of hostility against them and their Kingdome.

The Bohemians, seeing their Army nothing equal to the Emperors and the Duke of *Bavaria*'s being ioined, they cause it to return out of *Austria* into *Bohemia*, to vnite all their forces with the 20000 Hungarians which Prince *BATHILIN* had sent to their succours. The Prince of *Anhalt* in his retreat put garrisons into all places, and augmented those which were weak, that they might make some opposition against the Imperialists: but their Armies being thus ioined, those which made anie resistance found but bad vantage.

For after the taking of *Horne*, they made so happie a progresse in *Bohemia*, that the Towne of *Forsfontz* having been succoured by them (which the Prince of *Anhalt* in his retreat would have forced) all the places between it and *Bardvitz* were reduced to the obedience of the Imperiall Maiesty. The 25 of September they encamped before *Budna*, which they constrained to yeeld, having for a space held out with great resolution: From hence the Earle of *Bucquoy* went and assailed *Prorahitz*, which he tooke by force, as also *Pissa* which sawe both the Armies before her gates; and in the end being also forced, they held on their course to *Prague*, and in the way recovered the towns of *Risemberg*, *Salletshofen*, and the fort of *Walera* which *MANSFELD* formerly held, with *Stratowitz*, *Glasau*, *Chiffenbotten*, *Gratzien*, *Schmiffing*, *Witterberg*, *Mahren* and *Grimbach*, all places of Note, to assure their passage towards *Prague*, from whence both Armies were but two daies iourney. About the 10. of Octob. the Emperors army with the Bauarians, began

1620.

Count
BVCQVOY
to court
Mansfeld;
from Aug. 15
to Sept. 15

began to shew themselves before *Pilsen*, and very near the Town. Their owne works were not yet defensible, neither had they forces sufficient to man them; besides many other discouragements which often happen where many wants: so as if the enemy at that *Lusatia* had attempted, the place with his great forces, he had vndoubtedly carried it; or putte it to great, *CHURCHMAN* *MANSFELD* intermitted no time to fortifie his works, and borrowed what money he could to content the souldiers; so as within fewe daies the works were in defense. The King was down with his Army to *Rokozan*, two leagues from *Pilsen*, towards *Prague*, being 24000. men, besides 10000 Hungarians.

Count *BVCQVOY*, seeing *MANSFELD*'s resolution, and that to force it would both lose time and very many braue men, sought to get it by policy, having good intelligence how all things were managed amongst the chief men of that party, and of the discontent giuent to *MANSFELD*; knowing, that nothing can looner put a Noble spirit from his posture, than enuy. He therefore studies how to gain him that was most potent in that place, houlding himselfe sure to effect it. His deuice was to send *IOACHIN DE CARPZA* Lieutenant, Colonel of one of *MANSFELD*'s regiments (who had been taken prisoner the year before by the enemy) to perswade him to leaue the place to the Emperors, in consideration of a great summe of money which he promised him. The Messenger accepts the Commission, and deliueis what hee had in charge to *MANSFELD*; who sent him presently to the Prince of *Anhalt*, who caused him oit to be examined. *MANSFELD* by his Maiesties consent gaue ear to *BVCQVOY*, and offers to treat with him; but on this condition, that restitution should be made to Captain *LINTAVV*, whose Troops had been spoiled contrary to the capitulation of *TAVV*, by *BVCQVOY*'s souldiers; who, to further this treaty, endeoured what he could to giue *LINTAVV* satisfaction; wherein he spent much time: but, finding these practices not to preuaile, he resolved to attempt it by force, and to giue a general assault; yet, changing his minde, he departed with his whole Army about the 21 of October, and so marched towards *Prague*. His reere-ward being lodged but half an houres march from *Pilsen*; the next day the Earle of *Hohelo* came with all the Kings horse, as well Germans as Hungarians, and 3000 musketiers within one houres march of *Pilsen*; where Count *MANSFELD* meeting him, he propounded a means how to cut off the enemies Rere: that if it would please him to aduance his Troops, he would also ioin with him with the best he had in *Pilsen*; and so, charging the enemy together, they should cyther defeat his Rere-ward, or else greatly distresse it: but the Earle thought it better to turn back and take the passage, to intercept the enemies way to *Prague*. In the end of October the two armies lodged within a league one of another; where there were daily skirmishes with various successe, according to the fortune of war: and so drawing daily neerer and neerer together, it was conceiued that *BVCQVOY* would hazard a battell. Whereupon, the Priee of *Anhalt* inuited *MANSFELD* to come and attend his pleasure; who thanked him, and assured him he would not fail to perform his command; assuring himself, he should be entertained as Marshal of the field, to command according to his charge; desiring his Highnes to send him word speedily, what his resolution was, and to that effect sent a particular messenger with Letters; but before he could be heard and dispatcht, the overthrowe of the Army decided the question.

The Imperiall Army aduanced still, and no day pass without some action. On the fourth of November the Earle of *Bucquoy* was slightly hurt with a shot; which was so troublefome to him, that he could not well ride on horseback. On the 6 and 7 daies the Armies were within cannon shot one of another. Coming within half a league of *Prague*, vpon Sunday morning the eight day of the moneth the battell was fought; which I cannot relate in particular, being forced to vicerbreity.

The Imperialists being resolved to fight, the Duke of *Bavaria* tooke the right wing, and Count *BVCQVOY* took the left; who, sitting armed in his caroch, went from Squadron to Squadron to hartten and encourage them to carry themselves valiantly. The Baron of *Tilly*, who was the Leader of the left point, having passed a litle bridge and marsh ground with the Bauarian Troops, was so welcomed and entertained by the Bohemians, that he was forced to send for all the Bauarian Troops in the fore-ward to come to succour and assist him: all which being ioynd, and vnder the Bohemians, the whole Imperiall Army was constrained in the like manner to march vpon the left hand; so as they were much annoyed, and received great losse by the Bohemians Artillery; which did so beat into a Battallion of Walloons, and the whole body of the Bauarian horse, that they were routed and put to flight. The danger wherein the fore-ward of the Bauarians and the Baron of *Tilly* were engaged, forced Count *BVCQVOY*,

Xxx 2

to

The Bohemian
Army defeated
at Prague.

And you will
see in the
new edition
of the battle

recovered them who (notwithstanding that he was wounded and weak) went to horseback to disengage the enemy who was in danger to be lost. In the end, having freed Tilly from the danger, we pushed his Battalions to march directly against the Bohemians Army; who receiving them so gallantly, that they were in some disorder and ready to disband, if Count Bvcoque had not joined all the squadrons into one body, and charged so courageously, as having overthrown 600 Hungarians which were in the foreward; and the Duke of Bavaria at the instant causing the right wing of the Imperiall Army to advance, charged the left of the Bohemians; who presently abandoned their artillery, and were put to rout: some write, there were 4000 slain upon the place, and about 2000 drowned, most of them Hungarians, which thought so passeth through the river of *Molda* which diuides the Towns of *Prague*. The Imperialists took ten cannons, 135 Ensignes, with many Cornets, having lost (as they write) not about 400 men.

Thus I finde this unfortunate battell written by some Authors: but LANDORP's maketh the losse far greater on the Bohemian side. It is an old and true Saying, *Plus valet oculus astrictus quam auris decem*. One eye-witness is of more weight than ten which speak by hear-say; for sense increaseth as it flies. I have therefore thought good to set down what I receiv'd from a sincere Gentleman, an Actor in that daies service, and hath delivred it on his reputation.

The two Armies having coasted one another for diuers daies together, about the end of October, the Bohemians came and lodged at *Reckensan*; and the Imperials encamp in a wood to neer them, that they played continually one upon another with their great and small shot; so as diuers were slain and hurt: among which, one of the Barons of *Dona* of the Bohemian party was lost; and Count Bvcoque on the other side wounded: but the Imperials, having resolved to march towards *Prague*, raised their Camp in the night; which the Bohemians perceiving, marcht away with all speed to get betwixt them and *Prague*; which they happily performed: for on the day of the battell (which was Sunday) having marcht 8 miles, the Army came to a place within a mile of *Prague*, of great advantage, called the white Hill; where they incamped, and ranged their Army, finding the Imperiall Army advanced with a resolution to fight. The Bohemians had a great advantage of the ground: for their cannon might beat into their enemies troops from the Hill; so as at their first approach they were much disordered, and lost many men: besides, the Imperials had a marshy ground and a bridge to passe; where the Bohemians had planted 3 peeces of Ordinance, with 700 musketeers to guard it: which passage if they had maintained, and kept their posture on the Hill, in the opinion of all martiall men they could not have lost the victory. But the first step to their overthrow was the indiscretion or perfidiousness of the Earl of *Hohenlo* or *Hollos*, Lieutenant Generall of the Bohemian Army, who drew away the musketeers which were set to guard the passage of the bridge; so as the Imperials, embracing this opportunity, past over their troops, and turned those 3 peeces on the Bohemians.

After this, they marched with great resolution to the charge. The young Prince of *Anhalt* on the right hand advanced with a great Squadron of horse to encounter them: but they were scattered; yet not so routed, but he gathered his Troops again together to give a new charge, thinking to be seconded by the Hungarians which were behinde him: where his Troops were overthrowne, for that the Hungarians neuer advanced to assist him, but stood presently without striking stroke. Whereupon, the whole Army on that side fell into a confusion, every man abandoning his rank, and running away: onely the Moravians, commanded by the young Earle of *Schell*, fought valiantly, and were most of them slain or taken prisoners. On the left hand the Earle of *Syrum*, Lieutenant Colonel to C. MANSFELD's regiment of horse, charged valiantly with 3 of his companies and some others who helpt him, on a regiment of the enemies foot, and beat them down to the bottom of the hill: but, being opprest with multitudes, and left by the Hungarians who were to second him, he was forced to get off as well as he could. The Prince of *Anhalt*, with Holo's Lieutenant, fled with the first to carry newes to *Prague* of this disaster. The old Earle of *Thurn* followed, but with more honour and better testimonies of his valour. The King of *Bohemia* (who had bin a month together with the Army, and came but the day before the battell to *Prague*) was now going forth after dinner to view his Army, ignorant of what had past. Being some 12 score from the Town, he saw the Hungarians fleeing so fast, that he was forced to retire speedily, or else his person had been in danger to be oppressed by the multitude that fled. Touching the losse he affirms confidently, there were not about 3000 slain; whereof most of them, fleeing into the out-works of the Town (the gates being shut) were there slain by the enemy; that there were fewe drown'd in passing the river upon floats of timber, and that the

the enemies losse was no lesse than theirs. There were some companies of horse and foot which had retired themselves into *Starapark*, neer adjoining to their Camp; the which that night or the next day morning were either slain or taken prisoners: among which, there was the young Prince of *Anhalt*, Captain of the Kings guard, and other Commanders, who, sending a Drumme to Count Bvcoque, craved fair Quarter: which granted, they yielded themselves prisoners.

In this great confusion and amazement, the King with his Queen and Court left the Castle which is in petty *Prague*, and retired into the old Town. Theould Earle of *Thurn* with other Commanders perswaded the King to stay in the Town and defend it, wanting neither men, victuall, nor munition, which they might well have done: but the King, considering that his souldiers were danted with this overthrow, that the Inhabitants were light and inconstant, and would adhere to the stronger, that he was in a weak Town, and a victorious enemy at the gates; who no doubt would imploy all his forces to make his victory absolute, resolved to retire himself, and give way to necessity: so as the next day after the battell he left the Town by seven of the clock in the morning; the Queen taking her caroch with her young son but nine moneths old, who was born in *Prague*. Coming to the Port, they found it shut, and the Burgers in Arms; refusing to let them passe, it may be with a hope to make their peace the better with the enemy upon their retention: but by the perswasions of the Burgrave and Chancellor of *Bohemia* who did accompany them; they opened the gates. Presently after, the Queen took horse, they being accompanied by Sir RICH. WESTON and Sir EDWARD CONNOVAY, Ambassadors there for his Majesty, the old Prince of *Anhalt*, two Dukes, of *Saxony*, of *Weymar*, the Earle of *Hollock*, the old Earle of *Thurn*, the Earle of *Lanall*, son to the Duke of *Tremouille*, a French-man, the Burgrave of *Prague*, and the Chancellor, with many others. That night they went to *Limpurg*, 30 English miles from *Prague*: where they arrived late, and entred with much difficulty; a long journey for a Queen great with childe and vnfit to trauell, having no time to rest or refresh herself by the way. The next day they departed from *Limpurg* towards *Silesia*, and after eight daies came to *Prelaw*: during which, that Noble and vertuous Queen suffered hunger, cold, the extremity of bad lodging (lying some nights on straw) the apprehension of a pursuing enemy, and the losse of plate and goods which were spoiled by their own souldiers that followed them: yet the bore all these crosses and afflictions with a generous resolution, to the admiration of all.

The Duke of *Bavaria* and Count Bvcoque entering into *Prague* the next day, they sent certain troops towards *Brandis* fifteen miles off (a place of pleasure belonging to the Kings of *Bohemia*) to pursue them, thinking to finde the Queen there by reason of her disability to trauele; where hearing what course they had taken, and how far they were advanced, they left pursuing them, and spent their time in spoiling of that place and the country thereabout. His Majesties Ambassadors took their leave of the King and Queen going from *Limpurg*; from whence they gave the Duke of *Bavaria* to understand, that according to their duties they had accompanied the King their Masters daughter to *Limpurg*, desiring to haue a safe conduct to return to *Prague*, which he sent them: where finding no means to treat with a victorious enemy upon any good terms of peace, they returned towards *England*.

After this famous victory the two Generals marched directly to *Prague*. In the mean time, the Catholiques wrote to the Duke of *Bavaria*, that they gave God thanks that hee had giuen him victory; that they would reioice to see him come triumphing into their Towns; that they offered to him both their goods and lives, and that they freely yielded themselves, beseeching him to exempt them from pillage and spoil. His Highnes received them with all cunctise; and made a proclamation that no souldier upon pain of death should depart from his colours; and if any disbanded, their Officers should be hanged for them. The next day the souldiers began to scale the wals; but the Duke staid their insolency, and set guards at the gates of petty *Prague*, and upon all the approaches. The Inhabitants of the old Town dispatched a trumpet to his Highnes, beseeching him to grant them three dayes space, in which time they hoped to give such answer as should content him: yet he would not hear their demand; but sent them word, that he would not grant them so much as three houres, but would haue them presently come forth into the field; where like a Conqueror he would attend them to receiue the obedience due vnto his Imperiall Majesty, in view of all the *Astray*. The which they performed: and the 4000 souldiers which were there in garrison, submitted themselves, and were receiued into grace.

After dinner the next day, the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Earle of *Buchquoy* entred the town with great solemnity: and coming to the Capuchins Church, they gave God thanks for this victory and vn hoped-for conquest. The Officers, who had bin dismissed from their charges, came to do their

The Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia, places this Prague.

The Imperialis pursue the King of Bohemia.

The towns of Prague submit to the Emperor.

their duties with tears of joy. They write, that after this reduction of the three Townes of *Prague*, the gates were kept shut the space of six daies, to seek for the chief Authors of *Ferdinand's* rebellion: all that were found to be of that faction were spoiled, of what Religion soeuer. The Calvinists (who enclined most to the Elector Palatine) were entreated in the like manner, and deprived of the free exercise of their Religion: As for the Lutherans of the confession of *Ausbourg*, they were maintained. The wife and sonne of the Earle of *Thyrne*, were committed to prison, with many others. After the reduction of *Prague*, many Townes of *Bohemia* came and brought their keyes to the Generals, with all sorts of submission; there onely remained *Pilsen* and *Tabor*, where Count *Mandsfeldt* commaunded, with great Garrisons. The Generals, hauing restored the States to their ancient places, they caused them to write vnto the Count *Mandsfeldt*, and to his Captaines and Souldiers, which were in *Pilsen*, perswading them to yeeld vp the Towne, with other places, vnto his imperiall Maiesty, and they should receiue a certaine sum of money in hand, and the rest afterwards: Moreouer, that seeing the King was now retired out of *Bohemia*, it was in the power of the said States to discharge him; seeing they had entertained him into their seruice, and to them hee had taken his Oath. This offer did some-what stagger them; yet, considering that these were not the same States which had entertained them (for, they were of the Religion, and these, Catholicks) they thought it not fit to giue care vnto them: Wherefore he wrote to the King, & to the prince of *Anhalt* of all these proceedings, made a Truce with the enemy, entred into treaty with him, and to that end sent *Ieronimo de la Porta*, to *Prague*.

After this famous victory obtained by the Imperialists, and the reduction of *Prague*; the Iesuites (who had retired themselves to *Vienna*) returned to their Colledge; where they washed ouer their Temple and Altar with holy-water, and sanctified it with great Ceremonies: The like was done to the Church in the Castle, where the Images, the yeere before, had been beaten downe by the Protestants. And, about the same time, the States of *Bohemia*, to shew their obsequiousnesse to the Emperour, and their inconstancy to their new elected King (whom they had lately chosen with such eagernes) being forced, as it seemes by necessity, to submit themselves vnto the crosse, wrote a long perswasive Letter to the States of *Moravia*, and renounced their confederation, perswading them to doe the like, and to obey his imperiall Maiesty in all things; with this commination, that if they should not giue care to their aduice, but be the occasion of greater mischiefes, they would then prosecute them as publique Enemies: But all this preuayled little with the Moravians; at that time, who proceeded in their hostile attempts.

The Baron of *Tilly* being made Gouverneur of *Prague* with a Garrison of 6000 Soldiers, the Inhabitants were quite disarmed: and, winter coming-on, the Generals, seeing no enemy in field, separated their Armies with troupes; some going to refresh themselves, and others into *Moravia*. The Earle of *Bucquoy* had aduice giuen him to take some rest for the recovery of his health. And the Duke of *Bavaria* tooke his way towards *Munich*, there to passe the Winter.

In the moneth of January one thousand six hundred twenty one (for then they begin their computation) the Emperour sent forth a declaration of Proscription against the Elector Palatine, King of *Bohemia*, the Marquess of *Jagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, the Earle of *Hohenlo*, and the Authors of the Bohemian revolt: where, after a repetition of what had past, hee concludes; that desiring to prevent the like enterprises in time to come, made against the lawes of the sacred Empire, by this Our present declaration of our imperial power, We haue disannulled and reuoked all priuiledges, grants, concessions, rights and graces, granted heretofore vnto the said States of *Bohemia*, as well by our selves, as by the deceased Emperours and Kings of *Bohemia* our predecessors; and likewise haue decreed against all those which shall be found to haue procured, counselled and fauoured the said revolt, and drawne our subjects to warre against vs; to be proceeded against them, according to the constitutions of the Empire, declaring them fallen from all estates, honours, and prerogatives, and unworthy for cuer of our grace and pardon. As for the Count Palatine of the *Rhine*, who hath vsurped vpon vs the Title of King of *Bohemia*, hath made himselfe head of our rebellious subjects, drawne forces from all parts, and wonne vnto him many officers and States of the Empire, whom he hath caused to enter into league to ruine our Authority, and to invade our hereditary estates; We haue, by this our declaration, condemned the said Count Palatine, and declared him fallen from all his Estates, namely, from the dignity of Elector, and other honours of the Empire which he did enioy; as also *JOHN*

GEORGE

GEORGE the elder Marquess of *Brandebourg* and *Jagerndorf*, Prince *CHRISTIAN* of *Anhalt*, *GEORGE FREDERICK* Earle of *Hohenlo*, and others which haue fauoured him in his designs, adhered vnto his faction, entred into league with him against vs, and assisted him with their Armes and persons in this enterprise.

Also there was another proscription in particular sent out against *JOHN GEORGE* the elder Marquess of *Jagerndorf*, *CHRISTIAN* prince of *Anhalt*, & *GEORGE FREDERICK* earle of *Hohenlo* of the same Tenure: commanding all the subjects of the Empire vpon paine of the losse of life, honour, and goods, not to assist the three banished men aboue named, or to succour them secretly or openly, not to lodge them, feede them, or furnish them with any secret retreat, or suffer them to escape; discharging them from all faith, homage, allyance, or intelligence which they might haue with any of them.

The Emperour, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, made great leauies of men in their States and countries, aswell to assaile these places in *Bohemia* which would not yeeld obedience to the Emperour being vnder the commande of Count *Mandsfeldt*, as also in *Silesia* and *Hungary*; yet they did not forbear to talke of peace and to hold assemblies in diuers places vpon that subject.

As for the continuation of the conference with Prince *BETHLIN* and the States of *Hungary*; it was laboured by the Ambassadors of *France*, as at length it was assigned in the towne of *Hainbourg* (which the Imperialists had recovered) whither *BETHLIN* GABOR with the States of *Hungary* should send their Deputies to treat with the Emperors. On the 25 of Ianuary the French Ambassadors with five Deputies from the Emperour came to *Hainbourg*; and the next day there arrived six Commissioners from *Hungary*. They write, that all the difficulty of the accord consisted on two points: first, that the Emperour would put his subjects of all nations into the forts of *Hungary*, and the States would haue none but natives of the country. And, Secondlie, touching the restitution of Ecclesiastical goods.

Marquess *SPINOLA*, notwithstanding the coldnes of the winter, took many places in the Palatinate, and drew great summes of money from the lands of the Princes of the Vnion. They say that the Countess of *Hannau* made a composition for 18000 Ricks dollars; and that the Eailies and other Noblemen of *Veterania* paid the like summe: The Protestant Princes held an assembly at *Hailbrun*: where they consulted of the means to make their peace with the Emperour; and to preserve the lower Palatinate from vtter ruine: necessity forced them, for that the Protestant Townes had sent them word that they would contribute no more: neither did they come to the assembly, or send any Deputies but one from *Vime*; seeking euery one in particular to make his peace with the Emperour: namely, those of *Nuremberg* and *Vime*, who had sent their Deputies to *Vienna* to that end. The Catholike States assembled also at *Ausbourg* in the moneth of February: whither the three Ecclesiastical Electors sent their Ambassadors, besides many Archbishops, Bishops and Prelates; but this assembly did not produce a peace nor stay the apparant ruine of *Germany*.

In the meane time, Count *Mandsfeldt* was in *Bohemia* alone, without any support, means or money to pay his souldiers: hauing settled his affaires there aswell as he could, he retired with his horsemen into the vpper Palatinate; where he supplied his wants as hee thought good: from thence, he went to the assembly of the Princes at *Hailbrun* with a small traine and some hopes to draw succours from them: but, after some stay, he returned without any thing but bare hopes, preuailing nothing with such as seemed friends to the cause, and whom the losse of that kingdom might concerne.

The enemy during the time of his absence (preuailing nothing by force) fought to supplant him by policie. *Ieronimo de la Porta*, lying in *Prague* for his maister, became a Traytor, being corrupted by their faire promises: And as formerly, in the absence of Count *Mandsfeldt*, he had sought to vndermine the fidelity of the Captaines by secret Letters: so now hee laboured to effect it by his ambitious practices; in which designe, *Colonell FRANK* (who was Gouverneur of *Tabor*, and had the chiefe commande vnder Count *Mandsfeldt*) was much engaged ygiuing free access vnto all men on the aduerser partie to enter into *Pilsen* with as great familiarity as could bee with friends of the same party. Hauing, after his returne from *Hailbrun* to *Amberg*, discovered these practices in *Pilsen*, he wrote vnto them to continue constant, assuring them he would finde means to gett them their pay and relieue their necessities. Hereupon, his Auditor, called *LOMBENGER*, came from *Prague*, who told the Lord Marshall that hee must haue a larger commission to continue the treaty.

X x x 4

Whereupon,

The Imperialists
about to haue
Pilsen yielded.

The States of
Bohemia re-
nounce all con-
federations with
the Moravians.

Great Leuies of
souldiers made
by the Emper-
our.

A conference
proposed by the
French Am-
bassadors.

The Protestant
Princes assem-
bled at Hailbrun.

Mandsfeldt's
proceedings in
Bohemia.

1621
The Emperours
Proscription
against the Elec-
tor Palatine,
and others.

Whereupon, was drawne, and his instructions renewed; adding vnto the former Articles, that the vpper Palatinate should be comprised in the said treaty. With this commission, he was sent to Prague, hauing charge to looke carefully to the enemies designs in regard of a speciall treaty they intended with the capitaines, and that he should perswade them to continue constant in his Maiesties seruice: he held him honest, for that he had found him faithfull in other seruices: But he had srupt the poyson of infidelity out of P O R T A his cuppe; and they both became Traitors to their master. By whose meanes, the Capitaines compounded secretly with the enemy for the yeelding vp of Pilsen, as you shall heare hereafter.

The Turke in the beginning of this warre had demanded of Prince BATHYIN the garde of the townes of *Pacica* and *Nehusol*, vpon diuers considerations, touching the warre which was made in *Hungary*; but he (although the Turkes vassall) fearing the *Basha of Temeswar*, who long since hath had a purpose to deprime him of *Transilvania*, and foreseeing that if the Turk should hould *Palacia* vpon the *Danube* and *Nehusol* which is neere the *Carpatian Mountaines* which deuide *Poland* from *Hungary*, hee should finde himselfe shut vp betweene the Turke and the *Polander*; he had alwayes borne the Turke in hand hee should haue *Pacica*, but neuer had any minde to effect it, because of his particular interest. But now his present weakenesse and of his confederates, after the losse of such a Battaille, made him procure the Hungarians to deliuer vp *Pacica* into the Turkes hands for two reasons: first, to the end the Turke (who had lately gotten a victory vpon the *Polonians* in *Moldauia*) should not attempt any thing in *Transilvania* and *Hungary* while that he was busied against the Imperialists: Secondly, to draw succours from the Turke if fortune should still fauour the Imperialists, and that they should enter into *Hungary*. For these considerations *Pacica* was deliuered vnto the Turke at his instance.

The State of *Hungary* was full of combustions in the end of the yeare 1620; many great personages desired to be reconciled to the Emperour, their lawfull king: but the greater number being Protestants (as *BVDIANYA* and the Earle of *Seriu*) who held themselves irreconcilable to the house of *Austria*, desired rather to call in the Turke and be vnder his protection, then to vnter themselves with the Christians. Meane while, the Emp. by his declaration dissanulled the Election of Prince BATHYIN to the crowne of *Hungary*, as vnjust, violent, seditious, and contrarie to the lawes and customes of the Realme, and therefore without force and effect, making void also whatsoeuer had bene concluded in the assemblies of *Presbourg* and *Nehusol* to the preiudice of his royall rights, the State of the Clergy, and the antient lawes and liberty of the crowne of *Hungary*; and withal he did reuoke the Title which he had giuen him of Prince of *Hungary*.

When the Emperour published this edict, BATHYIN GABOR came to *Presbourg*; from whence he sent many troupes to the frontiers of *Hungary*, *Moravia*, and *Austria* to ioyne with the Baron of *Laudan* a *Moravian* Protestant, who committed great spoiles vpon the Catholics. Many of the greatest of *Bohemia* which had escaped from the battaille of *Prague*, and fled into *Moravia*, ioynd with him, amongst others the Earle of *Thurne*, to make head against the Imperialls which pursued them after their victory. On the other side of the *Danubius*, Prince BATHYIN having repaired the bridge of boates at *Presbourg* (which *TAMPIERRE* had broken) he with his partisans, sent diuers troupes to spoile and burne the Countrey, euen vnto the gates of *Pisna*. But the Baron of *Prenor* who had succeeded *Tampierre* made head against them, slew many of their men, and forced them to retire. In the meane time BATHYIN carried the crowne of *Hungary* and the Royall Ornaments from *Presbourg* to *Tirnan*; and from thence to *Altenso* vpon the riuer of *Gran* neere to *Nehusol*, in the vpper *Hungary*; whereof men haue written diuersly: but most men were of opinion that he desired to keepe it in his possession, seeing that he had bene chosen king of *Hungary*; a dignity which he would prserue vntill death: and that his often sending to *Pisna* for a conference at *Hainbourg* (at the instance of the French Ambassadors) was not with any intent he had to make any accord with the Emperour, but by this delay to fortifie himselfe with his partizans and the Turke, and to draw downe the Tartarians; and also to attend the resolution which should be taken by the Elector Palatine and the Princes and States of *Silesia* and *Moravia* in their assembly; to whom he had sent a confident messenger to exhorte them to continue in their confederation and to make head against the Imperialls, promising them al the assistance that both he and his friends could make. Let vs see then what the Prince and States of *Silesia* did resolve vpon in their assembly, being requested on the one side by the Elector Palatine and BATHYIN GABOR to continue their league: and on the other by the elector of *Saxony* to vnter themselves vnder the obedience of his imperiall Maiesty.

We

We haue formerly made mention of the siege and taking of *Bausen*, by the Elector of *Saxony*; who, being entred the Towne, assigned a day for the renewing of the oath of Allegiance, the which was performed with great ceremonies: The Senate and Burgeses, entering, made their submission vpon their knees; then deliuering the keyes of the Towne and Castle into the Electors hands, being Desputie for the Emperour, as Marquesse of *Lusatia*, they were admitted to take the Oath: which done, the Elector told them that he had receiued their Oath in his Maiesties name; who would protect them in the liberty of their Religion; and maintaine their priuiledges; and as for himselfe, he would be alwayes careful of their protection.

The Elector, camping at *Bausen*, the Marquesse of *Jagerndorfe* lay with his forces at *Gorlitz* in *Silesia*, being but halfe a daies iourney off, yet they were diuided by the Riuer of *Neys*, betwixt whom there were daily skirmishes; but the Electors Army was greater, and he had more Cannon; yet *Jagerndorfe* made head against him, and stopt his entry into *Silesia*: for, the Inhabitants of *Gorlitz* having refused to receiue a Garrison from the Marquesse of *Jagerndorfe*, they also made answer to the Electors Letters (who perswaded them to receiue him into their Towne) that they would not suffer any one to enter to ouer-master them, being sufficiently warned by the losse of *Bausen*. But after the losse of the Battaille of *Prague*, the Palatines party, in *Silesia*, began to decline much, and the Elector took diuers Towns. After the taking of *Gablen* in view of the Marquesse; winter growing on, and being more annoyed with cold and now then with any Enemy, he returned with his Army to *Bausen*: from whence he wrote to the Princes and States of *Silesia*, assembled at *Prellane*, to resolve whataniwere they should giue to the Elector Palatine; and to diuers deputies, who exhorted them to continue their League: He laid before them the miseries and calamities which had befallen *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, by reason of the ciuill wars, and what paines he had taken, from the beginning, to quench that fier, both with the Emperour MATTHIAS (beseeching him to prefferre) is clemency, before the rigor of Iustice; and with the States of *Bohemia*; putting them in minde of the obedience they ought vnto their King: labouring also with the other Princes Electors, to procure a conference, thereby to pacifie these troubles by arbitrement, and reconcile the soueraigne Prince to his subjects; whichooke no effect: The Bohemians relecting all meanes to treat of Peace; and disauowing the Emperour FERDINAND their lawfull King, made choyce of another: whereupon the Emperour had sent him a commission to reduce them to obedience by Armes, whereof he sent them a copie, exhorting them to consider. First, how long their Countrey had been afflicted with ciuill warres; Secondly, what successe the Bohemians had had in their Arms during these Troubles; Thirdly, that God had witnesed by the memorable victory at *Prague*, that hee is the protector of lawfull Princes; And fourthly, that they would, with one consent, take wise counsells to preferre their deere Countrey from the ruines which threatened it; the which they might now doe by obeying his Maiesties commission, accepting his pardon, and acknowledging him Duke of *Silesia*, he which they had done before these miserable troubles, hauing taken the oath Allegiance vnto him, as their true and lawfull Prince.

He protested that he had no other desire but to see them in their former Estate, freed from the continuance of so many ruines, and to enioy their priuiledges by the free exercise of Religion, the which his Maiesty had confirmed vnto them at his coming vnto the souerainty of *Silesia*: But if they continued obstinate in their leagues and former resolutions, he could not but lament the miseries which would follow; being resolute to continue constant and faithfull to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to doe his best endeavour to maintaine the obedience due to the lawfull Magistrate, and that nothing should be attempted to the preiudice of the Empire.

These Letters of the Elector of *Saxony*, and the copy of this Commission being read in the Assembly of the Princes and States of *Silesia*, those of the imperiall Party were of aduice, that, considering the state of affaires, it was expedient to send an Ambassadors vnto the Elector of *Saxony*, to treat of their agreement: The others were of opinion that it was not fit to make too much haste; but, contrari-wise, to make new Leues of Souldiers in the name of the States, to make it appeare, in case they should enter into treaty with the Elector of *Sax*, that it was neyther for feare nor weakenesse: And to send word vnto all the Townes of *Silesia* and the higher *Lusatia*, to haue great care, and in no wise to disunite themselves; because that in all treaties and accords, the preservation of priuiledges promised in generall, is better maintained then by particular yeeldings. This later aduice was followed: So as the Elector of *Sax*, hauing sum-

moned

1621
The Inhabitants
of Bausen, sub-
mitted themselves
to the Elector of
Saxony.

Substance of the
Electors Letters
to the States of
Silesia.

The Emperours
decalation a-
gainst Prince
Bathyn Gabor

Bathyn Gabor
carried the
crowne of
Hungary from
Presbourg.

moned *Goritz* and *Sittau* to yeeld obedience vnto the Emperour, lest they should fall into the misfortune of those of *Bausen*: he was answered, that the States of *Silesia* and the Deputies of the higher *Lusatia* were at *Preslau* to resolve touching the Letters which he had sent them, beseeching him in the meane time not to attempt any thing against their townes.

At the same time, Count *Bucquoy*, General of the Imperiall Army, marching out of *Bohemia*, by the frontiers of *Moravia* and the Lower *Austria*, besieged and took *Iglaw* and *Trebnitz*, frontier townes of *Moravia*. He forced *Snaim* with many other places to yeeld obedience to the Emperour: the which did so amaze the garissons and souldiers which the Baron of *Landan* held in many places in the lower *Austria*, that they abandoned them to retire themselves into *Hungary*; whither the said Baron himselfe in the end was forced to fly.

The States of *Moravia* assembled at *Brin* (who after the losse of the battaile of *Prague* could not resolve to send vnto the Emperour to make their peace; for that the Earle of *Thurn* newly returned out of *Hungary* stayed them with promises of a mighty Army which Prince *Barrutius* should bring to succour all the confederates) seeing the Imperiall Army upon the frontiers, they sent the Earle of *Sherwin* with diuers others to *Piem*, to let his Maiefty vnderstand, That they had long time delayed to enter into league with the Bohemians and Hungarians: which they had not done, if they had not been forced by the Earle of *Thurn*, who was called in by some few which were Authors of the rebellion. 2. That they humbly besought him to impart his clemencie to all his faithfull subiects, the States and inhabitants of *Moravia*. 3. To maintaine them in their priuiledges and the liberty of religion: And fourthly, to receive with the like clemencie and grace all the Captaines and souldiers which had been entertained by the said States; who altogether protested to be euer obedient to his Imperiall Maiefty, and to spend the last drop of their blood in his seruice. To whom the Emperour made answer, That forgetting what was past he receiued them as his other subiects in his protection, and would maintaine them in all their priuiledges and the liberty of religion: but, seeing there were some few which were the Authors of the rebellion, That the Commissarie, whom he should depute to be his Lieutenant in *Moravia*, should cause information to be made against them; after which the States should vnderstand his pleasure. The Deputies being returned, the Inhabitants of *Brin* and *Oldmitz* (the two chiefe townes of *Moravia*)ooke a new oath of fealty to the Emperour; and so did the souldiers whom they had entertained: who, being mustered and receiuing pay in the Emperours name, went and ioyned themselves with Count *Bucquoy*, who besieged *Zradisch*, which he took and thereby stopped the passage betwene *Hungaria* and *Moravia*: so as *Bythling Gabor* could not send the succours which he had promised to the Elector Palatine; who was much afflicted for the newes of this reunion, as you may iudge by the following Letter written to the Earle of *Thurn* which was intercepted.

I haue receiued Letters from *Moravia* with great griefe: the souldiers being in mutiny for want of pay: the States haue sent to the Emperour to make their accord; but God bethanked the affaires in *Silesia* are in better terms. The Princes are resolute & haue decreed to leuie new forces; blaming the Morauians for their perfidiousnesse. And for my parte, I doubt not but in short time they will receive the the due reward of their rashnesse. I did not content the Bohemians and Morauians to chuse mee for their King. I could haue liued content in mine owne Country: yet for all the paines and traualle I haue taken; these for whom I haue ventred my life and goods, and the liues and goods of my friends and subiects, leaue mee, and euen now treat about yeelding themselves vnto another. What right they haue to do this, I will leaue to the iudgement of the whole world. I may truly say, that neither couetousnesse nor ambition caused me to come into *Bohemia*: and I hope, God will so guide me by his grace, as the suffering of so many calamities shall neuer make mee doe any thing against my conscience or honour.

The same of the happie successe of the Imperiall Armies in *Bohemia*, *Moravia* and *Lusatia*, caused the *Silesians* (which bare affection to the house of *Austria*) to take hart vnto them and speak boldly in *Preslau*. The princes & States of *Silesia* being aduertised that the imperiall armie was upon their frontiers, they held it necessarie for them to prevent the ruine of their countrey, and to enter into treaty with the Elector of *Saxony*, vnto whom his Imperiall Maiefty had giuen such commission as is before said: whereupon they concluded, to send vnto the King of *Bohemia* this resolution following.

After that your Royall Maiefty (our most gracious Lord) had had many consultations with vs your faithfull Nobles & States of *Silesia* touching the estate of our present affaires, and the enemies proceedings to cut off the assistance which the *Silesians* might expect from *Moravia* and

and other their confederats; and hauing cause hereafter to feare the comming of so powerfull an Army into our Countrey, vnprovided of souldiers to make any resistance: It hath seemed expedient (wee should aduertise you that it is needfull for vs to treat with the Elector of *Saxony* his Imperiall Maiesties Commissarie: which we cannot doe vnlesse you giue way vnto the necessity of the time, retrying your selfe, for your better security, into some such place as you shall thinke fittest. We hope, your royall Maiefty will not take inill part this aduice which the Princes and States of *Silesia* do giue you, and who protest to continue constant and loyall subiects vnto you; but rather attribute it to the ineuitable necessity of the time. Meane while, your Maiefty may take order how to be relieved with succors from your owne subiects and friends. And whereas your Maiefty hath desired, that if we treat with the Elector of *Saxony*, you might be also comprehended; you may beleeue that your faithfull Nobles and States will let your Maiefty vnderstand all which shall passe in that treaty. We also beseech you to think of the confederation made with the Hungarians, and not to see vs plunged into the like miserie as the Morauians which haue been threatened by the Turks and Tartars: As for the 3 months pay which your Maiefty desires, as well for the mustering of 1000 horse of his troups, as for his foot-men, it shall be resolved on in our first Assembly, and your Maiefty acquainted with our resolution; the Princes and States desiring nothing so much, as to continue faithfull vnto you, and constant in their obedience.

On the morrow, the King sent them his answer in writing; That he had receiued their resolution by their Deputies, and perceived thereby their good intention, and the affection they bare vnto him; praying them to beleeue that his was no lesse: That hauing obserued the daily falling away of the Morauians, and that the Prouinces incorporated vnto *Bohemia*, in that turbulent estate whereunto things were brought, could not for the present resist the Emperours power, it was necessary he should withdraw himselfe into some place of safety, not farre from them; where he might obserue what was done, and provide sufficient forces to defend them, giuing way vnto the Embassie they should send to the Elector of *Saxony*.

Before the king of *Bohemia* made his retreat out of *Silesia*, he sent the Earle of *Hohenlo* to the Elector of *Saxony*, to propound a Truce vnto him for the obtaining of a Peace, with Letters to this effect:

I doubt not but you haue scene the declarations of the causes, for the which I haue accepted the Crowne of *Bohemia*: I haue not done it by force nor practice; but fearing the Realme should fall into the hand of strangers, and the Empire receiue prejudice. I cannot beleeue but God called me to the gouernement thereof, to the end they should not be deprived of the free exercise of Religion, and their priuiledges; but I haue accepted it chiefly for two reasons: First, that it might not be hereditary; and, to the great prejudice of the Electors, fall into the hands of the house of *Spain*: And Secondly, that the election of the king of Romanes, to be Emperour, might, by most voices, be in the power of the Protestants; whereby they should no more feare to be vnder the yoke of the Romane Catholiques. I was confident that all the Electors and Protestant Princes would allowe of my intention, and finde means to satisfie the aduerser parties; and that I should be maintained in the possession of the same Realme, by some good accord. I haue neuer refused to enter into treaty; but seeing my selfe frustrate of my desire, I haue been forced to take Armes to defend my selfe against the forces of *Spain*, and the Catholique league: But being still desirous of Peace, I haue thought good to send the Earle of *Hohenlo* vnto you, to treat of the means whereby the Empire might be in quiet, his hereditary Countries (which the Spaniards had invaded) restored, all grieuances taken away, free exercise of Religion maintained, with the free election of the Realme of *Bohemia* with the incorporated Prouinces; and to provide for the defense of *Hungary* and *Poland*; to the end the Empire might not thereby receiue any danger. To attain vnto the which, I haue giuen charge vnto the Earle of *Hohenlo* to propound a general Truce vnto you for a month or two, throughout the whole Empire, the Realme of *Bohemia*, and the incorporated Prouinces; During the which time, there might bee some course taken to treat of a general Peace.

The Elector of *Saxony* made answer; That he would not dispute of the causes which had made him to accept the Crowne of *Bohemia*; but he would tell him freely that he had neuer approved of the proceedings of the Bohemians, and had written vnto him to disswade him from it, fore-seeing that in this action some Princes would stand Newters, and others would follow the Emperour; That the Bohemians could not in Conscience proceede to a new Election;

The Elector Palatine answers to the States.

His Letter to the Elector of Saxony.

The answer.

their king whom they had crowned and anointed being alive : that hee had alwaies desired he should not haue engaged himselfe in the Bohemian affaires, nor trouble the Emperour in the Countries which he enjoyed; and that he should haue giuen credit to his counsell and to the aduice of many Princes who had alwaies desired his happinesse; but seeing he could not be diuerted from the acceptance of the crowne of *Bohemia*, he had left it to the will of God and time, doing his best endeavour to comfort the Emperour in his afflictions, untill the memorabile victory of *Prague*; whereby it appeared that God would protect the lawfull Magistrature. That he could not denie but the Empire was in great danger, and that this war of *Bohemia* might open a gate to let in the Turke to become master of the frontier townes in *Hungary*. That hee was the cause of all these miseries; the which might haue been avoided if hee had giuen way to his exhortation, and reiected that great desire to raigne: That to preuent all these dangers and ruines, he must take a good and free resolution to renounce the realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces, to submit himselfe to the Emperour and to craue pardon: but if he did not take this course, it was to be feared he would draw himself and all his friends into great extremities; the Emperour being resolu'd to pursue his victory.

The King of *Bohemia* finding no means to moue the Elector of *Saxony* to procure a truce, and finding that the Princes of *Silesia* had depured the Duke of *Munsterberg* and five other men of quality, to the Elector of *Saxony*; he resolu'd to retire himselfe into *Brandebourg*, a prouince ioyning vnto *Silesia*; the which he did. It is written, that the Princes & States of *Silesia* before his departure sent the Duke of *Oschatz* vnto him with a present of 80000 florens, and are much commended for the good offices they did him in his aduersity.

The Deputies which were sent from the States of *Silesia* to the Elector of *Saxony* deliuered Articles vnto him. 1. That they craued pardon of his Imperiall Maiefty, and besought him to impart his grace and clemencie vnto them. 2. That they would alwaies acknowledge his Imperiall Maiefty, for their lawfull Soueraigne, and King. 3. That they would confirme it by a new oath. 4. That they would defend the Romane Catholikes and their rights. 5. That they would contribute 100000 duckets to pay the souldiers leui'd for the garde of *Silesia*, and renounce their new confederation.

Hereunto, the Elector made answer: 1. That by vertue of the Emperors commission, hee would take the Princes and States of *Silesia* into his protection. 2. That he would be a suter for their pardon and sollicite the confirmation of their priuiledges. And, 3. If the *Silesians* did discharge their troups, his Imperiall Maiefty would reuoke his. As for himselfe he promised them, That, if after the oath of allegiance taken and their due obedience performed to his Imperiall Maiefty, they were in any sort molested in the free exercise of their religion according to the confession of *Augsbourg*, he would then assist them with all ayde and support. After 5 weekes treaty at *Dresda* in *Misnia* (where the Elector keeps his court) and often sending to the Emperour, who by no means would haue the Elector Palatine, the Marquess of *Jagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, nor the Earle of *Hohenlo* comprehended; In the end, the Articles of peace and reunion for the prouince of *Silesia* were concluded the eighth of February.

The Princes and States of the upper and lower *Silesia* should be pardoned for what was past during the troubles, and no man questioned or punished. 2. They should loue and honor the Emperour *Ferdinand* their King anointed and crowned and soueraigne Duke of *Silesia*, and should take a new oath of allegiance vnto him. 3. That they should within one yeare pay 300000 florens at three seuerall termes for the entertainment of the Emperours troups. 4. That they should renounce the oath which they had taken to the Elector Palatine, and should haue no farther intelligence with him. They should deliuer into the Electors hands the league made with *Bohemia*, *Moravia*, *Transilvania*, *Hungary*, and others, the which should be cancelled. 5. They should discharge their souldiers, and retaine but 1000 horse and 3000 foote for their defence vntill the troubles were ended, the which vpon no occasion should be employed against his Imperiall Maiefty or the Elector. 6. That the Elector should recall away his troups which he had then in the principality of *Sagen*. 7. That his highnes would intercede to his Imperiall Maiefty, That all graunts made vnto the *Silesians* with their liberties and priuiledges should stand in force; All grieuances repaired; The commerce allowed with the *Morauians* and *Bohemians*; All goods restored to the true owners; And the Catholikes maintained in their churches, monasteries and possessions. 8. If happily the Protestants should receiue any opposition in the liberty of their religion, then his highnes promised to undertake their protection & defence. 9. If *CHRISTIAN*, Duke of *Lignitz* as Generall of *Silesia* according to his promise would

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be comprehended in that Treaty of peace, he might do it within six weeks, else it was in his maiesties power to dispose. 10. That *JOHN GEORGE* of *Brandebourg*, Marquess of *Jagerndorf*, and *CHRISTIAN* Prince of *Anhalt*, who had been formerly proscribed by the Emperour, should not be comprehended in that Treaty; the which was signed by the Elector of *Saxony* and the Duke of *Munsterberg* with great ceremonies.

Let vs now look vpon the estate of *Bohemia*. The Towns of *Pilsen* and *Tabor* would not be reduced vnder the Emperors obedience: they depended vpon the will of the Gouvernours who were become Masters. Count *MANSFELD* was in *Pilsen*, as you haue heard; and Colonell *FRANCK* in *Tabor*: whom *MANSFELD* had placed there as his Lieutenant, making incursions into the Country, and committing great spoils, seizing on *Tochan*, *Falkenau*, and *Elenbogen*; which he fortified with garrilons. After this (as I haue formerly related) he went to *Heilbrun*; where he propounded to the protestant Princes, that, if he might haue men & money, he would reuiue the Elector Palatine's party in *Bohemia*, and prepare work for the enemy for five yeers: that his Imperiall Maiefty had offered him a great summe of money to leaue *Bohemia*, and yeeld vpon what he held there; but he had refused it, and would continue constant to death, and maintaine the faith he had giuen the Elector. They wroote that he found their intentions in this Assembly contrary to his; they aiming only at the means how to reconcile themselves to the Emperour, and preferre their estates.

The King of *Bohemia*, hearing what *MANSFELD* had done in *Bohemia* in his absence, wrote to him in February after this manner: I haue receiued much contentment to hear of the military exploits you haue performed since my departure from *Bohemia*, of your perseverance in the oath of fidelity you haue taken, and of so many Towns and Castles you haue made subiect to my obedience. I will assure you, that I will neuer yeeld vp my Realm of *Bohemia* which I haue gotten by so lawfull an election; but will employ all my means, and that of my friends, to recover that by Arms which they haue wrested from me by force: for the effecting whereof, I will speedily send you both men and money. I hope, with the help of God, and the powerfull succours of some Princes my friends, to do that shortly which shall be pleasing to God, terrible to my enemies, to the good of religion, and memorable to the whole world. You shall finde me a Prince who will acknowledge your seruices with honourable fauours.

THEY being left in *Prague* with 6000 men to preserve the Town and Country, the souldiers grew so insolent in their prosperity, that the Captains could hardly keep them in obedience: to prevent the which, and to restrain the incursions of *MANSFELD*'s troups vpon the riuer of *Egra*, the Baron of *Tilly* sent forth part of his Troops to take some small Forts where the *Mansfeldians* were lodged: but being not able to recover *Falkenau* and *Elenbogen*, they were put in garrison in the neighbour Towns, to stop their courses.

The Emperour, hauing sent out his Letters of proscription against the Elector Palatine and the rest as you haue heard, appointed commissioners to proceed criminally against the Authors of the troubles of *Bohemia*, according to the rigor of the lawes and constitutions of the Empire. Some of them were fled into *Hungary*; and others were retired with the Elector Palatine: some were dead, and many had been apprehended at the taking of *Prague*, and committed vnto prison.

There were twelue Commissioners appointed to make their Proccesse; who, coming to *Prague* in February, did personally adourn all that had absented themselves after the victory of *Prague*, and had not taken the oath of allegiance to his Imperiall Maiefty, that within six months they should return & submit themselves to the iudgement should be giuen against them in regard of their rebellion; with this clause, that appearing or not, they would proceed to iudgement: and the heirs of those that were dead were summoned to appeare to hear the prisoners examination; and the information against their parents deceased; you shall hear their execution in June next.

The first of February, the Emperour sent forth foure executoriall Letters of Proscription against the Elector Palatine, the Marquess of *Jagerndorf*, the Prince of *Anhalt*, and the Earle of *Hohenlo*. The first against the Elector, for the lower Palatinate, was directed to the Arch-duke *ALBERT* of *Austria*, Prince of *Flanders*: the second for the upper Palatinate; to the Duke of *Bavaria*; that against the Marquess of *Jagerndorf* and the Prince of *Anhalt*, to the Elector of *Saxony*; and the fourth against the Earle of *Hohenlo*, to the Bishoppes of *Bamberg* and *Wirsberg*; all foure Commissions being of one tenor, onely the names changed: whereby hee commanded them to execute his Letters of Proscription against the before-named *FRANCK* (who, as he said, teamed himself Count Palatine) his adherents and fauourers, and to do what

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The King of Bohemia's Letter to M^{rs} Mansfeld.

Commissioners appointed to proceed against the authors of the troubles of Bohemia.

Executoriall Letters against the Elector Palatine & others.

Propositions made by the Deputies of Silesia to the Elector of Saxony.

Articles of the Silesians returned to the Emperour.

foever, they should think fit for the settling of a publique peace in the Roman Empire, and the preserving of his Imperiall authority. Wherefore, he enioined all men to hold the said **F A -**
N D R E C K for a condemned person, not to suffer him in their Territories and Countries; nor to
to give him any succour or counsell vpon any pretext whatsoever; nor to relieue or conuerse
with him, nor to suffer their subjects to do it either publickly or secretly; but to assist his Com-
missionary in the execution of his Commission.

The King of Bo-
hemia's Letter to
the united prin-
ces.

After the losse of that infortunate battell of *Prague*, the Elector Palatine had written to all his
allies and confederates, imputing the cause of that losse to the want of men and money which
had been promised, and that he could neuer perswade the Protestants to ioin their forces to his,
and make them equal to the Catholiques. In his Letter to the Princes of the Vnion, he prayed
God not to suffer them to be daunted nor dejected, and to give them grace to take good resolu-
tions; that the vnited Princes had now more cause to resolute to warre and to ioin all their for-
ces together, like to the Catholique Romane league, and to attempt with all their power to
chase **S P I N O L A** out of the Empire and the lower Palatinate, a Country which was heredita-
ry vnto himself and his brother **L E V V S P H I L I P**; that the Treaty of *Vimes*, although it
was made in fauour of the Catholique league, could not preiudice them, but rather open a way
for the good of all Protestants and the preservation of religion and liberty; that hee doubted
not but the Spaniards, seeing *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces subuigated, would draw
their victorious Armies into the Empire, hould Dicts by force, prescribe lawes to the Pro-
testants, and constrain them to restore the reuenues which had belonged to the Roman Clergie,
and bring vnder their yoke all the Countries of the protestant Electors: wherefore they should
resolute to follow the example of the Elector **M A V R I C I A**, and prepare themselves to warre,
to shake off this yoke rather than to admit it; reason it selfe perswading them to continue their
Vnion: the Imperiall Cities should also remember what hath been done by the enemy in *Bo-
hemia* and *Austria*, and beleue, that if their Vnion did not subsist, they should not onely be
deprived of their wealth, but also forced to entertain and feed souldiers, endure cittadels, and
be reduced into seruitude ten times more than during the Vnion; that if the Bohemians would
have imployed towards the charges of the war, but the tenth part of that which they haue since
lost, they had easily preuented the miseries which haue fallen on them: wherefore he entreated
them to consider of all these things, to haue his cause and that of the reformed protestants in re-
commendation, and to defend his hereditary Countries: the which they should do speedily,
that they might transfer the war into their countries who had been the causes of so many mi-
series.

The King of
great Brittain
perswades the
Princes to con-
tinue their vniu-

Some Authors also write, that our King's Maiesty sent to the Princes of the Vnion to giue
them to vnderstand, that this losse should not cause their disunion, but rather make them resolute
seriously to the continuation thereof: for his part he would neuer fail to assist them with men
and money; whereto he was bound for the preservation of the Palatinate, which was the patri-
mony of his grand-children.

About the end of September 1620, **L E V V S** of *Hesse*, Lantzgrau of *Darmstat*, had written
to the Princes of the Vnion to perswade them to consider of the means whereby peace might
be settled in the Empire, and they reconciled to his Imperiall Maiesty. To whom they made
this answer, that the Princes of the Vnion had neuer opposed themselves to the Emperor, but
had alwaies honoured him; that they had faithfully obserued the Treaty of *Vimes*, and had not
participated any thing with the troubles of *Bohemia*: and yet **S P I N O L A** had not forbore to
inuaide many places belonging to the Princes and States vnited, who neuer had any thing com-
mon with the Bohemians; where the Spaniard had vsed great exactions, which had forc'd them
to take Arms: that the Lantzgrau should presse his Imperiall Maiesty, to the end that **S P I N O -**
L A with his forces might leaue the Territories of the Empire, whereby euery man might re-
turne to his owne house, which would be the onely means to settle a peace.

The Elector of
Mentz, and the
Lantzgrau of
Darmstat made
Commissioners
to the Emperor,
The Emperor
sends to the
Imperiall townes.

The Emperor, knowing that the vnion of the Princes and States which had begun in the year
1610, was to end in May following, wrote to the Imperiall Towns and Cities of this Vnion,
admonishing them to leaue it, and not continue it. He sent these Letters to the Elector of *Mentz*,
and to **L E V V S** Lantzgrau of *Hesse* of *Darmstat*, to see them conuaid, and to require an an-
swer; making them his Commissioners to treat with all the Princes and States that should re-
nounce themselves with his Imperiall Maiesty. His Letters to the Imperiall cities contaid, that he
doubted not but they were well informed why **L E V V S** had perswaded the Princes of the
Vnion to submit themselves, and to giue care to some accord, for the settling of a Peace in their
Coun-

Countrey; That hitherto God had giuen him many victories, and might by the same fauour
hope for greater, being assisted by his kinsfolks and friends; yet, for the loue and fatherly affec-
tion he bare to *Germany* their common Countrey, he was more inclined to Peace then Warre;
so as they would giue way to his admonitions; That the commendable designe of the Lantz-
grau, to procure some accomodation, had been very pleasing vnto him: Wherefore he ex-
horted them to forbear to entertaine the Warre which was made in the Palatinate, vnder the
name of the Princes of the Vnion; and withall, aduised them not to recontinue their Vnion,
which as he vnderstood was to end in May following; hoping that they would giue no more
aide nor counsell for the continuance of such cruel war. And therefore he offered them pardon
for all that had been done against him or his predecessors; promising to receive them all into his
grace and fauor, and not to suffer any one to be cald in question directly or indirectly, or receive
any losse from himselfe, his cosen the king of *Spain*, or from any other Prince of the house of
Austria: but contrariwise he would giue order that they should not be molested by garrisons or
his Armies; but would defend and protect them in all necessary occasions. Moreouer, that he
would confirm all their priuiledges and immunities made for the Peace of Religion; and the
State, hauing giuen full power to his commissioners to treat with them, and to giue them all ne-
cessary assurances.

These Letters being sent to *Nuremberg* and other Imperiall townes by the said Commis-
sioners which had accompanied them, with their owne; They of *Nuremberg* made answer, that
during the present troubles in the Empire they could not haue receiued any thing more plea-
sing then his Maiesties Letter, seeing that the things promised in them, should be confirmed by
such worthy Princes. That they had also vnderstood that many townes had receiued the like
Letters and sent their Deputies vnto them; That for their parts they would acquiesce in the towns
of *Franconia* their associates with his Maiesties intention, and speedily send their answer; desir-
ing nothing more, then to continue obedient and faithfull to the Empire.

Their answer.

S P I N O L A, notwithstanding the sharpnes of the winter, had sent the Generall of his horse
into the Palatinate, on the other side of the *Rhine*; where he had taken some places, and forced
many Noblemen, Protestants, along the riuier of *Main*, to compound and giue him great sums
of money, to auoid their apparant ruine. The Marquis of *Onsbach*, or *Ansbach*, Generall for
the Princes of the Vnion (who wintred with his troops at *Wormes* and thereabouts) being gone
to their Assembly at *Heilbrun*, and hauing put 300 horse & foot in garrison, into *Westhof*: **S P I -**
N O L A resolu'd to take this lodging from him; for the effecting whereof, on the 15 of March,
hauing drawn together 2000 horse, with 4000 foot; he marched in one night with 6 cannons
to *Westhof*, the which he took in 8 houres: The souldiers were sent out disarmed with white
wands: the Captains and officers were put to ranfome: the Inhabitants paid 16000 Florens,
and they of *Offshof* 10000. Then he returned to *Crutzenac*, carrying with him 6 of the Burgers of
Westhof, who were also put to ranfome. This prize being reported to the Marquisse of *Ansbach*,
he returned speedily to *Wormes*, from whence he sent the Earle of *Solms* with certain troops to
Offshof and *Westhof*; but, hearing that **S P I N O L A** was to returne and fortifie himselfe there, they
burnt these 2 townes; to the great grief and lamentation of the poore inhabitants. About this
time, there was an Assembly of the Protestants at *Seegenberg*, in *Halsatia*; where the king of *Den-*
marke, and the Elector Palatine were in person; others sent their Ambassadors, as the king of
Swethland, the Elector of *Brandenbourg*, from the Princes of the Vnion, and the States of the vni-
ted Prouinces; from the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Holfatia*, *Lanebourg*, *Meclebourg* and *Pomerania*, with
other Earls & States of the Circle of the lower *Saxony*, which began and ended in March: They
haue written diuersly of their conclusion in this Assembly: Some hold that it was resolu'd to
assist the Elector Palatine with 2000 foot, and 6000 horse, to chase **S P I N O L A** out of the Pa-
latinate; but it took no effect. Others haue written, and with more apparance of truth, that the
king of *Denmarke* undertook to send an Ambassador to *Vienna*, to beseech his Imperiall Maiesty to
reuoke the Proscription thundred out against the Elector Palatine, and to restore him to all his
Estates and dignities; which would be the means to attaine vnto a firme Peace throughout
the whole Empire: (This Ambassi was sent to *Vienna*, and wee shall heere what answer the
Emperor made) And secondly, that the said King should write to **S P I N O L A** to exhort him
to retire out of the Palatinate, and the Territories of the Empire, the which he did as followeth.

Westhof and
Offshof taken by
Spinola, & af-
ter burnt by the
Prince.

An Assembly of
Protestants in
Halsatia.

Letters of the K.
of Denmarke to
Spinola.

I haue vnderstood with much grieue and affliction of minde, by Letters from many Princes
of the Empire, my Cozins, Allies and Friends; that you are entred, with an Army, into the
heart of the Empire, and the midst of high *Germany*; whereas you haue taken many townes; ca-
sles

files and forts in the Palatinate by force, and continue the like violence against the countries & territories of many other Princes, Earls, States and Towns of the Empire; yea, against those which belong to Widows and Orphans, who have no waies offended the Emperor; exacting grievous contributions: which hath made the neighbor Princes grow jealous, lest you should use the like violence against them, their countries, and territories, as they have bin threatened by you, if they would not discharge the garrisons they entertained for the safety of their places & countries, if they did not renounce their unions and leagues (which have bin always allowed by Divine and humane laws, and especially by the golden Bull of CHARLES the 4.) and did not give free passage to your Army, both by water & land, and through your towns, castles, forts & passages, according to your will and pleasure. These proceedings are not only repugnant to the imperial constitutions, the liberty of Germany, and the publique Peace; but also to the Letters-patents which his Imperial Majesty hath caused to be published for the publique safety: wherefore it was not to be suffered, that the States of the Empire, our consins, and kins-folke, having done wrong to no man, should be abandoned for want of defence, vnder the yoke of an vnjust oppression: And therefore we entreate you louingly, that we may have no cause to vndertake their iust defence to free them from the violence which they suffer; but that you would desist from all these inuasions, and abandon that which hath been taken by force from the States of the Empire, and restore it to their Princes & Lords: which done, posterity will commend you to have bin a wise and prudent Prince, and all the Princes of the Empire, and my self will thanke you.

As for the Assembly of the Catholique Princes and States held at *Ansbourg*, and that of the Princes of the Vnion at *Heilbrunn*, and their conclusions; may be seen in this Letter following, written by one of the assembly of *Ansbourg*.

I am returned from the Diet at *Ansbourg* the 19 of March, where the Princes and Catholique States of the Empire have been assembled the space of 7 weekes: We have resolved a continuance of contribution for a defensive warre, so long as the troubles shall continue; for the which there shall be an aduance of 10 moneths, for the entertainment of 12000 foot, and 3000 horse, vnder the Duke of *Bavaria* their Generall. I can assure you that the said Princes and Catholique States are so well resolved as they were neuer; and that if they had bin of the like minde some fewe years since, the Protestant States had been at a low Eb. They being assembled at *Heilbrunn*, sent an Ambassage to our Assembly; the subject was, that having no other aime nor intent but Peace, which they called the obseruation of the treaty of *Vime*; the Catholikes have granted them the said obseruation. They are all vpon the point of reconciling themselves vnto the Emperor & to abandon the Elector Palatine. My L. Bishop of *Spire* stands vpon his guard on the defensive; because he is assured the said protestant Princes crye out against his Fort of *Pdenheim*, hauing caused the Elctor of *Mentz* and D. of *Bavaria* to be moued to perswade him to giue ouer that new fortification; but they have giuen them answer in writing, shewing the iust occasions and rights, for the which the said Bishop had reason to seek the assurance and quiet of his country, after so many oppressions and wrongs which he had endured from his neighbours.

In the beginning of March, the Princes of the Vnion, and the Imperiall Townes of their partie, began to reconcile themselves vnto the Emperor, promising to giue no more succour vnto the Elector Palatine, and not to prolong their Vnion, nor to make any new. There were some of them which treated for their owne particular, being thereunto pressed; and the rest in generall. And thus you see, that all they which had aduised and perswaded the Elector Palatine to accept of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, for the generall good of *Germanie*, as they pretended, and so ingaged him in a most dangerous war, contrary to the will and aduice of his best friend, when as hee might have lived happie and peacefull daies in his owne Country, much honoured and respected; doe now, after some frownes of fortune, abandon him and his, basely and cowardly, to the affronts and oppression of a proud and insolent enemy, who, no doubt, in time will make them know the danger of their dis-union, and repent their rash resolutions.

MAVRICE, Lantgrave of *Hesse*, seeing SPINOLA's expedition in the Palatinates; and his Armie readie vpon the first occasion to enter into his country; the tediousness of the Princes in their resolution to treat with the Emperor; and that hee should be the first in danger: he was also the first which sent vnto the Emperors Commissioners, and to Marquis SPINOLA, touching his re-union. The place of treaty was at *Bingen*; where, after many consultations of their Deputies, in the end these Articles following were concluded.

First, that Prince MAVRICE, Lantgrave, should promise, not to attempt by himselfe or any other, any act of hostility against his Imperiall Majesty, or his Armie; and not to give any assistance

assistance, directly or indirectly, of men, money, munition, victuals, or counsell to the Count Palatine; nor to the united Princes, and other Kings, Electors, Princes, and Estates which had relieved the said Palatine, and the Palatinates, the Realme of *Bohemia*, and other Provinces incorporated. 2. That the said Lantgrave should withdraw his Troopes and Souldiers from the Princes Armie, and from the Palatinates. 3. That by the fourteenth of May (which would be the expiration of their Vnion) he should send an Ambassadour expressly to giue notice to the other Princes, that he did renounce the said Vnion, or any other new Vnion which might be made, against his Imperiall Majesty, to succour the Palatine and Palatinates, and should keepe these present Articles inuiolable. 4. That Marquess SPINOLA should also promise, that neither he nor his Armie should commit any act of hostility, make any eruption, nor exact any contribution vpon the Lands, Principality and Segnories of the said Lantgrave MAVRICE, nor vpon his vassalles, Ministers and subiects, nor their goods, moueable or immoueable; but should keepe them from all molestations, and suffer them to lue in Peace, both for Religion and policie, according to the Imperiall constitutions: But if any of the said Lant-graues subiects should doe contrary to this transaction, they should be excepted. And lastly, that this Treaty should be signed by Marquess SPINOLA, and the Lant-graue MAVRICE, and that within three moneths the said Marquess should cause it to be signed and ratified by the Emperor, and the Arch-duke ALBERT: which he should deliuer to the Lant-graue, and in the meane time these Articles which were concluded, the 23 of March, should be obserued.

The three chiefe Imperiall protestant Cities, *Strasbourg*, *Vime*, and *Nuremberg*, hauing at the same time sent their priuate Deputies to the Elector of *Mentz*, and the Lant-graue LEVVS, treated of their reconciliation with the Emperor, and promised to renounce the Vnion of the Correspondents: which was concluded and signed the 9 of April, and proclaimed afterwards in their Cities.

They of *Wormes* feared a siege, for the great preparations which SPINOLA made, so as they carried what they had, most pretious, to *Spire*, as to a place of refuge: They would gladly have imitated *Strasbourg* and *Vime*, but the Princes of the Vnion were too neere them; who, desiring to treat in generall, had sent their Ambassadours to the Emperor: but considering that the state of their affaires required a more speedy remedy then the return of the said Ambassadours, there was a meeting appointed betwixt the Lant-graue LEVVS, and the Marquess of *Obolbach*, Generall of the Vnion, and JOHN FREDERICK D. of *Virtemberg*, at *Veinheim*, where, after many discourses of the means to treat an accord for the Peace of *Germany*, the D. of *Virtemberg* went alone to *Wormes*, to impart it to the Marquess of *Baden*; from whence, being returned, they went all to *Mentz*; whither SPINOLA also came, and the Articles following for the Peace and re-union of the Princes and States correspondents were concluded and signed the 12 of April. First, it is agreed betwixt the aboue named Princes, that they shall forbear to vse any acts of hostility one against another; that the Princes and States of the Vnion, and their Souldiers shall not offer any wrong to the Marquess SPINOLA or his Armie and troups, nor to those places which he hath made subiect to his obedience, or to any which are comprehended in this treatie, their countries and states. 2. They shall not giue any succours of money or men, to any Lord Palatin of the *Rhine*, be it directly or indirectly, by themselves or by others in any sort whatsoever. 3. They shall not continue the Vnion heretofore made by them, neither in favor of the Palatine, nor hatred of his Imperiall Ma: Nor shall make any new; but they shall retire their troups out of the Palatinat by the 14 of May next to come; whether they belong to priuat persons or to the general, and they shall all continue faithful to his imperiall Ma. 4. The Marquess SPINOLA doth also promise not to vse or cause to be vsed, any hostility against the Princes and vnited States Protestants, their soldiers, officers, subiects, castles, towns, and territories. 5. That in this treaty of Peace shall be comprehended, as well those mentioned in the Treaty of *Vime*, as all the other Electors, Princes, States and Knights of the Empire; except the country & territories of the house of *Saliers*. 6. Touching the Count P. FREDERICK the Mar. SPINOLA, hauing been required by the king of great *Britan* not to execute his commission against the countries which remained vnder the Palatins obedience, till the end of the v-nion, which should expire the 14 of May, nor against his subiects or their goods; he promised that no Act of hostility should be committed by him or any other vntill that day, conditionally, that the Princes & vnited States shall take order that the particular troups now in the Palatinat and neighbor places, shall not attempt ought against the said SPINOLA or his Armie, nor the Townes and places which hee now holdeth, or against any State of the Empire that is

Strasbourg,
Vime and *Nuremberg*, re-nounce the Vnion.

The Princes of the Vnion, reconciled to the Emperor.

faithfull to his Maieſty. Scuenthly, and to the end that the neighbour Princes and States and their ſubiects may not be wronged by the Souldiers of either party; the Princes aboue named promiſe, every one for themſelves, to hinder all incursions, robberies, and thefts, and to aſſure the high-ways for the free liberty of commerce. Theſe Articles being ſigned and ſealed by all the Princes; SPINOLA having promiſed to cauſe them to be ſigned and ratified by his Imperiall Maieſty, and the Arch-duke ALBERT; the Electour of *Mentz* made them a ſtately Feaſt: and on the morrow after, SPINOLA did the like with great magnificence.

But afterwards it was added to the ſaid treaty; that if the King of Great-Brittaine ſhould demand that the ſuſpenſion againſt the execution of the Palatinate ſhould be prolonged till the ſecond of Iune; that SPINOLA would yeeld vnto it, ſo as his Maieſty did promiſe that his ſonne in law ſhould not attempt any thing againſt thoſe places which he held, nor againſt his Army. Moreover, if the Kings Letters could not come by the foureteenth of May; that the Marqueſſe of *Ohnebach*, hauing giuen notice thereof to Marqueſſe SPINOLA, and if he required a longer delay of ten daies, that he would grant it: the which was again ſigned by the two Generals SPINOLA and BRANDENBOURG OLNIBACH.

After theſe treaties of Peace, MARYICA Lantz-graue of *Heſſe* retired his ſouldiers from the Army of the vniited Princes; and they alſo countermanded their troops which were in the Palatinate vnder the command of CNIPIVS; ſo as for the guard thereof, there remained no Germanes but OBERTRANT with his horſe, Sir HORATIO VERR with his Engliſh, and ſome Troupes of *Holland*, who were lodged in *Heidelberg*, *Manheim*, and *Frankendale*, where they fortified themſelves againſt the enemies attempts, as well as time and their meanes would giue them leaue.

Letter from
Electour of
ſury to the
of Brunſwic.

A bruit diſperſed ouer all *Germany* touching a great Army which was leuiſed in *Denmarke* and the lower *Saxony*, in fauour of the Palatinate, was the ſubiect of this following Letter; written by the Electour of *Mentz*, to FRADERICK VERTIC Duke of *Brunſwick*. Being aduerted from many parts that there are great numbers of ſouldiers leuiſed in the circle of the lower *Saxony* to go into the Palatinate; I thought good to aduertise you of the treaty of pacification which hath been made betwixt the Marqueſſe SPINOLA on the one ſide, and the Marqueſſe of *Ohnebach*, with other of the confederate Princes on the other; whereby a Truce is concluded for the Palatinate, as you may ſee by the Articles I ſend you. There is no man of iudgement but foreſees, if theſe ſouldiers (leuiſed in baſe *Saxony*) ſhall goe into the Palatinate, that all the paines ſo many Princes haue taken to ſettle a Peace in *Germany*, and Truce in the Palatinate, will be vaine and without any fruit; if we returne againe to warre, and that the fire of ciuill diſſenſion be againe renewed. We coniure and intreat you ſo to deale with the Princes and States of *Saxony*, that nothing may be attempted which may miniſter ſubiect to breake the treaty of Peace; in which you and all the Princes and States of the Empire are comprehended: you ſhall herein doe a commendable worke for the good of the common-weale, whereof we thought good to aduertise you, &c. this 24 of April.

The Emperour wrote alſo at the ſame time to the Duke of *Brunſwic*, concerning the ſame ſubiect, as alſo againſt thoſe which had publiſhed in the lower *Saxony*, that SPINOLA's intent was to march thither to diſpoſſeſſe the Princes of that circle of the Arch-biſhopricks and Eccleſiaſticall revenues which they held: the which his Maieſty, by his Letters, did auerre to be a ſlander; aſſuring him that his Maieſty would maintaine the Peace as well in cauſes of Religion, as of State, according to the Letters of aſſurance which he had cauſed to be publiſhed at his comming to the Empire: and as for the exceſſe committed by SPINOLA's Army, againſt ſome Princes and places in *Petavia*, and vpon the *Rhine*; he had written vnto him to make ſatisfaction for the ſame, and to forbid the doing of the like hereafter: wherefore he aduiſed him not to beleue ſuch falſe reports, but rather to giue credit to the words and promiſes of his Imperiall Maieſty, to keepe himſelfe in Peace and not to enter into an vnneceſſary charge; ſeeing the intention of his Maieſty was like that of his predeceſſors, deſiring nothing more then to continue his good affection vnto the Princes and States of the Empire.

the proceedings
Bohemia.

Let vs now returne into *Bohemia*, and ſee what exploits were done there during the moneths of March, Aprill, May, and Iune. The Emperour had cauſed two Armies to be leuiſed, the one on this ſide of the riuier of *Molda*, towards *Piſſen*, whereof the Baron of *Tilly* was Generall, to beſiege ſuch places as held yet for MANDSFELD; and the other beyond the Riuier, commanded by DON BALTHAZAR, to ſet vpon *Taber*. MANDSFELD was returned from *Heilbrunn* into

into the vpper Palatinate to leuiſe new Troops, and to attend others which the Duke of *Weimar* leuiſed vpon his Lands by order from the Electour Palatine, to ioyn with him, and ſuccour thoſe places which held yet for him in *Bohemia*. The enemy made profit of his abſence; and by the treachery of Colonel FRANK, IERONIMO DE PORTA, and LEMINGOR his owne inſtruments and ſeruants, TILLY entred into a particular Treaty with the Captaines for the yeelding vp of *Piſſen*, while that in outward ſhew he ſeem'd to deſire a Treaty with Count MANDSFELD: ſo as the Captaines, hauing already paſt the bounds of duty, beganne to ſpeak more openly. They wrote to their Commander Count MANDSFELD, that they purpoſed to expect no longer, but would either bee preſently paid or aſſured of their pay; and, if they had not a ſpeedy reſolution, would prouide for themſelues.

His Auditor LEMINGOR, after conference with Monſieur TILLY about his laſt Commiſſion, returned to the Lord Marshall without any effect; excuſing it, that hee was ſent back with threats, and denied audience; pretending, that the enemy took it ill, that, changing the Contents of his firſt Commiſſion, he had inſerted this laſt Article concerning the vpper Palatinate (as you haue heard) which had no dependency vpon *Bohemia*. Beeing now aſſured of the Captaines diſpoſitions, he had no will to treat with the Lord Marshall; it being onely to enter-taine time, and to ſtay him from further proceeding. LEMINGOR, aduertizing him of this ſecret Treaty, and that his Captaines inclined to the Emperors party, did what hee could to procure money to ſatiſſie theſe traitors: but, all was in vain; for, thoſe whom hee truſted moſt, be-traid him: and the Letter which he ſent to *Piſſen* to ſuſcite the Officers from ſo ſoule a fact, was intercepted by the enemy, and not deliuered; ſo as on the twenty ſixt of March, the treaty that had been long a-working was concluded at *Ades* betwixt the Baron of *Tilly*, Generall of the Emperors Army, and the Captaines of the Garriſon of *Piſſen*: where it was aſſured, that in regard of their abſolute departure from the ſaid Town, the Captaines ſhould receiue 140000 ſlorens from his Imperiall Maieſty to be diuided equally among the ſeuſen companies of the Regiment. Colonel FRANK made his treaty apart, and got a promiſe of 3000 pound ſterling for the reſtitution of *Taber*; that all the ſouldiers, which would retire to Count MANDSFELD, ſhould be conducted to a place of ſafety with their Enſignes, Arms and baggage; that in going forth, they ſhould not moleſt the Clergy nor Inhabitants in any ſort; and that they ſhould leaue all the cannon and munition within the Town in the ſame eſtate they were. Thus was *Piſſen* preſently deliuered, and theſe merchants receiued the price of their accuſed ſale; and euery one departed whither he pleaſed.

Piſſen ſould by
the treachery of
the Captaines.

The Lord Marshall, after the conclusion of this Treaty, wrote kinde Letters, thinking to draw them into the Palatinate: but, their guilty conſciences would not ſuffer them to appeare before him. His Auditor LEMINGOR, hauing receiued 4000 Ricks dollars (the hire of his penury) thought to conueigh it ſecretly through the Palatinate; thinking by his wit to juſtifie the reſt of his actions, that the Lord Marshall ſhould receiue good ſatisfaction: but he ſoon diſcovered his money and his villany; cauſing both the money and the man to be attached, and made him to be queſtioned at a Marshalls Court: where, being condemned to dy, he was executed according to martiall law.

Colonell FRANK grew much amazed at his impriſonment. The Lord Marshall, beeing come to *Amberg*, called him before the Earl of *Salms*, Lieutenant Gouverner of the vpper Palatinate, and the Lords of the Councell, to clear himſelf concerning the yeelding vp of *Piſſen*. Beeing ſummoned by the Lord Marshall, he came thither in his caroch; but was ſurpriſed with ſuch fear, that he returned preſently with all ſpeed, leauing both caroch, ſeruants and baggage behinde him. He got to *Nuremberg*, from thence to *Regensburg*, and after to *Taber*, where hee hoped to be receiued by the garriſon: but he was preuented by the vigilancy of the Lord Marshall, who ſent a command to the contrary. Finding himſelf thus fruſtrate of his expectation, he went and ſtaid ſome time in the enemies Camp, and then retired to *Prague* to make his apology. Some well-willers to Colonel FRANK, who preſume to know him and his actions well, and were imploied in thoſe warres, ſaid that theſe are ſcandalous aſperſions laid vpon him without cauſe. They confeſſe, that he gaue way to the enemies Captaines and Officers to come familiarly into *Piſſen*, where they had all good reception; which was only to prolong the treaty by delaies, that in the mean time they might gett ſome relief from the King of *Bohemia* or Count MANDSFELD: but they abſolutely deny, that hee made any compoſition for himſelf vpon the yeelding vp of the Town. They alſo confeſſe, that he retired himſelf ſecretly from *Amberg*: and the reaſon was, for that, ſeeing how LEMINGOR was intreated, he feared the

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like although he had not deserved it. And touching his retiring to *Tabor*, they say he came thither during the time it was besieged, and past through the enemies Camp by night; where, coming to the Port, they would not receive him, having been formerly advertised to the contrary from Count MANSFELD; that in the morning the enemy discovered him, and took him prisoner; with whom he continued till the Town was yielded, and then was released, it being one of their conditions, because they then held him for an honest man. Thus have I written the opinions on both sides touching Colonel FRANK; the censure whereof I leave to the judicious Reader.

The enemy seeing himself freed of this thorn, being master of *Pilsen* which had so much annoyed them; General TILLY led his Army to join with the Troops of *Saxony* which were come to the river of *Egra*, and had forced a Town of the same name to declare it self for the Emperor, and receive a garrison: which Town is the proper inheritance of the Elector Palatine. There remained no more on that side but *Falkenau* and *Eilenbogen*. They went first to *Falkenau*, where Colonel GRAY commanded with certain companies of English and others: they battered and assaulted it divers times; so as the Colonel, having defended it many daies, and performed the part of a brave souldier, was forced to treat and depart with Arms and baggage. This place being yielded, there remained nothing in those Quarters but *Eilenbogen*, being not great, yet strongly situated by nature. There were in it three companies of good souldiers, besides the Citizens, which were much affected to the Kings party. Count HENRY of *Ottensberg*, a brave and generous young Noble-man, commanded in the Town by the appointment of the Lord Marshall. The siege began the second of April, and continued till the six and twentieth with as much resolution and obduracy as could be devised, employing all their forces and stratagems. The cannon plaid continually, and they shot balles of wilde-fire incessantly: yet, notwithstanding all their fury, they within the Town, encouraged by their young Earle to continue constant in his Majesties service, were not tired with any labour; but, the more the enemy pressed upon them, the more resolutely they carried themselves to repell them: so as, had they not wanted powder, without doubt they had made good the place. The Lord Marshall, during the siege, did what he could possibly to succour them; still giving advice to the Earle, that (in case he saw himself pressed before that succours came) he should treat in time; rather than be brought to extremity, and lose the hope of an honourable composition to save the Troops. About the six and twentieth of April the Lord Marshall went with his Army (which was but small) with an intent to raise the siege at what rate soever. His Foreward entering into *Bohemia*, they had newes that the Town was yielded upon composition, the Gouverner being forced by the forenamed want and other inconveniences. The Articles were honourable: that the garrison should depart with bag and baggage, bullets in the mouth, marches light, drums beating, colours flying, &c: but the enemy (accustomed to break his faith to those of the religion) used them as they had done others before at *Tachau*; for, as the souldiers came out, they spoiled them one after another: which particular losse was very sensible to the poor souldiers. *Eilenbogen* being lost, the Lord Marshall retired again into the upper Palatinat to go on with his Levies of souldiers, and to prepare himself for some better designe. Some write, that the Inhabitants of *Eilenbogen* were taxed at 1000000 florens by TILLY to redeem their Towne from spoil, and that he seized on the chief Burgeses till the summe were paid.

At the same time Don BALTHAZAR forced the garrisons of *Varling* and *Clingenberg* to yield those two places to him, upon condition that the souldiers should not thrust themselves into *Tabor*, but depart out of *Bohemia*, and should be conducted to the higher Palatinat with all safety: which was duly performed. There now remained no more in *Bohemia* but *Tabor* and *Vittingaw*, which fortified themselves to endure a siege wherewith Don BALTHAZAR threatened them: you shall hereafter hear what passed there. Let vs now see the executions of justice which were done at *Prague* both upon the Directors and the chief Authors of those combustions and troubles.

We have formerly related how that his Imperiall Majesty had appointed the Earl of *Lichtenstein* and other Commissioners to proceed against the Authors of the Bohemian troubles. On the three and twentieth of April, a Sentence was given against the deceased (who were then named) in the presence of their heires; whereby they were convicted of high treason, and their memory for ever condemned, and their goods confiscate to his Imperiall Majesty, as King of *Bohemia*: yet their condemnation should not touch their kinsfolks with any note of infamy; the which his Majesty of this speciall grace would have inserted.

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On the 13 of May, JOHN ANDREW Earle of *Schlic* (one of the greatest Lords of *Bohemia* and chief of those combustions) being retired to certaine lands he had upon the river of *Egra*, and from thence into *Foyland*; he was encountered by the Elector of *Saxony's* horsemen, who carried him prisoner to *Dresda*: which being knowne unto the Emperour, he sent to demand him of the Elector. Whereupon, he was delivered to his Commisarie, who conducted him to *Prague* under sure guard: where his processe was made with the other prisoners, they being in all forty five: whereof seven were condemned to perpetual imprisonment in *Prague*; two to be sent in chains to *Janerin*; two to remaine in prison for a yeere: three were to be hanged: three to be whipt and banished for ever, and one to have his tongue nailed to a Post for an hours space, and to be banished for ever to *Janerin*: All the rest were to lose their heads, and many of them to have their right hands cut off, and set upon the towres of the bridge. All their lands and goods were by the same judgement confiscate to his Imperiall Majesty; only their wives dowries excepted.

The condemnation of the prisoners of *Prague*.

The manner of their execution I will beould to relate more particularly, because it was somewhat extraordinary. After their condemnation they were returned to prison: where every man had liberty to visit them, and confesse with them. They were all Lutherans, except one Baron (who was a Calvinist) and a Captain which was a Romish Catholike. There was a scaffold built in the accustomed place neere unto the Towne-house, four eells high, and twenty two spaces square, and bordered round about. This scaffold was afterwards covered with black cloth: upon the which, on the day of execution, there was a man set in a long black robe and his face covered, holding a Crucifix in his hand, to present it to every one of the condemned as he should come vp on the scaffold. There were two others attired in like manner to receive the condemned as they went to dy, and to spread before them a black cloth, whereon they kneeled when they were executed; and, thirdly, six men in like attire with their faces covered, appointed to take vp their bodies being dead, and to waite them in the black cloth wheron they had kneeled, to deliver them to their kinsfolk. On Sunday the 20 of June (the day before the execution) many of their wives and children cast themselves at the Prince of *Lichtensteins* feet, to sue for their husbands: but he made them answer, It was not in his power, but only in the Emperors, to give.

The manner of the execution of the prisoners.

At five of the clock in the morning, at the shooting off a Cannon from the Castle, all the gates of *Prague* were presently shut vp, and the execution began.

First of all the Earle of *Schlic*, attired in a gowne of black silk, houlding a booke in his hand, went vp to execution. The man, appointed to that office, presented him the Crosse: his servant unclothed him; and, after his prayers ended, the Executioner cut off his head: which done, his owne servant laid his right hand upon a block; the which, in like manner, was cut off, and layd apart with the head: the body was wrapped vp in the cloth whercon he had kneeled, and carried from the scaffold by those six men appointed to that purpose; so as the body was neuer touched by the Executioner. The like forme was observed with all the rest which were beheaded. NICHOLAS DVVIS, whose tongue was nailed for an hours space to the gallows, died with the torment within three daies after.

The Countesse of *Schlic*, did so much lament the losse and death of her husband, as she did not survive him many daies. As for the bodies of such as were executed by the sword, they were delivered to their kinsfolkes & friends, to be entered some in their Segniories, and others in *Prague*.

At the same instant, there was the like inquisition in both *Austria*, against the chiefe which had held the Bohemian party. The Commissioners did summon many to appeare personally before them at *Linz*, to iustifie themselves. Some came: other (who thought there was more safety in absence) forbore. Some, which came in, were committed: against such as stood out, they proceeded, by seizure of their goods; the which, as LYNDORPHNS writes, were restored for money, and upon other conditions. FREDERICK, Baron of *Tieffembach*, one of the chief actors in *Moravia*, had beene taken at the Bathes in the County of *Tirol*: being brought to *Oenpome*, the Emperours sent Commissioners, who made his processe, and cut off his head.

The Marquesse *Jagerndorf* (who had not beene comprehended in the treaty of *Silefia*, but proffered by the Emperour, and the execution thereof committed to the Elector of *Saxony*) thought, by these terrible executions at *Prague*, to put the *Silefians* in feare, and to make them returne to Arms against the Emperour. At his departure out of *Lusatia*, he marched with his troupes being 3000 men into the County of *Glatz*; resolving, that the States of *Silefia* (in whose

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name, and for whom, he had leuied these forces) should pay them what was their due. Hee required the States therefore to giue him satisfaction: but, they so delayed him, as he well perceived they desired to be ridde of him.

The Countie of *Glatz* is a frontiere of *Bohemia*, *Infania*, *Silesia*, and *Moravia*. The riuer of *Iegerne*, vpon which lieth *Iegerndorf* (that is to say, the Bourrough of *Iegerne*) is betwixt *Nisse*, *Tropau* and *Glatz*. This Marquesse seeing all the Emperors forces employed either in *Hungary* or beyond the riuer of *Molda*, and that round about the Countie of *Glatz*, there were none but enemies, where his souldiers might get good booty; he resolved to surpris some such places, as they should be forced to demaunde a peace of him: all which succeeded happily. For, the Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia* hearing of his designe, sent him his Letters, by the which he made him Commissarie General in his Realme of *Bohemia* and the incorporated prouinces, with full power to gouerne those Countie according to his discretion; to make leuies of souldiers, and to doe whatsoever he thought necessary; commanding all his subiects to yeeld obedience and assistance vnto the said Marquesse his Commissarie. Hauing this Commission, he gaue liberty to his troups to commit all acts of hostility: whereby his number so encreased as he made himselfe Maister of *Tropau* and *Nisse*, and forced the inhabitants of the whole Bishoprick of *Nisse* to pay him 100 000 dollars, and the four receiueis of the Countie (who were his prisoners) to furnish him with 10000 Hungarian duckets within two daies. After which, going with his horse and some part of foote (being in all 1500 men) he entered into *Bohemia*: where he committed great spoiles, and making vse of the Peasants which were in Armes, he leied vpon diuers places. After which, he went to besiege *Glatz*: which being yeelded, he furnished it with 3000 good souldiers and 13 Cannons.

The States of *Silesia* desirous to stop the course of these suddaine incursions, and surprising of Townes, sent their Deputies to the Elector of *Saxony*, Commissary for his Imperiall Maiefty in *Silesia*. It was resolved betwixt them to leuie an Army of 1500 horse and 11000 foot to stay the said Marquess. The Elector sent them 3000 foot & 1000 horse; the States of *Silesia* were to furnish the rest. They had resolved to recouer *Glatz*: but the Marquess had taken such order, and his new enterprises vpon the territorie of *Preßlau* (from whence he drew 60000 dollars to retire his troups) made them in the beginning to stand vpon the defensive, and to assure their other Townes without attempting any thing against the Marquesse: who hauing retired his garrisons from *Nisse* and many other places, which he held not able to resist their forces; hee made the body of an Army; which he led into the principality of *Tschin* vpon the frontiers of *Moravia*: where after great spoiles committed by his troups, the inhabitants were forced to giue him certaint thousands of Hungarian duckets to leaue them & to passe on to *BRITLIN GAZOR*.

Before he left the Countie, hee wrote two Letters to the States of *Silesia* touching the execution of the prisoners at *Prague*. The first did intimate that it was notorious to the whole world, that the cruell and barbarous execution made at *Prague* of the chiefe Noblemen of *Bohemia* (the true pillars of the State) and of many honest and worthy persons and good countrey men, was onely in regarde of their religion and constancie to keepe their faith vnto their King, whom they had chosen: a cruell execution, which God would reuenge vpon the Authors. That he was truly aduertised that the like would shortly be done to the chiefe of *Silesia*, at *Preßlau* and in other places (if God diuerted not the designe) notwithstanding the transaction and treaty of grace and pardon made with the Elector of *Saxony*. That this cruell inquisition of *Spain* hauing no other end, but the oppression and extirpation of the Protestant religion, hee thought good to aduertise them all, and especially the inhabitants of *Preßlau* and *Schneitz*, to be wise by other mens examples; and not so much to regarde that which concerns their priuate profit, as that of the publike; to the end they might maintain the faith giuen to their King, and to the league which they had sworn; and to ioyne with him to free themselves from so many tyrannies: but, if (contrarie to his hope) they would willingly remaine in danger, let them accuse none but themselves to be the Authors of their and the Countie's ruine, and the breach of faith which they had sworne to their elected King. And, withall, he aduertised them, that if in his absence any violence were offered to any of his Counsellors, officers, ministers and subiects which were in *Silesia*, or to any Protestant in the Bishoprick of *Nisse*, or if they did put any garrisons into the Townes which did particularly belong to him, or that they recieued any wrong; that they should assure themselves, that the administrators and receiueis of the Bishoprick of *Nisse* (who were in his custodie) should haue the like vltage. The second Letter was to the same effect.

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The Elector of *Saxony* made answer to these Letters, shewing the iustice of the Emperors proceeding in the execution at *Prague*: And as touching the breach of the transaction which he had made with the *Silesians*, he gaue them his word and Electoral faith, that it should be faithfully kept and obserued; and that there was neuer any intent, neither should they be any leach or execution vpon any colour whatsoever, so long as they contined themselves within the bounds of the said transaction.

The Emperour also made answer to those Letters: by which, he assured the *Silesians* that he would neuer forget the grace and pardon which he had imparted vnto them; promising, to maintaine the transaction made with the Elector of *Saxony*: which he did confirme by those presents, so as they continued in their fidelity and obedience. Hee also exhorted the Princes, States and all his subiects of *Silesia*, not to suffer themselves to be seduced by the inuention and fraude of that proscrip or any other person; but, to remaine within the termes of the transaction, and to employ all their forces to oppress that rebel and his partisans, by whom they had bene often seduced; to the end that *Silesia* might be restored to her former estate and enioy a full and absolute peace.

The first of Aprill the Emperour appointed a Diet of the Electors and Princes to be held at *Ratisbone* on Saint JOHN BAPTIST'S day following, to consult of the meanes how to settle a general peace in the Empire. The Elector Palatine King of *Bohemia*, aduertised hereof, sent his Letters vnto all the Electors and Princes which had bene called thither; by which hee complained that he had bene aduertised, how that some imputed vnto him (that contrarie to his Imperiall Maiesties intention, who had called a Diet of the Electors and Princes of the Empire at *Ratisbone* on the 24 of Iune, to resolve how peace might be settled in the Empire) he was more pleased in the actions of warre, then in treaties of peace; but contrariwise his conscience did witness vnto him, that he rather desired an honest peace then warre. That, touching the troubles then in the Empire, hee had not engaged himselfe through ambition, or to wrong any priuate person; but by the perswasion and promise of a lawfull calling and a iust defence. That he confessed truly, and ingenuously, to owe vnto his Imperiall Maiefty, obedience and honour, as to the soueraigne head of the Empire. That he was deprived (contrary to his hope and expectation) of his Electoral and hereditarie countreys, which was the cause of great inconueniences and preiudice to many States of the Empire, entangled in these warres; for the which he was much afflicted, especially for the great miseries which had befallen, the Turke preparing to enter into *Germany*. That he hoped, God would so direct the hearts of the Emperour, Electors and Princes which should assist at this assembly, that all their counsells and consultations would tend onely to the restoring of peace in the Empire, to banish ielousies & distrust, and to settle a new confidence. That he doubted not, but in this Diet they would treat chiefly of the meanes of his reconciliation with the Emperour, as many kings and Princes haue formerly done by their Ambassadors: to whose good counsells and aduice he would alwaies submit himselfe, so farre forth as his dignity and conscience might not bee wounded. That hee would alwaies witness, and desired the world to know, that he neuer had a thought to offend his Imperiall Maiefty, but desired to yeeld all honour due vnto him according to the constitutions of the Empire. That he hoped his Imperiall Maiefty would procure a remedy for so many mischeefes by a general *Amnestie* or forgetfulness; and so moderate all things, as the Princes and States of the Empire, his friends, counsellors, officers, and subiects might be freed from the insolencie of forraigne souldiers, and all things restored to their former state and liberty. This was the tenor of his Letter. Let vs now see what passed at *Viena*.

You haue formerly heard how that the Princes of the Vnion had sent their Ambassadors to the Emperour, touching their reconciliation; which in the meane time was concluded at *Mentz*, with the Elector and the Landgraeue of *Hesse*: so as after their arrivall at *Viena*, they had no other charge but to entreate his Imperiall Maiefty to confirme the treaty of reconciliation, and to command the Execution for the restitution of places taken and detained from the Earles and Noblemen of *Bohemia*: whereunto, according to their instructions, they added the restoring of the Elector Palatine to his countie, or to stay the execution of the Imperiall proscription. Whereunto they recieued answer the sixt of May, That his Imperiall Maiefty was very well pleased that the Protestant Princes had abstained from defence of the Elector Palatine, whom he had proscribed; and for promising not to continue the Vnion or to reuise it any more; which will be a principall point for the establishing of peace in the Empire. That his said Imperiall Maiefty desired not to spare any paines for the restoring of peace, but could not

The Elector of Saxony answered the Marquess his Letters 1621

The King of Bohemia's Letters to the Electors and Princes of the Empire.

The Marquess's Letters to the States of Silesia.

The Emperour's answer to the Ambassadors of the Vnion Princes.

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not yet see how he might satisfie their demands of reestablishing the Palatine, or at the least to retract the execution of the Imperiall Ban denounced against him. That although it bee not lawful, by the constitutions of the Empire, to make intercession for a proscribed person; yet for so good a thing as the settling of peace in the Empire, his Imperiall Majesty would be well pleased the said Princes should endeavour that the Elector Palatine should acknowledge his fault, craue pardon of him, and (as the said constitutions require in matters of lesse importance) make offer to satisfie the charges and losse he hath procured. That hitherto it hath not bene observed that the Palatine is willing to take this good course; but, on the contrarie, he saw both within the Empire and without, in *Holland* and other places, that through his practices and on his behalfe, many levies of souldiers were made: which constrained his Imperiall Majesty also to make preparation to keepe the faithfull States of the Empire from the oppression of the said Elector Palatines adherents. And touching the delay of the execution which they demanded, he did not think that all the Protestant Princes consented thereto. And as for the restitution of the Townes and Castles which had bene taken from diuers Noblemen of *Veterania*, his Majesty had declared his pleasure by his Letters Patents, that he had no desire the innocent should suffer with the innocent; but contrariwise would repell the violence which had bene done them, by force. That if they did not giue them satisfaction accordingly, he would cause them to haue all content.

In the same month of May, Ambassadors came to *Piena* from the King of *Denmark*, with instructions from the assembly at *Seneburg*, demanding a disannulling of the Palatines proscription and of all the rest, and that they might bee restored to their lands and estates: without the which, there was no hope of any peace in the Empire. The Emperour, hauing sent this proposition to the Electors, and receiving their advice, made answer to the Ambassadors, that the proscription could not be made void, but rather to be executed with all speed according to the constitutions of the Empire. The Ambassadors replied, that their kings intention was not to meddle with questions of times; but only to procure a peace in the Empire, and a firme confidence between the head and the members: to which end the Emperour said, he had appointed an Assembly at *Ratisbone*, to resolve vpon all things concerning that question.

In the meane time, the conference at *Hainburg* grew to such length, and both parties so full of distrust, as the French Ambassadors were not able to reconcile them. The Emperour had resolved in counsell, vpon the seauenth of April, that he would accept of a peace vpon these conditions: That *BATHLIN* GABOR should be againe confirmed Prince of *Hungary*, and haue for his entertainment 100000 florens yearly, and 100 marckes of silver from the mountain Townes. They write, that Prince *BATHLIN* was content to accept of these conditions; but he demanded *Cassonia* and many other townes of safety, with these clauses: That his Majesty should pardon all the confederates of what province soeuer, who should be restored to their estates; and that no question should be made for what was past; whereunto the Emperour would not yeeld, so as the conference brake off: before the which, *BATHLIN* GABOR was retired from *Presbourg* to *Tirnaw*, and had drawne his Chancellor from the conference, vpon some pretexts. His partisans said, that the Imperialists made hew by their daily practices, to draw the Noblemen of *Hungary* to their partie, and by the preparations they made at *Piena*, and by their prosecutions against their confederates in *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and *Moravia*, that this conference to treat of a peace, was but a soare to entrap them, and suddenly to shut Prince *BATHLIN* into *Presbourg*. The Imperialists on the other side gaue out, that Prince *BATHLIN*, hauing carried away the Crowne of *Hungary*, desired to haue the title of King: and if he had had any good intent to make a peace, he would not haue made leaues of *Transiluanians* and *Tartarians*, which were marching into *Hungary*; writing his Letter vnto *GALGA* Prince of *Tartary*: which for breuity sake I must omit.

GOLOV SATCHY, one of the chiefe Noble-men of high *Hungary*, who had been a powerfull Partisan to *BATHLIN* (hauing made his peace with the Emperour) gathered together, two thousand men; and, vpon the ending of the Truce, surprised *Altenfels* and *Vesprim*, where he put all the *Transiluanians* which were in Garrison to the sword. It is an vsual thing when treaties end, some change their partie. The victorie of *Prague*, and the Earle of *Bucquoy* (who had wintered vpon the river of *Mura* a daies journey from *Presbourg*, making account to haue twenty thousand men) was the cause that many Noblemen of *BATHLIN*'s partie expected but an opportunity to reconcile themselves to the Emperour. The breach of the conference and of the truce, made Count *BVCQVOY* aduance with his Army to inuest *Presbourg*. Prince

Prince *BATHLIN* who was at *Tirnaw*, seeing *SATCHY* fallen to the Emperour and loyaled with *PALEY*, and to be betwixt him and *Cassonia* at his back (who bragged he would take him alive and present him to the Emperour, or at the least stop his returne into *Transilvania*; and Count *BVCQVOY* to come in *Froth*) relying vpon the Garrison which he had put into the Castle of *Presbourg*, he resolved in this renewing of the warre to stand vpon his defence; to furnish the places he held; and to put himselfe into *Cassonia*; there to assemble the body of his Army, whilest the Emperours men should coole themselves at some siege. Hauing left some men in *Tirnaw*, and *SYRPHANTVRSO* with a strong garrison of Hungarians and *Transiluanians* in *Neuhusel*, he carried the Crowne of *Hungary* to *Cassonia*.

In the meane time, *FORGATSY* Palatine of *Hungary*, with other Noble-men which were in *Presbourg*, seeing themselves inuested by Count *BVCQVOY*, desired to send Deputies to the Emperour; which was granted: Who hauing obtained from his Majesty a treaty of their reduction, by the which they were all maintained in their Dignities, Estates and Offices, with abolition; the Towne of *Presbourg*, was yeelded to the Emperour the second of May; into the which they put a great Garrison. The Castle only remained; in the which there were many Germanes and Hungarians, who demanded their pay and a general pardon. There were some houres of Truce to heare their demands: The which being ended, and nothing granted to the besieged, they shotte continually from the Castle; so as many of them were slaine and hurt.

They defended themselves brauely for the space of ten dayes; but, on the tenth of May, seeing a new batterie planted of seven double Cannon, they demanded a Parley; which was granted. After many contestations, they promised to yeeld the Castle, and they were suffered to depart with Armes and baggage, their marches dead, and their Ensignes folded vp, the Hungarians to be conducted to *Neuhusel*, and the Germanes to the Frontiers of *Moravia*. Count *BVCQVOY* hauing assured the Towne and Castle of *Presbourg* with new Garrisons, hee ledde the Imperiall Army (being two and twenty thousand men) towards *Tirnaw*: vpon the way, diuers Townes and Castles submitted themselves. The Garrison of *Tirnaw*, finding themselves too weake to make resistance, accepted of a composition to depart with their Armes and baggage.

Count *BVCQVOY* being aduertized, that there was dissension between the Soldiers and the inhabitants in *Neuhusel*, it was resolved in Councell to leade the Army thither; yet they which were of a contrary opinion, gaue them to vnderstand that the souldiers should finde no victual for themselves, nor forrage for their horses, for that the whole Countrey was ruined, and the Townes and Villages burnt: And in truth this siege had like to haue ruined the Emperours partie in *Hungary*.

In the beginning the Imperialists had some aduantage at their approaches: and the batteries being well placed, did somewhat annoy the besieged. They mustered their Souldiers; and to put courage into them, they gaue them three moneths pay. *FORGATSY*, Palatine of *Hungary*, was come vnto the Army before *Neuhusel*, who wrote vnto the besieged to yeeld; he entreated and threatened them; but all was in vaine: for they made him answer, that they were true Hungarians, which would fight euen vnto the last droppe of their blood, to preserve the honour of their Nation, and to free themselves from the yoke of the Turkes and Germanes.

Thus were they in Armes in two places of the vpper *Hungary*: that is, at the siege of *Neuhusel*, and towards *Filee*, whereas *SATCHY* and *PALEY* made head against the Partizans of Prince *BATHLIN* GABOR, and defeated eight hundred men; which the Prince sent to *Neuhusel*, conducting a conuoy of Victuals, Money, and Munition; but soon after they had their reuenge. In the lower *Hungary* betweene the *Danow* and *Sutria*, *BYDIANI* a Protestant and a Noble-man of great power, hauing made himselfe an irreconcilable Enemy vnto the house of *Austria*, held many places vpon the lake of *Neufassler*; and the Riuer of *Rebnitz* and of *Rechimiz*, which did much annoy *Piena*, by the incursions of the *Budians*: to prevent the which, the Emperour sent the Earle of *Colate* with eight thousand men, and some Cannon to take those places of retreat from *BYDIANI*, who retired towards *Cassonia*: from whence wee shall see him returne with Turkish succours, and fire diuers parts of *Austria*.

During the siege of *Neuhusel*, the Imperialists were but ill intreated in many salies by those that were besieged, the which had no want of any thing; for the Gate towards the Riuer of

Oniar was free; and on the other side of the river lay encamped tenne thousand men com to their succours: that is to say, foure thousand sent by Prince BETHLIN from *Cassovia*, and and six thousand which the Earle of *Thurn* and others (fled out of *Bohemia* and *Austria*) had brought. During the exploits of *Neuhof*, where the Palatine FORGATSY died, Prince BETHLIN held an Assembly of the States at *Perem*, neere to *Cassovia*, letting them see that he had the Crowne of *Hungary* in his possession: to the which encouraged them to follow his party; and it was resolved, first to free *Fleick*, besieged by PALEY SERTSKY and others, and to hazard a battaile to raise that of *Neuhof*.

The Barons of *Palsi*, *Sesky* and *Pojnaski*, being lodged with their troupes at *Minerlin* a mountaine Towne, Prince BETHLIN entertained them with good words, touching a peace which hee desired to make with the Emperour, and in the meane time surpris'd them suddenly; where, after a bloody fight, PALEY, was found slaine vpon the field, with two thousand Imperials: SERTSKY and the rest escaped, but wholly defeated. After this expedition, all the mountaine Townes returned to BETHLIN's party. This was the first unfortunate crosse of the Imperials; letvs now observe the second. The siege of *Neuhof* continued: The Port of *Carniola* towards the river of *Oniar* was still free for the besieged, they being alwaies relieved (when they had neede) with 10000 men which lay encamped at their garr; who, when they past the river, did so stoppe the passages and approached so neere vnto the Imperiall Army, as nothing could be conueighed to them without very great forces. Count BUCQVOY was therefore often constrained, for want of forage for his horse, to send out many companies both of horse and foote. The tenth of Iuly all his foote which he had sent a foraging (except two hundred musketers) being returned with the Carls, and the horse being in number fifteene hundred, consisting of all the nations of the Army (except Walloones which they had left in *Moravia* for safeguard of the Countrey) being yet a Cannon shotte from their quarter, fifteene hundred Cavaliers Hungarians, divided into Troupes, left their Camp and past the river of *Oniar*, under the iavour of the Towne Cannon, and began to charge the Imperiall horse. Vpon this Alarme, Count BUCQVOY went to horse: and being accompanied by some officers, he came to the head of his Troupes, to encourage them by his presence, to maintaine the brunt of this important skirmish, and to auoide the disgrace of any losse. Having observed the order of the assailants, hee presently drew his men into diuers squadrons, and commanded the Earle of *Torquay*, Lieutenant Collonell to the Earle of *Palsen*'s Regiment (which consisted of low Dutch and the Emperours troupes) hauing the point of the vanguard, to goe by charge: which he did resolutely, and forced into the enemies squadrons being pell mell amongst them; But, the squadron, which followed, wheeled about; and discharging their Pistols, betook themselves to flight; whereupon the low Germanes were enclosed and defeated, and Count TORQVAT and all the Captaines taken prisoners: All the rest of the squadrons, appointed to second him on both sides, fled also by their example; so as the Earle of *Bucquey* was left alone.

The Earle, seeing this disorder, did what hee might to stay them, riding from squadron to squadron with his sword and Pistoll in his hands, thinking to make their runnwaies to turne head againe: but, nothing could preuaile. At the same instant the Earle of *Bucquey* was inuested by fifteene Hungarians which were best mounted; who charged him on all sides. He defended himselfe a long space very valiantly, vntill he had received a pistoll shotte through the body, and a blow with a Lance, which ouerthrew him from his horse. Hereupon, the Marquesse of *Gonzaga*, followed by some of his people, came in to succour him; and pressing in to the midst of these Hungarians, he slew two of them, and gaue the Earle leasure to rise and to retire on foote some fiftie pases towards the Army. But, the Marquesse being presently forced to retire, these Hungarians ouerthrew the Earle againe with their Lances: and then discharging their Pistolls vpon him, they left this braue conductor of Armies dead, with 13 mortall wounds.

In the meane time, the said Marquesse, thinking yet to succour him once more and preserve him alive, ioynded himselfe with Mounseur CAMARGES and som of the low German troupes formerly broken, and draue them back, pearching through them euen to the place where the Earle was, but found him dead. Then did the Marquesse take time to alight, and layed the body on his owne horse, and brought it to the Camp, where was great mourning and lamentation. The cowardise of these horsemen which had thus abandoned their Generall (vnto whome their very enemies gaue the title of incomparable valour) was euen as much blamed,

blamed as the courage of two hundred musketers which were with them, was highly extolled: for although they were in an open field, they defended themselves with such resolution, that the Hungarians were in the end forced to leaue them, they receiuing little losse.

The Emperour, and all Kings, Princes and Catholike Lords, much bewailed this death of Count BUCQVOY: his body was carried to *Plema*, where on the twentieth of Iuly, it was sumptuously interred with all militarie pomp; which was a sad and heauie day there, both for these obsequies, as for two other heauy tidings: the one of raising the siege of *Neuhof* (all the seventeenth of Iuly, the other the death of the Arch-duke ALBERT Duke of *Brabant* and Prince of *Flanders*, who died at *Brussels*, the 13 of the said moneth of Iuly. It is obserued, that in foure yeares, five great Princes of the house of *Austria* haue deceased; namely, PHILIP third king of *Spain*, The Emperors eldest son, and three brothers, The Emperour MATTHIAS the Arch-duke MAXIMILIAN; and this yeare, The Arch-duke ALBERT.

After the death of the Earle of *Bucquey*, The Hungarians, and Bohemians, Prince BETHLINS Partisans, were much encouraged, and the Imperialists almuch dejected. The continuall raine also at this time, contrarie to the season, seemed to augment this sorrow, and minister occasion of the losse of the Cannon which they left behinde them at the raising of the siege of *Neuhof*.

RODOLPHVS TIEFFENBAC, a Lord of *Moravia*, whose father had beene Generall in the warres of *Hungary* 1594, succeeded Count BUCQVOY, in his charge, and had beene himselfe Sergeant maior at the battaile of *Prague*. Through the diuisions which grew among many nations which were in the Army; it was resolved in Councell, that the siege should bee raised, and that they should march towards *Gnita* vpon the *Danow* three miles above *Comora*. Moreover, vpon advertisement that the Hungarians and Bohemians which were fled out of their countrey, being fortified with new Troupes, were resolved to pursue them in their retreat; it was resolved they should abandon 15 Cannons which they had for that siege, to the end they might march away with the more speed; being impossible for them to draw them away by reason of the abundance of raine which had fallen, and spoiled the waies.

On the 27 of Iuly the siege was raised in a tempestuous raine night, so as the Hungarians could discouern nothing before the morning. This retreat hath bene diuerly related: and thus they write on either side. At the rising of the Camp, the Hungarians (being fortified with new Troupes) were resolved to charge the Imperials, who had abandoned their Cannon, and to defeat the better part: but foure hundred musketers, Walloones, defended a passage so valiantly, as the whole Army recovered *Gnita* without losse: from thence they went to *Presbourg* and to other necessarie places for the preservation of the Emperours prouinces. GOTHARDVS saith, That the Hungarians seeing the siege raised, pursued the Imperials with great furie, who had set Captaine MARBERLIN at a passage to fauour their retreat; who after some resistance was forced and slaine with three hundred of his men and some of the Rereward. The Army came to *Gnita* and was very well entrenched: yet many French and Walloones fled towards *Presbourg*: part of the Army was sent to *Comora* and the rest towards *Iauerin*. As for the fifteene Cannons which they had abandoned at *Neuhof*, they were carried into the Towne in great triumph.

All these happie exploits in fauour of Prince BETHLIN made him to march speedily to *Neuhof* to pursue for many victories and to recover *Presbourg*: but he found a stoppe at *Tirnaw*, where there were foure companies of Imperials and fve hundred horse in garrison: hauing planted his batteries, and made a breach, at three assaults he lost seauen hundred of his best men. Afterwards the batteries being continued, the besieged obseruing that they might easily bee forced, and knowing well they had small store of victuals remaining in the Towne, they demanded composition: which was graunted, and they departed with Armes and baggage.

From *Tirnaw*, Prince BETHLIN went to plant his siege before *Presbourg*, whither all his Partisans with their troupes came to ioyne with him: The Marquesse of *Sagerdorf* brought his from *Moravia*: the 19 of August he caused incursions to be made into *Austria*, whereas on either side of the river of *Danow*, there was nothing to be scene but effusion of blood, flight of the inhabitants, spoile and fire; and of one day they might see from *Vienna*, on the other side of *Danow*, 20 villages on fire: and on this day 14, by BVDIANY.

This BVDIANY hauing drawne together 6000 Hungarians and Turkes; seeing that COLATZ had beene countermaunded by the Emperour to put himself into *Presbourg*; to defend

Death of the
Arch-duke
Albert,

Tirnaw taken
by Prince
Bethlin,

Count Buc-
quey slaine
and with 13
wounds vpon
him,

send it, he followed him, and took from him one of the lodgings of his Rere-ward, committing to great cruelties and inhumanities, that they wrote he ruined above a thousand villages in *Hungary and Austria*. As for the siege of *Presbourg*, it was continued by *BATHIN*, whom the Imperials called *ATILA* King of Huns, for that there was some conformity, being both Hungarians born, commanding one Nation, like in humours and conditions, both scourges to Christendome, having both put all to fire and sword as they past. He pressed *Presbourg* to yeeld; in which there was a great garrison of horse and foot: the besieged were forced to make sallies to fetch forrage for their horses; where there were diverse encounters, with variety of success according to the hazard of the war: but on the fifteenth of September, there entering into the Town a supply of ten Cornets of horse and two companies of foot, sent from *Moravia*, Prince *BATHIN* with his Partisans was forced to raise the siege, and retire vnto *Tirnau*, sending to refresh their Troops in many places of high *Hungary*, for that they had ruined the champagne Country.

Let vs now return to *Vienna*, and see what good success the intercession hath had which many great Princes made for the restoring of the Palatine to his hereditary rights. Ambassadors had been with his Imperiall Maiesty from the King of *Denmark* and the Princes of the *Vnion*, and received their severall answers as you have heard, with small success. Our Kings Maiesty of great Brittain, who intermitted no care, nor charge to repair this breach of division between his Imperiall Maiesty and his sonne-in-law the Elector Palatine, and to save his hereditary Country for his posterity, which now lay in danger to be ruined, being invaded by potent enemies, vnder the Emperors Commission; he dispatched the Baron of *Digbie*, now Earle of *Bristol*, Vice-chamberlain to his Maiesty, in ambassage to the Emperor; who, arriving at *Vienna* in the beginning of July with an honourable train, was received with great state, and had his audience on the fifteenth of July. Some Writers relate, that the two chief points of his ambassage were, first, that the Elector Palatine, son-in-law to our Kings Maiesty, might be received into grace and favour with his Imperiall Maiesty, and restored to all his hereditary estates and titles which he had enjoyed before the troubles of *Bohemia*; and, secondly, that the Imperiall Proscription given out against him might be revoked, or the execution suspended. Which being performed, the Kings Maiesty of great Brittain would cause the Elector Palatine to yeeld all due obedience to his Imperiall Maiesty, and submit himself to all honest conditions of satisfaction.

To this demand he received an answer in writing, that his Imperiall Maiesty had a great desire to gratifie the King of great Brittain, and other Kings and Princes who had made the like intercession for the Elector Palatine; but the whole business consisted vpon two points: first, that he should cause the Elector Palatine to yeeld due obedience vnto his Imperiall Maiesty; and, secondly, that he should make satisfaction. His Imperiall Maiesty having also, during these troubles, used the advice and counsell of many Electors and Princes, to the end they should not think that in this important business he would do any thing which might prejudice them, he had appointed an Assembly at *Ratisbone*; that he would let the King understand the resolution that should be taken touching this business by the common consent of the said Electors and Princes; that in this war which had been continued with justice by his Imperiall Maiesty, there was no proportion between the parties for the continuance of hostility; that there was a difference between his Imperiall Maiesty who was feudatorie and soveraigne Judge, and the Elector Palatine who was condemned; that, according to the Kings request, his Imperiall Maiesty had granted a truce: but as soon as there was a suspension of Armes in the lower Palatinate, at the same Instant he caused warre to be renewed in the upper Palatinate; and persisting in his enterprises, he had sent his Commissions vnto *MANSFELD* and the Marquess of *Lagerdorf*, to cause new combustions in *Bohemia*, *Silesia* and *Moravia*; that he left it to the Ambassadors to judge whether he could doo otherwise than oppose his iust Armes against those who were raised against him: yet if *FREDERICK* the Elector Palatine did yeeld and consent vnto the admonitions of the King his father-in-law, all matters might well be compounded; freeing his Imperiall Maiesty and the obedient Princes of the Empire from the incalculous which they had iustly conceived. And thus much writes the French *MARCVRIE* touching this Treaty.

There is another author (who hath written a discourse called, *Vna Demonstratio*) relates, that vpon my Lord *DONIUS* second audience, his Maiesty made answer; That touching the suspension of Armes, which was the ground of the treaty, there seemed many difficulties:

first,

First, that he was not well acquainted with the state of the lower and upper Palatinate; whether a Truce might be made without prejudice: for that he understood, in the lower Palatinate, Sir *HORATIO VERA* had invaded the Bishop of *Spire* Countries, and broken the Truce; yet, for that he would not omit any thing which might tend to a Peace, and satisfy the Kings desire, he would presently write vnto the Duke of *Bavaria* for his counsel and consent touching this Truce; and Letters should be delivered vnto the Ambassador for the Arch-duchess of *Brussels*; who should have full power to conclude a Truce, unless there were apparent cause of danger: Whereunto his Maiesty did the more willingly incline; for that he promised, in the kings name, that as soon as a Truce were concluded, he would cause *MANSFELD* to observe it: Or if he should commit any hostile Act against his Imperiall Maiesty, or the Princes of the sacred Empire, during the said Truce, both the King and his sonne in Law, would declare him an enemy, and assist his Imperiall Maiesty, against him: Moreover, he would procure, that if *Lagerdorf* had any power and authority given him to offend or invade, that it should be presently revoked: But especially he assured, that the King his Master would dole with his sonne in Law, as that *Tabor* and *Pinsigau*, with all other places which were held by that party, should with all speed be restored to his Maiesty: Furthermore, that if his Imperiall Maiesty would passe his promise, that the execution of the foresaid Proscription, in the upper Palatinate, should be suspended during this Treaty, he would faithfully endeavour, that all *MANSFELD*s Souldiers should be discharged, and Armes laid down; with this condition, that if the said treaty of Peace should not have a desired end, his Imperiall Maiesty (before he should goe to Armes for the execution of the said Proscription) should be bound to give notice thereof, three months before to his Maiesty.

To this effect the Emperor wrote his Letters to the *Infanta*, and to the Duke of *Bavaria*, which Duke by his Letters, of the 27 of September, vnto the Lord Ambassador, seemed to have no inclination to a suspension of Armes, as appears by these words contained in the said Letter.

His Imperiall Maiesty, in the first entrance of our Army and beginning our works, hath given notice vnto vs of a motion for the suspension of Armes, and required our advice: but to returne presently and suspend the business, it was neither safe, nor possible: especially for that the suspension was chiefly referred to the *Infanta of Spaine*; neither have we conferred with those it doth concerne, having also *MANSFELD* with an Army at our doores, who might invade our Province, and so obiect other difficulties to frustrate the said suspension. The Lord Ambassador did much presse the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria* by his Letters for his suspension of Armes; but he prevailed little: for the Emperor changed his minde, as it appeared by his Letters vnto the Duke of *Bavaria*, dated the thirtieth of September, by which he commanded him to invade the Palatinate by vertue of his Commission, and to reduce it vnto his obedience, and to take an Oath of Allegiance in his name. This Author writes much concerning this business, and of the transferring of the Electorate to the Duke of *Bavaria*, long before projected at *Rome*; to the end they might fortifie the Catholique party, and have always an Emperor at their devotion.

And, although they be *Arcana imperij*; yet I hope I shall incur no blame, if I lay open what I finde written by my Author. The Pope (much affecting this translation of the Electorshippe to the Duke of *Bavaria*) gave Commission to a Capuchin Frier called *HACINTHVS*, to goe and treat with the Emperour at *Vienna*: He had Letters of recommendation from Cardinal *LODOVICO* the Popes favorite; his charge was to persuade the Emperour to continue the warres, being against Heretiques, dangerous enemies to the holy mother Church of *Rome*; and disobedient to his Holiness; and that the Emperour should conferre the Electorall voice vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*, for that he was a Catholique Prince, and had well deserved it for the aide and assistance he had given him in his warres against the Palatine; whome he entertained to dispossesse of the Electorall voice, and to punish him as his rebellion and offence had deserved.

The business being resolved at *Vienna*, the Frier was sent into *Spain*, and Letters of credit sent after him, from the Emperour, writing to the King, and referring him to the Friers Commission; but especially to *DON BALTHAZAR DE ZUNIGA* (a great Counsellor of State, who died lately, being Vncle by the mothers side to the Earle of *Olivares* the kings favorite) by the which he gives him to understand, that he holds it most necessary, for the preservation and greatness of the holy Faith, and consequently of the house of *Austria*, to transerre the Electorship

ship vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*; aduertising him withall that he was so much bound vnto the said Duke for his good deserts, and for the many promises he had made him aswell by word as writing, touching the translation of the Electorship, that he could not by any means retract it, without offence to God and a blemish to his honour, the which he hoped he would endeavour to preſerue. This Letter bare date from *Venna* the fiftenth of October 1621.

In a second Letter vnto *DON BALTHAZAR* of the same date, the Emperor set downe many reasons why he should not make a peace with the Elector, nor restore vnto him the Electoral dignity: in the end he concludes, that before that famous battaile at *Prague*, he had fully resolved, that the *Palatine*, being once proscribed, could not be restored to the Electoral dignity, without prejudice and danger vnto all Catholikes and to his house. That he had willingly offered it vnto the Duke of *Bavaria*, a stout Champion of the Catholike religion, whose aid & assistance he had employed in the recouerie of his Realmes and provinces: wherefore the very time did seeme to presse him more then the Duke himself, that he should performe his promise without any further delay; and the Electorship being conferred vpon him, the *Palatine* should be deprived of all hope, and they in like manner which had so earnestly desired his restitution, and his Maiesty freed from further trouble. Which business requiring the King of *Spaines* aide (although he knew him to be well enclined to any thing which concerned the honor of God and the safety of their house) yet would he not lose this occasion to perswade him, not to neglect so faire an opportunity for the settling of their house and religion. And in a Postscript to the same Letter he addes another motiue of no small consideration: which is, that by his translation they should haue a Catholike voice more then formerly they had; whereby they should be assured, that the Empire should be alwaies in the hands of the Catholikes, and by all reason in their house; wherein the Duke of *Bavaria* would willingly concur, in requall of the benefit he had receiued; to be aduanced to so great adignity, by an Emperor of their house.

The Capuein Fryer *HYACINTHVS*, having receiued his Commission sent him into *Spain*, had a Letter of aduice written with the Emperours owne hand, whereby he wished him not to speake any thing in that Court, that the Duke of *Bavaria* had gotten the inuestiture of the *Palatinate*; but should perswade them to concur with him in his opinion, and giue those aydes whereby they might effectually attaine vnto it, being so profitable and necessarie for the preservation of the holy faith, and consequent of their house; doubting that if he should say that his Maiesty had giuen away the inuestiture, it would much preiudice the cause; knowing well, that if he should be abandoned by the crowne of *Spain*, he should not be able with his owne forces to effect that which he had promised to the Duke of *Bavaria*. And he was in a manner assured (according to the daily speech of the Spanish Ambassador there resident) that this would undoubtedly follow; that he should be abandoned by the crowne of *Spain*, if the King should know he had giuen the inuestiture, before he had imparted it vnto that Crowne. The continuance of this warre, and the translation of the Electorship, was much pressed by the Popes Ministers and the Emperours. Cardinall *LOPEZ* wrote his Letters vnto the Popes Nuncio resident at *Brussels*, wishing him to employ all his means and credit with the *Infanta*, that no suspension of Armes might be granted; adding withall, that touching the *Palatinate* petition, being iustly deprived of the *Palatinate*, hee might hold it for a great fauour if hee might be admitted to humble himselfe at the Emperours feet: the which if he did, yet should not his children enjoy any parte of his patrimony, vnlesse they were bredde vpin the Catholike religion; being a capital error to restore those territories to heretiques, especially in regard of the *Belgique* prouinces to which they ly so neere.

The Popes Nuncio at *Venna*, wrote his Letters to the Nuncio at *Brussels*, intimating that there was no doubt of the Emperours inclination to conferre the Electorship vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*; but the business depended wholly vpon the Spaniard; otherwise, it had beene before this time decided. The Spaniards oppose the Elector of *Saxony* against the *Bavarian*, making that their pretence; but the truth is, said he, they are not pleased with his greatness, and desire to re-aine the lower *Palatinate* without any further warre. And for that they doubt that the Elector of *Saxony*, who desires to haue the constitutions of the Empire (which admit no strangers) to be religiously obserued, should oppose himselfe to their desires, they seeke by all means to please him, and giue him some colourable satisfaction; but in case he should be with-drawn, and become an enemy, by their cunning they seeke to perswade all the world, that this was not the true cause, that they haue retained the lower *Palatinate*; but, for that the Election was conferred vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*. To free them from this excuse, the Arch-
duke

duke *CHARLES* is gone to the Duke of *Saxony* vpon another pretext, and we shortly expect his answer. But be indifferent or heuall, and not directly contrary, then it is thought (and I will doe my best endeour) that the Emperour shall declare himselfe for the *Bavarian*, without any further delay; especially for that the *Battle of Oppau* hath declared that the king of *Spain* would conſent that the Electorship should be conferred vpon the *Bavarian*, if the *Saxon* did not oppose. But for that we feare the obliquity of the Count of *Ogma* (although the *Saxon* should not oppose) we haue sent rather *HARTMANN* secretly into *Spain* to oppose himselfe against the actions of *OSUNA* and the Baron of *Dijly* the English Ambassador, who is to go to that Court. It would much please the Spaniards, both to curbe the power of the *Bavarian*, and to haue the lower *Palatinate* at their command, in regard of the *Belgique* warres: As for our intentions, it is all one whether he or any other Catholique Prince hath them. And although it may be doubted, that this may breede some tumults in the Empire; yet matters standing as they doe, there is no cause of feare: for as for the Catholiques, *BAVARIA* (to doe his owne business) will easily pacifie most of them, being Clergy men. The Caluiniſts are disbanded, neither can they hope for any succors from *France* or *Holland*, being in both places in danger of their owne Estates. The Lutherans of *Neutralites* haue neither force nor courage: so as I think the Spaniards haue a great opportunity to attaine to their wished end: without the which, I cannot perswade my selfe, that they will euer suffer the *Bavarian* to obtaine any thing; notwithstanding that *Marquess* *SPINOLA* the last yeere at *Munich* in the presence of the Cardinall of *Zalern* did affirme that the Catholique King did not affect the inuestiture of the lower *Palatinate*, which the Earle of *Ogma* did seeke to procure him. But to conclude, it is thought the Spaniards (vpon whom all depends) will giue their consents vpon these foure conditions: First, that the *Bavarian* should restore the vpper *Austria*: Secondly, that in regard of his expences, he should haue the Electorshippe, with the vpper *Palatinate*; whose reuenues did exceede his charges. Thirdly, that the Spaniard should haue the lower *Palatinate*, and that the *Bavarian* should renounce all pretensions which he might haue to that State in regard of the Electorship. Fourthly, that there should be an offensive and defensive league made betwixt the Catholique league, his Imperiall Maiesty and the King of *Spain*, against any that should oppose themselves. Thus I haue set downe the contents of severall Letters touching the transferring of the Electorship to the Duke of *Bavaria*: for confirmation whereof the Reader may obserue the euents which haue succeded.

After the taking of *Pilsen*, *Falkenau* and *Erlangen*; *MANSFELD*, hauing no more places of retreat in *Bohemia*, lodged, with his Troupes, in the vpper *Palatinate*; where, hauing ioyned with the forces of the two Dukes of *Saxony* and *Weymar*, he made an Army of eighteen thousand men, which he led into the Bishoprick of *Aichstat*, and the Countrey of the *Lantz-graue* of *Luchtenbourg*. The Emperour, being aduertized hereof, gaue charge to the Baron of *Tilly*, to stop *MANSFELD*'s courses: Also *IAMES BAVVIA*, of *Offenau*, General of the Bishop of *Virzburg*'s Troupes, being ioyned with *Tilly*, they went to encounter *MANSFELD*; who was camped and entrenched at *Verdun*: From whence he made incursions vpon the Frontiers of *Bohemia*. *TILLY* and *BAVVA*, having battailed their Army right ouer against his, seized vpon a neighbouring Hill, and Wood; where they had many skirmishes together. Vpon the conjunction of *TILLY*'s and *BAVVA*'s Troupes, *MANSFELD*, as Commissarie to the Elector *Palatine* in *Bohemia*, published a declaration against the Bishop of *Virzburg*, and the *Ducane* and *Chapter* of *Bamberg*, to this effect:

Seeing it is well knowne vnto all men, that the Troupes of the Bishoppe of *Verzburg* were ioyned with the Duke of *Bavaria*'s, in the warres of *Bohemia*; and that they doe giue vs occasion enough (as Commissaries to the King of *Bohemia*) to pursue the said Bishoppe and Chapter by Armes, according to the *Talion* Law; I thought it better to vse grace and clemency, then force, and to send them a Trumpetto aduertize them to call back their Troupes from *Bohemia*, and to admonish and enioyne them not to meddle with secular affaires, but containe themselves within the bounds of their Ecclesiasticall function: Which if they doe, they shall haue mee their friend; otherwise they must expect that I will bring Fire and Sword into their Countreys.

MANSFELD, hauing intelligence that the Imperialists meant to force him in his Camp, resolved to prevent them, and to charge them in their lodgings, the 14 of Iulie: He began first with *Hofslodtz*; where the horsemen sallied forth with a hundred and fifty Musketeers, Germans, to defend the approaches; but the *Mansfeldians* charged them with such furie, that they flue

many, and put the rest to flight. Some of their chiefe commanders were taken prisoners in the Towne; which they spoiled and burnt: From thence they went to their second lodging, which was at Saint CATHERINES; the entry whereof was more difficult by reason of fens and ditches which they were to passe, the bridges being also broken: In this place were five hundred Souldiers: who, seeing themselves so resolutely set upon, abandoned the same, to retire themselves into a Wood; where twelue thousand of MANDSELD's Souldiers pursued them so speedily, as, hauing no leisure to recollect themselves, they cast away their Armes and fled: in which flight, there were 300 slaine, and many taken prisoners with much cattell which they carried to their Camp.

TILLY and BAYERN, seeking to repaire this disgrace, put all their troupes in battail, on the sixteenth of Iuly, with an intent to charge him; which, MANDSELD finding, hee did the like as well as he could in those mountainous places, hauing twenty Cornets of Horse, and fifty companies of foote: This day was spent in skirmishes from eight of the clock in the morning, vntill nine at night: but MANDSELD, hauing foure field-peeces, shotte directly vpon the Imperialists, who received a farre greater losse then the Mansfeldians, and yet they came not to a generall battaille: Some write that MANDSELD lost but 100 men, and the Imperialists 1000, six Captains, and their General BAYERN who was shot in the head, being afterwards embalmed at Egra. As they conducted his body to Virsburg with a small train, they were charged by the garrison of VALDSAXEN, who took all his baggage and thirty three horse. Afterwards, his body (at the request of the Bishop of Bamberg) was deliuered, and solemnly interred at Virsburg with a military pomp. Vpon the nineteenth of Iuly, some of MANDSELD's Army took a conuoy which went to the Imperials; in which ther was a good quantity of powder and other munition, with many carts loaden with wine, and sixty horse. On the first of August the two Armies stood in battell one against another, from noon till eight of the clock at night: General TILLY did what he might to draw the Mansfeldians to a generall combat: but there was nothing but light skirmishes with many cannon shot, in which the Imperials had the better. Some write, that a bullet of five and twenty pound waight fell so neer vnto Count MANDSELD (who was with two Princes of Weimar and the Earl of Selms) that it couered his horse with dust.

The Emperour, being aduertized of the warre which MANDSELD made in the vpper Palatinate, caused a second Edict of Proscription to be published against him; containing, That it was well knowne to all the World, how that his Predecessor the Emperour MATTHIAS had Proscribed ERNST, bastard of MANDSELD for his felonies and crimes, and that the said MANDSELD, continuing his disobedience, threatened to put the Countries and Princes of the Empire (which had continued faithfull in their obedience vnto his Imperial Maiefty) to Fire and Sword. That some Princes and States, against the constitutions of the Empire, fauoured him and gaue him passage through their territories; induced therunto by the Palatinate, an apparant enemy to his Imperiall Maiefty, and by him also Proscribed: Which Palatinate, the said MANDSELD, by his last Mandats, did still tearme King of Bohemia. That his Imperiall Maiefty had well hoped that hereafter the said MANDSELD should not finde any one to fauour and protect him, fearing the punishment inflicted by the constitutions of the Empire; which had not succeeded. That to shew his naturall clemency, he thought good againe to aduertise all the Princes, States, and members of the Empire, that vpon the Penalties contained in the said constitutions, they should not giue any passage through their Territories to the said MANDSELD nor his souldiers. As for the Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, which followed the said MANDSELD, that they should abandon him vpon paine (for such as were subiects to the Empire) of the losse of all their dignities, priuiledges and immunities, and for those which were strangers, vpon losse of life.

The Town of Nuremberg hauing submitted it self to the Emperours obedience (as hath been formerly said) would not suffer any souldiers to be leuiued, nor go out of the Town, before they had taken a new oath to the Duke of BAVARIA in the name of his Imperiall Maiefty. Moreover, the Imperiall Ban against MANDSELD had been proclaimed there; whereat he was wonderfully incensed: and, to take reuenge, he went into the Territories of the City neer vnto it with 500 horse and 1000 musketiers on horseback; who, dispersing themselves round about it, and vpon all the approaches, committed infinite spoils.

The Duke of BAVARIA was intreated by the Bishops of Virsburg, Bamberg, and other States of the Empire, to free them from the oppression of MANDSELD's incursions and spoyles: where-

whereupon, leaving his instruments of musick (which is his greatest delight) hee gaue the *Rein-de-vous* for all his troops, his cannon and munition, at Stranbin, to march into the vpper Palatinate.

MANDSELD (as we haue formerly related) being encamped with his Army in the vpper Palatinate, they were not onely much afflicted with pestilent diseases, by reason of the dead carcases both of men and cattell, but the Bauarians did also much annoy them with their ordinance and daily assaults. To repaire which losse he gaue money to certaine Captaines to leuie new souldiers, and heretook 4000 men, who hiding their matches vnder their hats, marched all night to surpriue the Bauarians in their Camp: but it hapned that being nere, a French-man by chance discharged a peece, which made the whole Camp cry To Armes; so as this attempt being made voide, he resolved to fire a wood which the Bauarians held, spreading great store of powder on the one side with pitch barrels burning: but ther suddenly fel to great a shower of raine as it took no effect.

The Duke of BAVARIA, hauing prepared all things readie to march into the vpper Palatinate; he parted from Munich or Jannich on the 13 of Iuly: and hauing past the riuer of Dannew and ioyned with TILLY his Lieutenant, he mustered his Army; in which were six and twenty thousand men. What his exploits were, and how MANDSELD left the vpper Palatinate you shall soone heare.

In the moneth of May, the souldiers which remained in the Palatinate for the Elector, fell vpon certaine Townes and villages belonging to the Bishop of Spire: as Forß, Hochdorf, Niderhich, Hamlet and others; and the twenty two of August following, Don GONZALEZ de Cordua, Generall for the Spaniard, put in execution an enterprife which hee had, vpon the Castle and Tower of Stein, a strong place, situated in a marsh ground betwixt Wormes and Germensheim; whereas fiftene Pelants which kept it were all slaine. This Castle being one of the keyes of the Palatinate on that side, the Army which was left for the guard of the Palatinate with fiftene hundred Boors, ranne presently thither to recouer it if they might: but they found that the Spaniard had fortified it well with a good garrison and munition. At their first approach they recovered a Ruelin: but most of them being forced to stand vp to the waste in water, and so to fight with the enemy, being also beaten by three cannon which the Spaniard had planted on the other side of the Rhine, they were after three daies forced to raise their siege, hauing lost 300 men, and 70 hurt. What number of Spaniards were slaine is vncertain: there were many hurt in the Castle, which they carried away with them: and since, they haue fo fortified this place, that they haue made it a receit of contribution; to the which they haue made the towns of Northeim, Warneuborn and Byblise with their territories, subiect.

The Duke of BAVARIA being entred with his Army into the vpper Palatinate, hearing that MANDSELD received most of his victual and refreshing from Amberg, meaning to deprive them of those helpes and to cut off that passage, he surpriued certaine rich monasteries vpon the way, and went to besiege Chamh, which he summoned to yeeld by his trumpet. The Governor made answer he had no commandement from them of Amberg to yeeld; whereupon he battered it with foure Cannon: whereupon the Governour mistrusting his forces began to perswade his souldiers, that it were better to departe with their liues then to endure the discomforts of a siege and preuaile nothing; so as in the end they made their composition, and departed with Armes and baggage, and ioyned themselves to MANDSELD with three companies of foote and two of horse. Hauing taken this Towne, the Duke went on and made himselfe maister of diuers others. In the meane time MANDSELD hauing intercepted a messenger with Letters, whereby the Duke aduertised the Lantzgrau of Luchtemberg that his intent was to send certaine troupes of Bauarians to cut off MANDSELD's passage; hereupon sending some forces to Sfrends, he forced the Towne and took the Lantzgrau in it, whome he brought to Amberg.

The Noblemen and States of the vpper Palatinate, seeing that they received more losse and preiudice from the Mansfeldian souldiers, who should haue defended them, then from the Bauarians, hauing received monitorial Letters from the Duke, that they should abandon MANDSELD, who would ruine their country, they resolved to leave him and to submit themselves vnto the Duke; with this Promise, that he should not alter any thing in point of religion nor policie. MANDSELD knowing the resolution with the States of the vpper Palatinate had taken, and seeing that his passage would be cut off by the Bauarians, and that he should finde little meanes to releue his Army: to auoide this danger, being pressed by a Potent aduersary and in want

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Mansfeld offered
to submit
to the
Emperor.

want both of money to pay his souldiers and of other meanes to releuee them, hee made offer to submit himselfe to the Emperours obedience, promising to serue him with his Army, so as he might receiue a certaine summe of money to giue them content; whereupon, hauing receiued part, he deliuered vp his fortification at *Verdunse* (which hee could no longer keepe) to the Bauarians.

This treaty of MANSFELD hath bene diuersly censured. Some haue thought that he did it in policie, onely to entertaine time and to finde meanes to slip downe into the lower Palatinate. Others affirme, that he treated seriously being in great wants; That his souldiers pressed him for money and were ready to mutine, which might haue bene dangerous to his person; and that the Lord DORRY his Maiesties Ambassadour, hauing sent to the Duke of *Bavaria*, and finding no hope of any suspension of Arms, came by MANSFELD; with whom he had conference, putting him in minde of his oath to the Elector Palatine, chosen King of *Böheim*, of the honour which he had formerly gotten by Arms, the which would now be quite blemished by this act of infidelity; perswading him to be constant, and withall supplying him with a good summe of money to giue his souldiers some content: whereupon, hee forbore to conclude the Treaty, vntill he had gotten a passage with his forces into the lower Palatinate. Being freed from this danger, he brake off the Treaty, and declared himself an enemy to the Bauarian Ambassadors who had still followed his Camp. This newes did frustrate their ioy at *Prague* which they had conceiued for MANSFELD'S reduction to the Emperor.

The Spaniards in the lower Palatinate vnder the command of GONZALEZ de Cordua, going out of *Stein*, and seeing that Sir HORATIO VERR had fortified *Heidelberg*, *Manheim* and *Frankendale*, with strong garrisons, went and took most of the Towns towards the mountains, and then returned to *Lutbra* a Town not well prepared to endure a siege, nor the citizens inured to labour and danger: wherefore, the Gouverner and his garrison being let out at the vpper port, they receiued in troops of Spaniards.

The truce between the Spaniard and the States of the vnited Provinces being now ended, Marquess SPINOLA came down with a powerfull Army, and lay neer vnto *Wetzell*, sending Count HENRY of *Pandenbergh* to inuest *IVLIERS* a Fee of the Empire, disputed by the Marquess of *Brandenburg* and the Duke of *Nimburg*, as heirs to the Duke of *Cleues*; but now held by the vnited States, as *Cleues* is by the Spaniard. There was a strong garrison in the Town; who, seeing themselves besieged, made a great salie on the foure and twentieth of September, and tooke their nearest Trenches in despite of the Spaniard. In the meane time there grew a great Fier in the Campe, many Tents were burnt, and the besieged annoyed them much with their Cannon; and, making a new salie, they spoiled Count HENRIS quarter, carrying what they got into the Towne. The Earle following them with most of his house, the Towne-men lost a Capitaine with thirty six horse-men; which, being slaine, they had leaue the next day to burie them.

In the meane time, the Spaniards in the lower Palatinate took the strong Castle of *Landstule*, which hauing fortified with a great garrison and munition, they turned their forces to *Frankendale*, vnder GONZALEZ de Cordua's command, they being, as some write, twelue or thirteenth thousand men; They pitched their Campe on the twenty seventh of September, towards *Spire* and *Manheim*, and fortified themselves both against the besieged, or any forraigne Enemy; which done, they began to plant their Ordinance. This Towne hath bene built of late yeers by Wallons, which were fled out of the low Countries for Religion, during the time of the Duke of *Alua*, when as the Elector Palatine protected them with their families, and gaue them leaue to build and fortifie it, being before of no import.

Vpon the approach of the Spanish Army, the Towne being vnder the command of the English, Capitaine BYRONNES being Gouverneur; Capitaine FAIRFAX, a gallant Gentleman, who was there slaine, and buried in the bed of honour, hauing command of the out-works of the Towne, encouraged his Souldiers, telling them that the Towne was a part of the King of England's daughters iointure, and the warres they vndertook were for two reasons: first, for that being Protestants the Papists came to assault them, and to take the place; and, secondly, they were sent to defend her right, which was the place whereon they stood; and that for his part he would not lose one foot whilst he breathed, neither did he doubt but they would doo the like: whereas they all protested they would dy in her defense. The enemy, hauing made his trenches and fortifications, came late in the euening being very dark, and surprised a sentinell: who, being amazed, cast away his Arms and fledde; and, mistaking the out-work from which

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which he was sent, ranne to the half Moon which lay vnder the Town-walls. They within the out-works, hauing no aduertisement of the enemies approach, were for the most part slain, being sixty English and Dutch. Capitaine FAIRFAX, then Sergeant maior, hearing the alarme, came to the half Moon, takes a pike, asked what Gentlemen would go with him; and being in haste, went without his corset with his pike and sword onely, and entred the trenches, which he found strongly guarded by the enemy; where he charged and hurt diuerse: but, the night being exceeding dark, he was thrust through his buffe coat into the left side, and was caried off by one of his Followers; of which wound he was soon cured.

The enemy laid vpon the Town with his cannon: and on the thirtieth of September the besieged made a salie, ouerthrew their trenches, and had taken foure peeces of ordinance if they had been assisted by any horse: but they were forced to retire. They continued their batterie, but did not annoy the Town, shooting still ouer it: whereof being aduertised by two boies which went out to gather grapes, they planted their cannon lower, and did much annoy their houses; so as they hoped it would terrifie the Townsmen, that they would soon yeeld. The enemy, hauing taken the out-work, approached neer to the half Moon where the English lay; whither Capitaine FAIRFAX came, being somewhat recovered: where incouraging the souldiers, and offering to make a musket shot into the enemies work, he had his thigh broken with a demi-cannon; wherewith falling down, he cried, Gentlemen, I haue lost my leg: yet bee not dismayd, but fight like braue Englishmen; for, my heart shall be alwaies with you. Whereupon, he was caried away; and died that night, and was buried with an honourable funeral pomp, to the great grief of the souldiers and the Burgers of the Town: who, to shew their loue, erected a monument in remembrance of so worthy a souldier.

The enemy (seeing he could preuail nothing by force nor by his cannon) vpon the ninth of Nouember began to shoot fiery bullets into the Town: but the Besieged with their wifes and children vsed such diligence to quench the fire, that it proved fruitlesse. The same night they made an assault vpon the Port of *Spire*: but it took no effect, being repulsed by the Besieged. The next day there fell a great rain, which was very preiudiciall to the Spaniard: for, their trenches being made in a moist ground, and growne dry for want of water, their fortifications fell, and their trenches were full of water. In the meane time, Count MANSFELD came out of the vpper Palatinate with his forces and ten peeces of ordinance, towards *Nuremberg*; where hearing that the Spaniards had besieged *Frankendale*, hee marched on speedily with his forces to relieue it.

On the thirteenth of October the Spaniard sent a Trumpet to the Town to require them to yeeld in the Emperors name, with promise that the Burgeses should enioy their liberties with free exercise of religion; and that the souldiers should depart with their colours fleeing, their Arms and all their baggage: but they had an answer sent them from Capitaine BYRONNES the Gouverner, that the Towne was not his, but had charge from Generall VERR to keep it, and that they must bring his consent from *Manheim*; that he could not trust their promises, hauing seen the contrary by the example of others. The Trumpet hauing receiued this answer, with many threats he returned to the enemy, who renewed his battery against the Town. The same night the Besieged heard a great noife of horses in the wood, nothing suspecting the Spaniards rising, who had so lately summoned them to yeeld: but they being aduertised that Count MANSFELD and Generall VERR made haste to raise the siege, departed suddenly, leauing many sick and wounded, with much Arms and munition behind them. At the break of day the English which guarded the out-works went into their Camp, where they found some Italians; whom they spared for that they were not Spaniards. The Spaniards being gon towards *Worms*, the Besieged threw down their fortifications and trenches. The Citizens were very resolute to defend the Town, sparing neither cost nor labour. Of the Spaniards there were slain 3000, by the report of some prisoners. The Besieged lost 109 souldiers: among which were Capitaine FAIRFAX and his brother, and the brother of the Gouverner BYRONNES.

During this siege of *Frankendale*, Don GONZALEZ drew out some of his forces to break off the Bridge at *Manheim*. Sir HORATIO VERR the Generall (who was neuer daunted at the sight of any enemy) commanded his men to come into the out-work before the bridge, and there to be quiet till the enemies approach: who coming on with a great resolution, they gaue them such a volley of shot, that they were forced to retire with the losse of many; yet being not daunted heerewith, they came to a second assault, where they were entertained in the like manner, and with as great losse: so as, despairing of any successe, they retired, casting most of their

C. Mansfeld
resolved to
leave Frankendale.
died.

Frankendale
rejoiced.

their slain men into the river of *Rhine*. Count MANDSFELD, being ignorant of the raising of the siege at *Frankendale*, marched over the bridge at *Manheim* with 108 companies of foot, 56 of horse, and foure peeces, to relieue the Besieged; with whom joined Generall VERR, MERRIVS Gouverner of *Heidelberg*, OBERMAYND, and others with their forces. The Citizens of *Frankendale* gaue to MANDSFELD 12000 florins for raising of their siege, to the end he might giue some content to his souldiers. He followed the Spaniards towards *Steim*: but finding them well fortified, and not able to attempt any thing without danger, he dismissed Generall VERR and the other Commanders, marching himself with his army into the *Bishopp-ricke of Spire*, to get what he could.

The Duke of *Banaria*, seeing himself circumvented by Count MANDSFELD (having taken an oath from them of *Amberg*, *Newmark*, and others) sent 47 Troops of horse and 85 companies of foot, vnder the command of Generall TILLY, to follow him into the lower *Palatinate*: whereof some Dutchmen ran away, others fell to robbing and spoiling without respect of friend or foe. At his first coming into the *Palatinate*, hee took many places towards the Mountain: and, drawing neer to *Heidelberg*, he sent Letters vnto them, signifying that he had commission from his Imperiall Maiefty and the Duke of *Banaria*, to reduce the lower *Palatinate* to the Emperors obedience; to the which end he had brought an Army: but before he would proceed to force, he would admonish and require them not to oppose themselves in so iust a cause, whereby they should draw ruine vpon themselves and the whole Province; that hee expected a kinde answer from them, hoping that they would willingly submit themselves to the Emperors command; whereby hee promised them all safety and good vlsage, and that they should receiue no wrong from the souldiers; but should be defended like to the subjects of the vpper *Palatinate*: but if they should do otherwise, and not obey the Emperors commandment, he would ioin his forces with *Don CORDVA*, Lieutenant Generall of the Spaniards, and subdue them by force.

The Citizens of *Heidelberg* made answer to these Letters, that they were much grieved to receiue them by night by a Trumpet; that it was not in their power, neither could they by their oath resigne a gouernment to another which was committed vnto them by the Magistrate: wherefore they did hope, that he would excuse them if they did not satisfie his desire; that they would speedily aduertise their Magistrate thereof, and expect his answer: in the meane time they did hope, that he would not attempt any thing by force. This answer, being giuen by the Counsellors of *Heidelberg*, was not pleasing to the Gouerners, who, staying it, sent another to TILLY after this manner: that they had received his Letters which were sent by night contrary to the discipline of war, and seen with admiration what he desired from the Counsellors of *Heidelberg*; that the gouernment was committed to them, but referred to them by Generall VERR their Commander; that they could not gratifie him, nor dispose of any thing in so difficult a businesse without his consent, especially for that the whole Electorship was committed to Generall VERR, and the City of *Heidelberg* to their guard: the which they resolved to defend to their last gasp; that if he or any other desired to try their valor, they could not hinder it: but he might come and see whether there were lesse worth in the souldiers, than in the garri- son of *Frankendale*.

The Elector of *Saxony*, coming to *Presslaw* to receiue the oath of alleageance in the Emperors name from the Princes and States in *Silesia*, was receiued with great pomp, and brought into the City the 22 of October by the Princes of *Ligniss* and *Munsterberg*. The next day, the Princes and States being assembled in the Castle, he caused the Emperors proposition to be read vnto them; whereby he let them vnderstand, that his Maiefty was glad the Princes and States of *Silesia* had so willingly come to that prouinciall assembly; neither could any thing haue bin more pleasing to him than to haue been present there himself: but being diuerred by many affairs of importance, he had committed that businesse to the Elector of *Saxony* to represent his person; the which, for his obedience towards his Maiefty, and his loue to the Princes and States of *Silesia*, he would not refuse. He wished them as much happinesse as they had ioyned in the time of his Predecessors: and seeing the Provinces were now settled in peace by the grace of God and his great care, he hoped they would continue constant, and giue him aid to repell his barbarous enemies: to which end he desired a speedy contribution of 500000 dollars, for that many other poorer Provinces, and which had been much exhausted, had dealt bountifully; that they knew how much it concerned them to haue the bounds of *Hungary* preserved. To the which end both their Ancestors and the States of *Bohemia* had spent much: and now the danger

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was very great: for defense whereof, the Emperor required 100000 dollars yearly for 6 yeeres. As for the tribute or excise of beer for the maintenance of the Court, hee desired they would continue it as they formerly had done, his treasure being exhausted by reason of ciuill warres. And for the removing of all occasions of war in that Province, he desired them not to entertain any more souldiers than were fit to defend their Frontiers, and to send the rest against the Turk with a yearly contribution. The next day the Elector coming to the Castle, the Princes, States and Citizens, took a new oath to the Emperor.

During this Assembly, the Marquess of *Jagendorf* sent two Trumpets vnto them, with Letters to perswade them not to take an oath to the Emperor, but to continue constant in the league and faith which they had once sworn to FREDERICK their King, and not to hasten the ruine of their Country by an vnecessary defection: they could not be ignorant how grievous it would be to them who knew his good disposition, having defended *Silesia* from hostile inuasions. And being bound to satisfie God and the league they had sworn, hee perswaded them to send their Deputies to BERTLIN GABOR, and to himself as Commissary to the King of *Bohemia*, within 14 daies with a declaration of their intents. But if any thing hapned to the contrary, he should be very much grieved for the ruine of the Country, but the cause should be imputed to them who had been the motives of these combustions by their ambition and couetize.

Notwithstanding these threatening Letters, the Princes and States of *Silesia* made answer to the Emperors proposition, that they were ready to pay 400000 Imperials or dollars at certain daies; that they would contribute 700000 dollars yearly during the space of six yeeres for the defense of the Frontiers of *Hungary*: for the excise of beer they were content to supply his Maiesty for ten yeeres, and for their auxilliary forces: according to the present estate of the Countrey. This answer being pleasing to the Elector Palatine, a generall peace was proclaimed in *Silesia*.

CHRISTIAN, Duke of *Branswick*, and Bishop of *Halberstad*, cosin-germane to the Queen of *Bohemia*, having a desire to relieue the *Palatinate*, gathered what forces he could together in the Lowe-countries, and on the 18 of October departed from *Emerick* with his Army. Having sent 2600 foot and 300 horse before into the territories of *Alinden*, *Hilsenheim* and *Branswick*, they committed great spoils: and being commanded from the Bishop of *Halberstad*'s brother, the Duke of *Lunenburg*, and the Administrator of *Magedburg*, to remove their Camp, they would not obey; so as they were suddenly set vpon by the souldiers of the Country, and most of them slain, losing their Arms and Ensignes. The Duke was not daunted for this misfortune, but continued his resolution to go into the *Palatinate* with thirteen companies of foot and five hundred horse.

MAVRICE, Lantzgrau of *Hesse*, at this time invaded the iurisdiction of the Earles of *Waldeck*, for that they had demanded their fees from the Emperor, and not from him; as also for the ancient contentions for the City of *Corbac*. Hee took the Castle of *Eisingen*, drave away the Gouerner, and manned it with a good garri- son, leaving all to the spoile of the souldiers, who were in peeces all their Registres, Letters, Seals and Documents which did concern *Mentz*, *Cullen*, *Paterborn* and *Hesse*, which had been kept there for many yeeres in an originall form. From thence he went to other Castles, Cities and Towns, making them subiect to him. Hee called together the Knights and other States of *Corbac*; letting them vnderstand, that the Earls of *Waldeck* had lost their fee by their owne fault: wherefore they should not assist them against the iurisdiccions of *Corbac* and *Hesse*, but ioin with his Officers. The Earles in the meane time fledde to some places of safety; one of them posting to the Emperor to acquaint him with the whole businesse.

In the *Palatinate*, TILLY with his *Banarian* Army made hauock in the mountaine-Countries, spoiling all places; so as the Inhabitants were forced to flee away for extreme want and penury. MANDSFELD committed no lesse spoile on this side of the river of *Rhine* in the Bishoppes of *Spire*'s Country, causing the Towne of *Brugel* to redeeme it selfe for a great summe of money. TILLY and CORDOVA with their ioynt forces might easily haue releued it: but there was some distast between them; so as he had good meanes to escape them: and on the thirteenth of Nouember, passing the bridge at *Manheim*, he besieged *Diedesheim*, and took it, finding in it a great booy: committing the guard thereof vnto the Duke of *Lauenbourg* of *Saxony*: after which he tooke the Towne and Castle of *Kerchwil*; where the Captaine and garri- son followed his colours. Afterwards he seized vpon *Lauterbourg*, which was very rich; because those which inhabited the Country had brought their wealth into it; all which hee

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Tilly's success in the lower Palatinate.

The Marquess of Jagendorf diffusing from the oath.

Resolution of the States of Silesia.

Branswick goes into the Palatinate.

The Elector of Saxony comes to Presslaw to receive the oath of the Silesians.

gaue to the souldiers for spoil. Planting his Camp there, he caused 6000 foot and 16 companies of horse to be leui'd.

The Spaniards and the Bauarians on the 21 of Nouember, being 18000 men, marched towards *Lauenbourg* to recouer that Town: to relieue which, *MANSFELD* posted thither with foure peeces of ordinance, but seeing the Spaniards lodged vpon aduantage, he retired: after which the Town yielded. After Count *MANSFELD*'s departure out of the vpper Palatinate, the garrison of *Tabor* could hope for no relief, yet they refused to yeeld vnto *DON BALTIZAR*; protesting that they would defend it to the last gasp. Having planted his cannon, he fought by all means to make a breach. The thirteenth of October, the Besieged endured an assault the space of three houres: they repul't the Imperials with great losse, there being three Captains and many souldiers slain, and 200 fore wounded. They had resolved to defend it till *S. MARTIN'S* day, and to expect succours if happily any might come; as appeared by their Letters intercepted to Count *MANSFELD*. The day aforesaid being comm, and no succours appearing, the garrison being in great want both of wood and salt, and the Gouverner a little before dead, they did capitulate, and left the Town on the 18 of Nouember, going out with their colours fleeing, Arms and baggage: which the Imperials mand with a strong garrison, the Citizens redeeming themselves from spoil for a summe of money: but yet they were not suffred to go out of the Town. The Noble-men of *Bohemia* which had fled thither, and continued there during the siege, were apprehended and put in prison.

CHRISTIAN the younger, Prince of *Anhalt*, who had been hitherto kept prisoner at *Newstad*, after many intercessions was brought to *Piemma* the 26 of Nouember with a conuoy of fifty horse. He was lodged in an Inne, and had free liberty to walk vp and down the City. The 12 of December he was admitted to the Emperors presence, and humbly craved pardon for his offense, the which he obtained after some repetition made by the Vice-chancellor.

Some months before, *CHRISTIAN* the elder, Prince of *Anhalt*, fled to the Emperor for pardon, writing Letters to this sence:

The mercy which his Maiesty had shewed to offenders against him in this Bohemian warre, had made him (plunged in great miseries) to flee to his Imperiall Maiesty, hoping that the gate of grace should not be shut against him; especially for that he had this more peculiar than the rest, having been neither the author nor beginner of these combussions, but was lately drawn in to them: neither was he absolutely subiect to his Maiesty as a great number of others, but mediately as a Prince of the Empire; neither was he at that time tied to him by oath; that he could truly affirm, he came not to those warres with any bad intent to his Maiesty, being his supreme Magistrate: but the care and loue to religion which the Bohemians so much complaind would be oppressed, and the faith which he had vowed for many yeers to the Elector *Palatine*, had ingaged him in these miseries; neither had he euer any wil to oppose himself against *CÆSAR*, but onely to preuent the falling of those countries into any strangers hands, and to see the combussions pacified by some honest Treaty: to which end he had vsed many graue admonitions. But, all hope of composition being taken away, he could do no lesse than became the Generall of an Army; preuenting as much as in him lay all vnneccessary deuastations and spoils, and preferring the recovery of peace and publike safety before the discomforts of war. In the end finding that God had not onely giuen *CÆSAR* victory, but made it knowne to the world that he would not haue religion alwaies defended by the sword, he had speedily laid down Armes, and perswaded the *Palatine* to make his composition, although in shew he had great means to renew the war. Hee would not deny, but the loue of the reformed religion and of the Elector *Palatine* had drawne him into this error: yet it was true, no man liued without fault and neuer erre; God onely was free from sinne, it was not giuen to men. It was common for all men to erre: if he in like manner had failed, he humbly besought his Imperiall Maiesty to couer his error with the cloke of his mercy and clemency, and to pardon all his offenses, to receiue him and his again into fauour, and restore his captiue sonne to liberty and his former dignity; which should be an honour to his Maiesty, and binde him for so great a fauour to doo him perpetuall seruice.

The 21 of Nouemb. the Spaniards (who lay claim to any thing lying fit for them) attempted the strong Castle of *Reinsfeld* in the Earldom of *Casembogen*; which was out of the *Palatinate*, nor depended thereon, meaning to surprize it by night, sending certain companies of men with a guide who knew all the passages, & brought them by night to their fortifications on the other side of the Castle: which hauing surprized, and discharged some peeces, they required them in the

the Emperors and the King of *Spain's* name to yeeld: the Garrison, being moued at this sudden surprize and importunate demand, fell to Armes, and so played the Spaniard with shot and wilde fire, as they forced them to abandon the place which they had taken, and to retire. The Spaniard sought to excuse the fact, vpon a pretence of the Duke of *Brunswick's* comming, desiring only to hold this Castle for a time, to the end they might stop his passage through *Hassia*.

CHRISTIAN, Duke of *Brunswick*, Bishop of *Halbarstad*, passed on the eighteenth of Nouember through *Hassia*, into the Elector of *Mentz's* Countrie; where he tooke *Amenbourg* by a stratagem. Whilst that the Captaine treated with some Officers for the lodging of his Troupes, certaine souldiers going before with a guide, who knew the place, crept vp a Hill, and got into the Castle by an old Priuie which was ruined: Being in possession thereof and giuing a signe to some horse-men which were neerer, they left their horses and went vp with their peeces. The Townsmen, hereupon, went to the walles to defend themselves; but *BRYNSVICK'S* forces, slaying out of the Castle, took the Towne; whereupon they fled, leauing a great booty vnto the Enemy. After which they took *Newstad*, with all that tract, with some Townes belonging to the Lantz graue of *Darmstadt*, and other Noble-mens Castles in the valley of *Baier*, spoiling the Countrie thereabout.

In the meane time *LAVVSES* of *Hassia*, Lantz-graue of *Darmstadt*, sent his Deputies to the Duke of *Brunswick*; signifying, that whereas he and the Elector of *Mentz*, had receiued great spoiles by the passage of Souldiers, his Imperiall Maiesty had expressly forbidden, that no souldier should be suffered to passe, vpon the penalties prescribed by the Imperiall constitutions; perswading him to forbear to appoint them any lodgings; and that he should returne the same way he came.

The Duke of *Brunswick* made answer, that he would willingly (as much as in him lay) forbear his Countrie; yet he was aduertised that he took Armes to oppress his Souldiers: which he could not beleue, hauing not deserued it; but if hereafter any wrong should be done vnto them, he would reuenge it by what means he couer.

Hereunto the Lantz-graue made answer, that he was glad he would neither doe wrong to him nor his; yet he vnderstood, by faithfull relation, that his souldiers had entred into diuers places of his iurisdiction, laine his subiects, and spoiled them of their goods: which fact hee also vnderstood he had detested, and therefore hee entreated him to seeke out the Authors, and punish them for examples sake. Touching his resolution and end, he would speake nothing: As for his passage, so it was, that the Generall of the Burgundian Army, in the Palatinate, hearing that the Baron *Dona* was marching vp with some troups against the Emperour, had entreated him and other Princes to be carefull that no Army, opposite to the Emperour, should passe by the Riuers of *Main* and *Rhine*; whereby it may be easily gathered, that he makes himselfe a partaker of the warres which should giue passage to strange Souldiers, and therefore he did aduise *DONA*, that he should not molest him in his passage, the which he easily obtained. The like cause he had now for this admonition, neither did he hope that he would willingly offer any violence to his Countrey: And whereas he had with the neighbour Electors and Princes, leui'd some Souldiers to preuent the imminent dangers which might ensue, he hoped hee should be blamed no more then the Saxon Princes, who had denied passage to many. That the Spaniards and Bauarians prepared themselves to meete him and stop his passage with all their forces, whereby his Countries might receiue much spoile; the which he might easily preuent, if he would retire and leaue those vpper parts of the *Rhine*: Wherefore he entreated him that he would take the safest and most excusable way, and desist from his enterprise; That before he vnderstood of his expedition, he had entred into treaty with the neighbor Electors and Princes, not to giue passage to any Souldiers, wherefore he should not take this his declaration in ill part; wishing well to him and his whole family.

That he meddled not with the affaires of the Palatinate, but sought only to stop the passage of Souldiers, which would be a preiudice to his Countrey. That he might turne his forces against the Enemy of *Christendome*, where he should reape more honour; for in these places he should but afflict his friends and innocent subiects. He entreated him therefore to change his minde and to returne into the Lowe-countreys, and to free his territories from danger, not doubting but he would giue more care to his fatherly admonition (which honour hee had once vouchsafed him) then to the perswasions of others which were not so well affected vnto him.

The young Duke of *Brunswick* expected another answer: but being moued therewith he

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wrote vnto him like a souldier; that whereas he vnderstood (beyond his expectation) that hee with his subiects and other souldiers intended to stop his passage, he feared them not, nor the Spanish forces; but resolved to proceed in his resolution by the grace of God, notwithstanding any opposition: wherefore he should rest resolved, that if he or his souldiers should receive any wrong, both he and his posterity should reuend it.

Before the receipt of these Letters, the Lantzgrau had written vnto MAVRICE, Lantzgrau of Hesse, informing him how that he had aduised the Duke of Brunswick to abandon those vpper parts of the Rhine, and not to molest his subiects; which he seemed not to regard: it being therefore to be feared, that if he should continue in his resolution, and try the doubtfull event of warre, the seat of the warre would be drawne into Hesse, and their Countries afflicted with all discommodities, he could not but intreat him to deal with the Duke of Brunswick, and to perswade him to depart; the which if he would effect, hee would doo his best endeavour to stay the Emperors Troops, being ready to march into those parts against him: it being also necessary in these dangerous times that some agreement should be made between neighbor Princes, how passage should be allowed or denied, it agreeing both with the law of nature and of nations; and therefore he did hope, and likewise intreated him, if he should be any way pressed by the Bishop of Halberstat, or in danger, that he for their old contracts would come to succour him, as he would do for him in the like case.

The Lantzgrau MAVRICE made answer to these Letters, that whereas he intreated him to cause the Bishop of Halberstat to retire with his Army, thinking it to be in his power, hee did not doubt, but he vnderstood well by his former Letters, that those Troops were not onely leuiued in the King of Bohemia's name, but by the States of the vnitied Prouinces, and sent to those parts: wherefore to set vpon those souldiers, and thereby to offend such potent Princes, was not safe; that he was aduertised, the Bishop was passing to another Territory; that he was vnacquainted with his counsels, neither had he aduertised him of his course; that it was not in his power to prescribe or command any thing to the Bishop of Halberstat in this action; that both they and all Hesse were bound by the duty of their feie vnto the Palatine, of which fee the said Lantzgrau LOVDVICK was in possession: wherefore, as he desired not to meddle in the affairs of Bohemia against the Emperor, so he could not forget the oath he had taken to the Palatine. And whereas he required his aid against any force which should be offered him, according to the ancient contracts of neighbourhood and consanguinity, the like he expected from him to whom his innocency was well knowne, assuring himself, that if by the league of the Catholick Princes against the Protestants he should be invaded, he would not fail to assist him according to the said Treaties: yet he could not forget, that of late hee had been wronged by the Spaniards, who had attempted to surprize the Castle of Reimsfeld, and summoned them to yield in the Emperor and King of Spain's name, from the which they were forced to retire; for which attempt they had no colour, hauing neuer been wronged by him. He therefore intreated him to employ his credit with the Spanish souldiers touching this business, for that delays were dangerous; and that they would appoint a meeting for their Deputies.

Many Letters past betwix them touching this action of the Duke of Brunswick, the which I must for breuities sake omit. In the mean time, the Duke of Brunswick, hearing that the Baron of Anhalt approached with forces to stop his passage into the Palatinate, and to driue him out of those parts, being fortified with some Troops from the Bishops of Mentz, Treuer, and the Lantzgrau of Darmstadt, and hearing that ANHALT approach neer the vallie of Buec, hee attended him there in open field (the weather being exceeding cold, about the end of December) meaning to fight with him: but, finding his forces too weak, he retired, spoiled Neubourg, and burnt Newstadt, and then march with his Troops towards Westphalia, as you shall hear.

The Preachers and Ministers of Gods word in Prague being taxed, that during the Bohemian combustions they had exceeded the bounds of modesty, and incensed the people by their admonitions & preachings, and so made themselves partakers in these broils, were now banished the Kingdome of Bohemia, by an Edict made by the Prince of Lichtenstein, as followeth.

For that the Ministers and Preachers of Bohemia had been the first fowers of sedition in the Kingdome, and published scandalous books both against the Emp. MATTHIAS then liuing, and since against FERD. now Emperor, as also against his Lieutenants, Officers and Counsellors, and drawn the people into actual rebellion, and approved the election of a new King, laboring by all persuasions to haue him crownd: for these & other causes specifid at large, it was ordaind, those seditious men (as they said) chiefly those who made the edict an. 1618, or approved the

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Coronation should be banished for euer out of Bohemia, the incorporated Prouinces, and all the iurisdiccions of the house of Austria, hauing deserued a far greater punishment; whereby they were commanded to depart out of Prague the day after the proclamation made, and within 8 daies out of the Kingdome of Bohemia, the incorporated Prouinces, and all the iurisdiccions of the house of Austria, and neuer to return during their liues yet they did them this fauour, To suffer them to carry away their moucables; and, if they had any lands, they were suffered to sell them by their Deputies within three moneths. This clause was annexed, that If after the time prefixed any one was found in Prague or any place about-mentioned, and convicted of these crimes, he should without all exception lose his head. The like punishment was inflicted vpon all those who should entertain them, lodge them, or conceal them after the time prefixed. This Edict being proclaimed, there were fifty Ministers of the Hussites (whereof some were exceeding old) forced to abandon their Country.

COUNT MANSFELD, hearing that DON GONZALEZ de Cordua (after the recouerie of Tidheim) had put his Troops into garrison, march with his Army towards Haguenaw; where he forced from the Catholique Inhabitants and Iews a contribution of about 100000 dollars: the which they were willing to pay, hoping to auoid any further oppression. But returning in 14 daies with greater forces, he got entrance into the Town, the Citizens being vnable to endure a siege; the which he fortified with a good garrison. Hauing got this Town without any losse of men, and thinking that others in Alsatia would follow their example, he sent a Trumpet to Elzasabern, summoning them to yeeld: which they denying, hee drew great store of munition from Haguenaw, and march thither with his Army; which he battered with such fury, that hee thought they would haue yeilded the first day: but, finding the Gouverneur resolute to defend it, he continued his battery 12 daies, hauing made a breach, but not fit for an assault. The Besieged defended themselves resolutely, and due 300 of his men who had entred the suburbs, and in a false took some prisoners, carrying som into the town, hanging others ouer the walls.

The weather growing so exceeding cold that they were not able to endure it, hauing lost many braue men, there was a truce made for ten daies at the intercession of the Duke of Lorraine; but with this condition, that they should chuse whether they would pay him 100000 PHILIPPS dollars, or endure the extremitie of a siege. The besieged accepted of this condition; but hauing in the mean time receiued a supply of 2000 shot, they sent an answer vnto Count MANSFELD (who was gone to Haguenaw) that they had bought powder and bullets with their money; and that he might return if he desired to smell of them. After which, they burned their suburbs, sent their wiues and children into Lorraine, mured vp all their Ports but one; and prepared themselves for a siege.

COUNT MANSFELD, seeing the Town thus fortified, and that the continuance of a siege in so vnseasonable and sharpe time of winter would be the ruine of his Army, lodged some of his Troops in those parts, and past with the rest into the further Alsatia and the hereditary Countreies of the house of Austria: where he put all to fire and sword, and where he struck such terror into the Inhabitants, that they thought of nothing but flight, leauing much cattell in their stals and stables: whereof some died for hunger, and others were carried away by the souldiers; which bred a great death of victuall through all the Country. Colonell OBERNBERG on the other side being in Brisgo, made an incursion to Brisac and Ensfelheim, where he spoiled the Country, and put all the garrisons to the sword.

Mean while, the Emperor sent out another proscription against Count MANSFELD to this sence: that whereas ERNEST of Mansfeld had some years before been proscribed by the Emperor MATTHIAS his Predecessor, for that he had presumed to take Arms, and been a chief actor in the Bohemian rebellion, hoping he would haue acknowledged his fault, and yielded him due obedience as the supreme head of the Empire, to which dignity he had been aduanced by the ioint consent of all the Electors: yet it was knowne to all men how that MANSFELD had persisted still in his resolution, vied all means to entertain the rebellion, giuing all aid and assistance to the head thereof who was also a banished man, and after that memorable victory of Prague had not forborn to leuie new souldiers, and to annoy those who were faithful to him and the States of the Empire, especially vpon the Rhine, with murders, spoils, burnings and grievous exactions; whereby it was easie to be coniectured, that he would neuer cease (although he had nothing of his owne) to trouble the Empire during his life. Wherefore to preserve his authority, to maintain peace in the Empire, and to free his faithful States from this his tyranny, hee did admonish all Electors, Princes, and Common-wealths, to obserue him

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carefully, and wherefoever they should take him to keepe him safely, and not deliuer him at any mans intercession without his commande. He also commanded them not to lodge him, feede him, or releue him, and to call presently back their vassalles and subiects which serued vnder him, by publicke proclamation, vpon paine of the losse of all their goods, priuiledges and dignities and the banishment of their wiues and children.

BETHLIN GABOR, in the meane time, hauing miserably spoiled *Moravia*, there being nothing left to relieue his souldiers, hee retired into *Hungary*, where there was a treaty of peace propounded betweene the Emperours Deputies, BETHLIN's, and the Hungarians at *Nicholasburg*, vpon these Articles following. That the Emperour should graunt a generall pardon to all the Hungarians. That BETHLIN should forbear to vse the title of King. That he should restore the Crowne of *Hungary* to the Emperour, restore the frontier forts, yeeld vp the kingdome, and attempt nothing against the Emperour nor the house of *Austria*. On the other side, he should haue from the Emperour the title of a Prince of the Empire with seauen iurisdiccions and the towne of *Cassovia* during his life: he should also haue the Principallities of *Opell* and *Radiborne* in *Silesia*; with the forts of *Moncaus*, *Tocay*, *Sagmary* and *Eschet* for a certaine summe of money, and 50 thousand florens yearly for the entertainment of his souldiers; but vpon condition they should aswell be bound by oath to the Emperour as to BETHLIN. That the Crowne of *Hungary* should be left in the Caste of *Trinichin* vntill the assembly of States. To the which, the composition for grieuances and the admitting of Germanes vnto publicke offices should be referred. That matters concerning Religion should remaine in the same estate, they were in, when the Emperour came vnto the Crowne. That the Iesuites should be againe receiued, but should enioy no lands &c.

The Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, being absent from his Camp during this winter season, the States of *Silesia* began to treat with his souldiers, perswading them to dissolue their Camp and be gone for a certaine summe of money; but they requiring too great a summe persisted in their resolution. In the meane time there was so great a want of victuals among the Imperialists in *Silesia*, as they should be enforced to abandon their lodging or endure all extremities: wherevpon the commanders resolved rather to dy valiantly then to retire shamefully; so as on the sixteenth of January they marched away in an extreme colde night, with 30 companies of horse and foote, and fower Cannon (besides six companies vnder Collonell *BODENVS*) and came early in the morning to *Wagissad* where hauing seized vpon all the approaches, they summoned the Towne to yeeld: but the Gouernour making answer, the Towne was giuen him to defend & not to yeeld, they beganne to batter it, the besieged answering them in the like manner. During which, they had newes that two miles off, there lay certaine of the Marquesse his souldiers: whom they suddenly surpris'd, disarmed, and bound them by oath, that for six moneths they should not carrie Armes against the Emperour, the Elector of *Saxony*, the Prince of *Bavaria*, nor the States of *Silesia*, and so dismissed them. The next day the garrison of *Wagissad* yeelded and took the like oath. After this they marched towards *Odera*, whereas there lay seauen of the Marquesse his troupes: but before their coming to the place, they had newes by a trumpet, that if they might obtaine the same conditions they would depart. The report hereof being brought to the Earle of *Ortenbourg* who lay at *Tetschin* with six companies of horse and foote, abandoning the place he departed. Other Captaines and souldiers followed this example, so as in fiew daies 40 companies of horse and foote were disarmed, and all those places except the Caste of *Glau* reduced vnder the Emperours obedience.

There had beene a marriage treated of betweene the Emperour and ELIZABETH the Duke of *Mantua* Sister, by JOHN VLRICK Baron of *Egenberg*. When as they had agreed vpon the conditions and dowry, the Duke of *Mantua* conducted her with 300 Noblemen and Gentlemen & a great band of souldiers from the monasterie of *Saint Vrsula* to the Cathedral Church: where first receiuing the keys of the City from the Bishop, as the Emperours future wife, and the ceremonies being ended, on the 26 of January shee beganne her journey with a great traine, and passing through the Venetian territories came to *Oranipant*; whither also the Emperour came with a great Troupe of Princes, Earles, Barons, and Noblemen: where finding his spouse the fourth of February, the marriage was afterwards solemnly celebrated with great Pompe.

The King of *Bohemia*, remaining in the Low Countries, had resolved to returne into the Palatinate, and to attempt if he might by force recouer his inheritance & free his poore afflicted subiects from the cruelty of his insulting enemies. But before he undertook his journey, he wrote

wrote Letters vnto the Electours, to the Princes, and to the Protestant States, after this manner.

Hee did not doubt (said hee) but they all remembered what practices had beene for many yeeres against the Protestant Electours, Princes and States, and how faithfully his house had alwaies opposed it selfe, and euer endeouored to maintaine the liberty of Religion in all assemblies of the Empire, his Father, Grandfather and great Grand-father, hauing nothing but the glory of God; and the publique good, before their eyes; as did well appeare by the Acts of the Empire. That he had followed their commendable example; and as soone as he came to the Electorshippe, had directed all his counsels and actions to the same end; without respect of persons or priuate profit: Whereby he grew into great hatred of the aduersie party; and so continued; vntill at last, the troubles falling out in *Bohemia*, and the alteration of that Crowne, the States desiring and pressing it, he had accepted of that Kingdome, being conferred vpon him with all their consents, comming into a void possession, not with any desire to raigne; but moued with a friendly care to releue so many Christians, and to free the Empire from greater daungers; and the rather, for that he was giuen to vnderstand from many Protestant States, that these persecutions in *Bohemia* were for the common cause of Religion. And although there had been many things published in Print, whereby he had beene taxed that he had not onely engaged the Turke in these troubles of *Bohemia*; but also sought to expose the Romane Empire, in prey, vnto him; yet he hoped no man should euer proue, nor would giue credit vnto those scandales. And so refusing those surmises, he said he would not then make any Apologie of his innocency, but deferre it vnto another time; only he would make knowne vnto the World, that as he neuer was ashamed of his actions; so after the taking of the Crowne of *Bohemia*, he had alwaies offered to submit himselfe to iustice and right, and to yeeld due obedience vnto the Emperour: yea, the Electors and Princes of the Empire, with other forsaigne Kings, for the settling of a good Peace in the Empire, had undertaken that he should accept of, and doe any thing which he might with his dignity and Conscience; so as those places (which had been taken and spoiled in his Electorall Countrey) might be faithfully restored vnto him. That it was neuer heard of, yea it was contrary to Law, and all the constitutions of the Empire, that without any citation or knowledge of the fact, any man should be proscribed, and the judgement begin by the Execution, inuading his Countreies, and oppressing his miserable subiects with hostile fury; hauing neuer imparted it to the Electors, and other States of the Empire, who haue receiued much prejudice thereby. Seeing then the proceeding hath not beene lawfull; neither can the execution be iust, nor restitution of the charges be demanded. Touching this execution, the capitulations were made with some few, who were partakers and aduancers of these combustions for their owne priuate profit; when farre lighter businesse were referred to Diets and Assemblies of the Electors: Neither should they make such haste to the execution, whereby the neighbor and innocent States might receiue great losse, and many poore innocent creatures be ruined and slaine.

They to whom this execution was committed, might well haue excused themselves; neither did he doubt but they would haue done so, if they had not regarded their owne profit and aduancement, contrary to the treaty which they themselves had made; in the which the Palatinate was comprehended. To diuert all these miseries, and to preserve the Empire from ruine, many Kings and Princes had interposed their Authoritie; but haue not preuailed any thing; so as vpon the treaty propounded by the Lord *DORR* although that the Emperour had yeelded to a suspension of Armes in the vpper and lower Palatinate, and *MANDSFELD* withdrawn his Army out of the confines of *Bohemia*; yet did the Duke of *Bavaria* inuade and take the vpper Palatinate, as may well appeare by the Lord *DIGBIS* Letters of complaint to the Emperour. At the same time *CORDOVA*, Lieutenant generall of the Spanish Army (neglecting the Truce) tooke many places in the lower Palatinate, besieged *Frankendall* (his wiues Dowrie in case she suruiued him) and sought to force it.

To excuse these attempts, nothing could be objected against him; but that in these grieuous persecutions, he thought himselfe bound in Conscience to haue a care of his afflicted Subiects, and had sought some helpe for them from other Princes, his Allies, the which being allowable by all diuine and humane lawes, could not be denied vnto him; if there had been any exccesse committed by his men (whereof he was ignorant) they should haue admonished him, and known if it had beene done with his will and command. They sought a pretext, for that before these times, he had giuen Commission to the Marquesse of *Iagerndorf*, and the Count

MANDS PUBL. to doe all things during his absence, in *Bohemia* and the incorporated *Prouinces*, which they should thinke fit for his seruice; but no man that is impartiall will misconstrue thereof.

It is conformable to reason and equity, that a man should hold that which he thinks is his owne, if he see that taken from him in another place, which is his without any controuersie; vntill that haue recovered it, all suits might be ended by some honest agreement. The vanity of those things which were objected against him might very well appeare, for that they which labored to persecute him, vnder a colour of settling Peace in the Empire, did so waste and spoile it in many places by warre, as it would hardly be able to recouer strength to make head against forraigne Enemies. The affaires of *Bohemia* standing vpon those termes, as there was no necessity to trouble the Peace of all *Germany*, it being only for a priuate pretention of the house of *Austria*, and might well haue been determined in *Bohemia*: Touching those things which concerne the Empire, they might haue been compounded in a publique Assembly of all the Electors and States with full knowledge of the cause. This hath not been done, but priuate treaties and leagues made and confirmed with hostile violence, and the fire of *Bohemia* dispersed ouer the noblest Prouinces of the Empire; which were exposed to the ruines and deuastations of Spanish Souldiers.

The Warre being continued (to the end there might become colour of justice) there followed a declaration of Proscription against him. He did not finde, that since the making of the golden Bull, and the wholesome constitutions, as fundamentall lawes of the Empire, euer the like violent course was taken against the meanest State of the Empire, much lesse against an Elector, who had alwaies submitted himselfe, and doth still, vnto reason and equity. And it was worthy obseruation, that neglecting all the Emperours promises, not to question any State of the Empire, which had not bene an actor in the combutions of *Bohemia*; yet many Princes, Earls, and Noble-men, had been much oppressed and wronged, not sparing Widows and Ecclesiastical Pupils; among others, they dispossessed his brother of his inheritance, and lately forced his Towne of *Luthra*, who had neuer meddled with the affaires of *Bohemia*, but had bene declared innocent by the Emperour himselfe, notwithstanding the treaties of *Praha* and *Mentz*, and the consent of *SPINO LA* himselfe, at the laying downe of Armes: whereby it appeares plainly that they seeke to draw the first Electorall voice from the Protestants, and to transference it vpon a *Romane Catholicke*.

That the D. of *Bavaria* had planted the Masse in diuers places of the vpper Palatinat, nor was ther doubt but hereafter they would plant Popery by force, according to the resolution of the Councell of *Trent*. That there was no liberty for the Protestant Religion, there being no respect of the Imperiall constitutions; especially for that there was no regard had of the Emperours promises by forraigne souldiers, who hated the liberty of the Germanes, and alwaies pretended some colour of warre. And matters were brought to that passe, that it was no more in the Emperours power to make a Peace or Truce without the consent of his confederats, as might appeare by his treaty with the Lord *DIOBY*; all which he left to their consideration: For his part he thought it most necessary, that to prevent the ruine of the Empire, the Protestant States should ioyne their forces, and oppose them against this eminent daunger. He entreated them that they would not only consult carefully of this businesse, but impart it to others, and especially to the Elector of *Saxony*; to the end they may oppose themselves to the pernicious practices of the aduerser party, and so deale, that he being restored, that cruell warre might be ended, and a desired Peace settled: But if all means of composition and reconciliation were denied him, and the gates of justice and grace shut against him; he intreated them to assist him with their counsell and ayde; and likewise, that they would endeavour to diuert the daunger from themselves, and to preserve the liberty of Religion, which had bene gotten with so much labor and cost.

He wrote another Letter vnto them, whereby he did intimate that the Duke of *Bavaria* had sent a great part of his forces into the lower Palatinat; that his Generall *TILLY* had summoned *Heidelberg*, the chiefe seat of the Electorshippe, to yeeld; that he had ioynd his forces with the Spanish Army, and had drawne so neere vnto the City, as they expected newes daily of the siege; That by the copies of Letters, sent by the Emperour to the Lord *DIOBY*, and the *Infanta of Spain*, it plainly appeared what the intentions of the aduerser party were, and vnder what pretext they sought to peruert all. That he had receiued many Letters signed by the Emperours owne hand, the which he sent vnto them, that they might see with admiration, what strange Councils

Councils were treated of in the Empire, for the reall translation of his Electorship vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*. Yet he did hope, that God, who had so miraculously discovered it, would not suffer them to bring it to effect. In the meane time hee entreated them to consider of the common cause, giue away to his former admonitions, and assist him in his necessarie defence.

The young Duke of *Brunswick*, being fallen out of *Hessia*, and these vpper partes of *Germany*, into *Westphalia*, he took in a manner all the Townes of the Diocese of *Paderborne* with the Citie it selfe; He suffered the souldiers to spoile the Iewes which dwelt there, and exacted a great summe of money from the Clergie, and found great treasure in the Cathedral Church; besides the patron of the Church called *Saint Ziborius* which was made of pure gould. To stay his courses, the Elector of *Cullen* sent for part of the *Bauarian* forces out of the Palatinat and *Peterautia*, vnder the commande of the Baron of *Anhalt*: who passing through the County of *Nassau* and *Dillenbourg* marched towards the Elector of *Cullen*; whose forces hearing of *Anhalts* approach, passed the *Rhine*, on the 21 of February, and ioynd with him, with 3000 foote and 600 horse.

Having formerly made mention the last yeare of the siege of *Iuliers* (it being a see belonging to the Empire though held by the vnited States) I thought it fit to speake something of the yeelding of it. It hauing bene long blockt vp by Count *HERRY VANDENBERG* and the Spanish Army, and distressed for want of victuals, he summoned them to yeeld, threatening them that if they forced him to vse extremity he would not spare any. *PYTHANVS* the Gouernour answered, that he was but a seruant and could not yeeld without the resolution of the vnited States, but they consenting he would vse no delay. After this answer they fell to their Cannon on both sides: and being againe pressed to yeeld, he said, they should expect it at Easter; yet he began to treat with the Spaniards on the 17 of Ianuary, sending three Captaines out of the Towne to that end. Having conferred with them, the Earle acquainted *SPINO LA* therewith, and in the end these conditions were concluded. 1. That there should be no alteration in religion. 2. That the Captaines and souldiers should depart with their Armes, colours flying, drums beating, and their wiues, children and goods. 3. That the Ordinance and munition should remaine in the City. 4. That the Gunners, Armorers, Smiths, Carpenters, and others might depart with their souldiers. 5. That the Gouernour and Captaine should haue horse and waggons to carry their goods to *Nymegen*. 6. That the sicke and wounded might stay in the Towne vntill they were recovered, and then haue waggons to carry them to *Nymegen*. 7. That the Captaines and souldiers should haue a whole yeares liberty to sell their lands if they had any. 8. That the souldiers which were in any other Townes or Castles should haue leaue to come thither and bring their wiues and children. 9. That all Armes and commodities belonging to the Towne and Castle should bee left behinde. 10. That records and ancient writings in the Towne and Castle should remaine there still. 11. That the souldiers should not be arrested for debt. 12. That the bedds which the souldiers had brought into the Towne should be restored to their owners, and they bound to receiue them. 13. That the Elector of *Brandenburghs* officers and ministers should execute their offices for the space of one whole yeare. 14. That the Citizens might depart the City and dispose of their goods within one yeare. 15. That there should be two hostages giuen on either side vntill the Articles were performed: all which being signed and sealed by the Gouernour, he should send one to the Prince of *Orange*, and bee bound to yeeld the place if they were not releued within 12 daies, with at the least 300 waggons: which time being expired and no releefe coming from the Prince, the Earle of *Vandenberg* sent 600 waggons to carrie away their baggage, wishing the Gouernour to hasten his departure: who, sending the keys of the Castle vnto the Earle, departed with all his souldiers and goods, leauing two within the City vntill the waggons were returned. *PYTHANVS* the Gouernour coming to the *Hague*, he was committed and called in question for deliuering vp the Towne.

The Emperour hauing consummated his marriage with the Duke of *Mantua* sister at *Osnipont* (as we formerly related) he returned to *Vient* with his new Emperesse. Coming to the Towne, all the ordinance was shot off, and a guard set on either side from the Port vnto the Castle. First, there entered six troupes of horse, with many Towns-men: then followed the Emperours seruants and young Noble-men with the Emperours horses, his officers, Senators and Counsellors in great numbers. Before the Emperour went five Heralds. *LORENSTEIN* Lord Marshall carried the sword, and with him went *LEOPOLD ERNES*

Brunswick includes the diocese of Paderborn.

Iuliers yielded to the Spaniards.

King of Bohemia friend was the Spaniards.

The Emperour enters Vient with his Emperesse.

TVS, his Maiesties eldest son. The Sindiques and Senators carried the Canopy. The Emperresse was in a rich Chariot, accompanied by CHARLES WILLIAM the Emperours youngest son, and two of his daughters; being enuironed by twenty foure Noblemens children and many fouldiers: after which, followed DETHESTRIN with some troupes of horse.

As this action was ioyfull at Vienna, so was the funeral of the Arch-duke ALBERT of Austria, mournfull at Brussels: the which was performed with so great pompe, as those of the Emperour CHARLES the Fifth were not comparable, as some write; whereof I must make some little mention. Omitting the ordinary ceremonies, I will onely make relation of those things which were extraordinary. Before the Hele there were 32 horses couered with black, hauing euery one a Gentleman going before them, carrying the Armes of so many prouinces. Euery horse had two Gentlemen to leade them, with diuers Heralds. After which the Archiducall Diademe, his scepter, the goulden fleece, with two swords (whereof the one with a cup of great price was giuen him by Pope CLEMENT the Eighth) were carried by Noblemen. Betwixt these, and the body went a triumphant Chariot of Liberality, in remembrance of his great bounty, for that after the death of the Emperour MATTHIAS he had freely giuen to the Emperour FERDINAND eleuen Kingdomes: namely, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclauonia, Bosnia, Serbia, Halisia, Lodomicia, Camania, and Bulgaria, with the Arch-duchy of Austria, the Duchie of Silisia, the Marquiesates of Moravia, Lusitania, and Burgau, the Earledomes of Habsburg, Tiroll and Ferret, the Principalltie of Spennia, the Marquiesate of Alsacia, with other territories which descended vnto him by hereditarie right. In this Chariot sat Liberty (a beautifull Nymph) and before her an altar whereon were diuers Scepters and Crownes with this inscription, *Hic spectis obijt*. About this Chariot were the Armes of 27 Kingdomes and prouinces, which in his life time he had so bountifullly bestowed vpon the Emperour FERDINAND. This triumphant Chariot was drawne by six horses, representing six vertues, namely, Nobility, Mildnesse, Wildome, Loue, Reason and Prouidence; whereon sat six boyes, representing Nymphs. After the body followed the Popes Nuntio, the Spanish Ambassadour, Marqueses, Earles, and Knights of the Goulden fleece, with the rest of the traine, as is vsuall in such funeral pompes.

The Duke of Brunswick, hauing taken many Townes in Westphalia (as was said) ERVVS (a Commander of the Elector of Cullens forces) came by night with a thousand horse and some companies of foote, on the 8 of March, to Gifse: which he took, with some other Townes, by the secret practices of the Inhabitants; where they slew 900 of Brunswicks fouldiers, and took some few prisoners. The Duke (to reuenge this losse and disgrace) hearing that 8 troupes of horse and foure companies of foot, lay not far from Suse, he presently posted from Lippe thither, with his Horse. The commanders of the Cullen forces, seeing his furious approach, abandoned their foot and baggage, and fled. The foot retired into a Church-yard: whereof 200 were slaine, and 748 with their officers taken prisoners. There were also 36 horsemen taken and foure ensignes, which were sent vnto the Elector Palatine. After which, the Duke recovered some places which they had taken, and punished some which had bene authors of the Treason.

The Towne of Wittengau in Bohemia held yet against the Emperour: the garrison being without all hope of succours, pressed with hunger, and seeing all the passages stopped, they entred into treaty, and compounded to yeeld vp the Towne and Castle, and to depart with bagge & baggage whither they pleased. But the Garrison of Clingenberg, although they saw all passages stop, would by no means consent to yeeld.

About the end of March, the Earle of Swartsenbourg, Ambassadour for his Imperial Maiesty, arrived in England: where he was honourably receiued, lodged in Denmark house, and defrayed with his whole traine at his Maiesties charge, during his abode in London. He had his Audience in the upper house of Parliament: where, after the ordinary complements, he made an expression of the Emperours loue and zeale in particular to his Maiesty. That hee desired to enter into conditions of an euerlasting peace, and to hold an indissoluble contract of perfect friendship with him; That it had pleased his Maiesty to giue him assurance of his sincere loue & affection by many stately Embassies endeavoring still to settle the peace of Christendome. And, whereas some ill affected had sought to trouble the quiet state of Europe with combinations, none but his Maiesty had endeavored to reconcile them, and like a rising sun to dispel those cloudy vapours of dissension, to the great honor of his royal name for so worthy a work: intreating his Maiesty, in the Emperours name, to continue still in the same course; that the Princes of

Europe

Europe might not onely enjoy peace by his means, but that he himself might haue the fruition of his desire, and immortal fame.

And, to let him vnderstand how highly his Imperial Maiesty did esteeme of his loue and affection, and his endeour to gratifie him, as farre as honourable correspondence might extend; he had sent him, as his Ambassadour, to acquaint his Maiesty with his gracious intent, and to assure him that he did affect the common good of Christendom, and especially the welfare of his Maiesties house. Although there had bene some cause of discontent: yet it was part of his care, that the decayed peace (which had bene interrupted by some turbulent spirits) might be restored; acknowledging, that those violent courses had bene distastfull vnto his Maiesty; who out of his regall piety had alwaies endeavored to preuent those mischiefs, as well for the generall good of Christendome, as for the settling of a peace in Germany, which had bene dismembred by dissension. And whereas his Imperial Maiesty had taken Armes for his owne defence and the maintaining of his honor and dignity; so he said he would be as easily entreated to lay them down againe, and desist from all hostility, if others without any iust cause did not shew themselves refractarie: to the which, he was the more tractable, for that his Maiesty could so nobly act his part in defending the dignity of kings, and the prerogative of monarchs. His conclusion was, that his Imperial Maiesty had a worthy intent to treat sincerely; really and without fraude, with him about those affaires, that all might bee firmly ratified and performed, whereunto the king of Spaine was also willing; and that they were both ready to harken to his Imperial Maiesties propositions, when his Maiesty should think fit to treat about the same: neither did they doubt, but that the work being generally good, charitable and profitable for all the Prouinces of Europe, it would haue a happie successe; there being nothing intended but truth, sincerity, and the hope of an indissoluble friendship.

His Maiesty was well pleased with this proposition, and willingly embraced the offer of a Treaty appointed at Brussels: whereupon, after an honourable dismissal of the said Ambassadour, his Maiesty made choice of Sir RICHARD WESTON, Chancellor of his Exchequer, and Counsellor of State, to be employed in this Action: whome he sent presently after him, to treat of a peace for the Elector, and restitution to his hereditarie lands and dignities; and during the treaty to procure a cessation of Armes. And to the end all obstacles might be taken away, his Maiesty soone after sent the Lord CHICHESTER, Baron of Belface, into the Palatinate, to acquaint his sonne in law the Elector with this treaty, that he might conforme himself accordingly; whereby no exception might be taken: but there followed no such fruite of this treaty, as all good men did wish. For, there was neither any suspension of Armes, nor any peace concluded; but after six moneths treaty, his Maiesties Ambassadour returned home without any satisfaction, as the world did coniecture.

In this moneth the Duke of Bauaria sent an Ambassadour to the Duke of Wirtemberg, requiring him, to send him those fouldiers which he had leuied (hauing no neede of them) to be employed against Count MANSFELD. To whom the Duke answered, that he had no quarrell against the Palatinate, in the defence whereof MANSFELD was to be employed; and, besides, it was contrary to the treaty of Vime, by the which it was decreed that nothing should be attempted against the Palatinate. Moreover, the fouldiers being leuied by the States for the defence of the countrey, they could not be drawne away to any other place, without their consents. Count MANSFELD, hauing spoiled Wanzenau, and fortified Haguenaw with two Bullwarks, 20 Companies of foote and 4 troupes of horse, he returned with his Army into the Bishoprick of Spire; where he demanded a great quantity of corn, wine, and money from the Clergy: but, preuailing nothing, hee caused the Castle of Meidebourg (into the which the inhabitants of the Countrey had carried great store of goods) to bee besieged by the Earle of Loquenstein: the which was yeilded the fourth of Aprill.

After this, TILLY cut downe all the trees about Ladebourg, and overthrew the walles and ditches, and ruined Saint MARTINS Church without the Towne: and that he might haue the better means to besiege Heidelberg, he took one Towne after another: and on the fifth day of Aprill (as GOTHARDS writes) falling vpon 20 troupes of Count MANSFELD's horse and three thousand foote at Wingart, he overthrew them, took a hundred and fiftie waggons with six hundred horses, and a great prey; the rest sauing themselves by flight.

To prepare his way (as I laie) to Heidelberg, on the fourth day of Aprill he laide siege, to the Towne of Neucargemond being a mile from the same: and for that the garrison resolved

to

Sir Richard
Weston sent to
Brussels.

The Duke of
Wirtemberg re-
sused to send
his souldiers to
the Banerick.

Count Mand-
seld takes the
Castle of Meide-
bourg.

Tilly makes his
way to Heidel-
berg.

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The King of Bohemia goes up to the Palatine

to yeeld vpon the first summons, the next day he forced them, and put them all to the Sword, with most of the inhabitants, their Wiues, and Children, as he had done some daies before at *Obernibibae*. The same day he sent to *Dilsberg* to summon the Castle in the Emperours name: the Gouvernour refusing to yeeld, *TILLY* marched thither on the 6 of April, with all his forces, and battered it the next day for the space of five houres; but the Gouvernour of the Castle (whose name was *BARTHOLOMEVVS SMID*, borne at *Sedan*) defended it so valiantly, as hauing endured foure fierce assaults, they were forced to retire with great losse, leaving great store of Armes and Ladders behinde them. After this a Truce was made for the burying of their dead, and retyring of their wounded; *TILLY* sending a messenger to *Heidelberg*, with a promise that he had no intent to annoy their Towne, but only to force that Castle: whereupon they returned to Armes, on the tenth of April; where, continuing his battery from ten of the clock in the morning till six at night, he had made some breaches in the walles, the which the Garrison did resolutely defend; and the enemy ceasing to giue any further assault, they were summoned againe to yeeld: which the Garrison refused, requiring three daies respite to consult; which being granted, they sent a Messenger to *Manheim* & *Heidelberg* for ayde; who returned on the 14 of April with these comfortable newes: That they should not onely haue ayde, but that the Elector Palatine himselfe was coming into those parts. Being againe pressed by Generall *TILLY* to yeelde, the Gouvernour answered that he was yet ready to defend it 3 dayes longer, and then he would come to a treaty. In the meane time, they being aduertised in the Camp that succors were coming, and that the Elector Palatine was arrived in his country, the Bavarian retired speedily, burned his Camp, and left much Munition, Corne, Wine and Meale behinde him.

The King of Bohemia goes up to the Palatine

The Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*, having resolved to see his Countrey, and Subjects, which were ruined by the enemy, having no safe passage if hee should be discovered, being to goe through the enemies countrey: hee tooke a generous resolution, rather to hazard his life then to abandon his afflicted subjects; wherefore in March hee departed from the *Hague*, embarked himselfe and arrived at *Callis* with a small company, hee being disguised and attendant to one of them. He passed through part of France, went by *Sedan* and *Lorraine*: at *Bisjfi* hee (coming into an Inne) fell amongst some of the Archduke *LEOPOLD*'s souldiers; where, being at the table, he heard them raile freely at the Palatine, the which hee swallowed up quietly. He past from thence in the night, and never discovered himselfe untill hee came to *Landaw*, to *GEORGE LIVES* Earle of *Lansfein*, who presently gaue notice thereof to the Earle of *MANSFELD*, who lay then at *Germusheim*, and was in treaty with an Ambassador sent from *Brussels* from the *Infanta*; who propounded many faire conditions vnto him, as *GOTTHARDVS* writes; namely that he should hold the Towne and Province of *Hagenauw* in fee for him and his heires; That hee should be a Prince of the Empire: that hee should enjoy the lands of the Prince of *Orange*, during the confiscation; and, if a peace were made, then he should have the like ycerely pension; or, if it might be redeemed from the Prince, hee should enjoy it for ever in fee: that hee should receive a great sum of money for the entertainment of his souldiers: that hee should be Marshall to the *Infanta*, with a pension of 1200 crownes a month, and should be subiect to no mans command but Marquesse *SPINOLA*'s. But receiving newes of the King of *Bohemia*'s arrivall, hee brake off the treatie with the Ambassador, who prepared to depart: but Count *MANSFELD* would not suffer him. The King of *Bohemia* arriving soone after, invited him to dinner; and told him, that he laboured in vaine in seeking to withdraw a faithfull servant from him: that hee had need of his help: that hee was come to asist & defend his poore subjects, miserably afflicted; and, if hee had any further charge hee might freely deliver it.

The King of Bohemia goes up to the Palatine

The *Infanta*'s Ambassadour being dismissed, the King of *Bohemia* and Count *MANSFELD*, with the whole Army, spoyling the Bishop of *Spire* Countrey, past the *Rhine*, with an intent to charge the Bavarians, who were lodged neer to *Wilsloch* in a little wood; having fortified themselves upon an eminent place of good advantage, where they had planted six peeces of Ordinance, but did not much annoy the Kings Army, which went and lodged neer unto *Mingelshen* which was not above halfe a mile from the enemies Camp. On the seventeenth of April Count *MANSFELD* marshalled his Army, and marched against the Enemy, but they, having advantage by reason of the countrey's situation, after a hot skirmish, valiantly maintained on both sides, the Mansfeldians were forced to retyre, with the losse of some few men. *TILLY* grew proud with this successe, perswading himselfe upon this retreat, that he had already gotten the victo-

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victory: whereupon hee removed his Campe to pursue them, trying out in great bravery; March on; they are all ours. The weather was exceeding foule; yet *TILLY* used such diligence, as hee planted two peeces of Ordinance, which shot into the Kings Army, but did not much annoy it, for that hee could not well discover it. The Generall *MANSFELD* drew his Army out of *Mingelshen*, and put it in order of Battaille behind the Village. *TILLY*, finding that the Kings forces had left the Village, imagined that they were fled for feare, the which hee beleaved the more confidently, for that Count *MANSFELD* had caused the Village to be set on fire, onely to blinde the enemies sight, and to cover his army with the smoke; untill it were put in battail. *TILLY* presently seized on the Village, and drew all his forces over at a narrow Bridge to pursue the King of *Bohemia*'s Army: which he imagined to be fled, for that hee could not well discover it.

The King's Army being in battaille, he, and his Generall *MANSFELD* encouraged the Souldiers to shew some testimonies of their valour, whereof the King himselfe would be a witness, resolving to fight in person: whereupon the Vanguard marched on and charged valiantly; yet seeming a little to retyre, the enemy pushed them, and were so entertained by Count *MANSFELD*'s forces, as they were forced to retyre in confusion, hoping to save themselves by flight, but the passage of the bridge was so narrow, as within lesse then halfe an hower they were quite overthrowne, and above 2000 men slaine vpon the place; where the Enemy lost many Cornets and Ensignes, with foure peeces of Ordinance, and many prisoners taken. After this overthrowe, the Bavarians which were left in Garrison in *Wilsloch*, *Snitzen*, *Hilspach*, and some other places, abandoned them and fledde; of which there were 150 slayne by the Marquesse of *Baden*'s Souldiers, and three hundred taken prisoners.

Ludowick had seized and taken by Mansfeld

On the 26 of April, Generall *MANSFELD* went to besiege *Ludowick*, which, having battered with 7 peeces of Ordinance, he summoned to yeeld by his Trumpet: The Gouvernour, whose name was *BERNER*, gaue him thanks that he thought him worthy to be visited: by such an Army; yet he did not hold it fit to giue vp the Towne so easily: That he was tyed by oath to the King of *Spain*, that he should defend it to the uttermost of his power. *MANSFELD*, having received his answer, renewed his battery, sending for 4 peeces more from *Manheim*, wherewith after 3 daies battery he made a reasonable breach. He then sent againe to the Gouvernour, giuing him to understand that vnles he yielded, hee would not spare the children in the mothers wombs: whereunto he answered, that he had no womb, yet he would not refuse an honest treaty, so as the Cannon might cease, that he might take counsell with the souldiers, promising to yeeld if it were not relieved within 4 daies, vpon the same conditions that were granted to the Earle of *Fersenburg* at *Dielsheim*, or else that he should send Commissioners to treat, and he would do the like: the which was performed accordingly. In the meane time the Gouvernour encouraged the souldies to haue a care of their guard, and that the townsmen with their wiues and children should carry wood, stone & other provisions to mend the breaches. During the treaty *MANSFELD*'s souldiers prest the garrison to come vnto them, if they would save their liues, wherefore seeing 7 Regiments ready to giue an assault, the souldiers neglecting their captains command, for the most part went to them. *BARNBACH*, who was sent from the Gouvernour, returning from *MANSFELD*, told him they would treat with him in person, who, going out of the Port, and receiving the conditions, told them he would acquaint the captains therewith but in the meane time seeing *MANSFELD*'s souldiers make a violent assault at the breach, he protested against it, desiring they would stay a little till he were retired into the town. *WALDMANNS*, who was Commissioner for *MANSFELD*, did his best to stay this furious assault, but in vaine: for being entered in troops, they slue all that bare Arms against them: the spoile was great; having taken 8 Ensigns, store of Armes, and 10000 Ricks dollars from the Spanish Commissary, and then ruined the town. *CHRISTIAN D. of Brunswick* & Bishop of *Halberstad*, greatly annoyed the Bishopsricks of *Patterborne* & *Munster*, his forces encamping daily: from the citizens of *Munster* (where he burnt *S. MARYES* Church, and other places without the town) he exacted 10000 Ricks-dollars: At *St. As* he had 100000 dollars, besides a great quantity of *Hungarian* gold, left there by a certain Bishop whose name was *THEODORIC of Furtemberg*. At *Frank* he intercepted 80000 dollars, belonging to the Abbesse of *Hersens*; but hearing that the Earle of *Vandenberg* was coming with great forces to relieve them of *Gise*, he was forced to raise the siege, having lost many men. Of the money which he had gotten at *Patterborne* and in other places, he caused new dollars to be coyned: on the one side there was an Army coming out of a cloude with a sword in the hand, and his name, on the other side an inscription, whereby hee

Burbwick had seized great sums of money on Wilsloch

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professed himselfe a friend to God, and an Enemy to all Papists.

Before his departure from *Wessphalia*, he wrote vnto the Bishop of *Wurzburg* and *Bamberg* after this manner: That he had long obserued (not without admiration) how that during the retron. bles in the Empire, against his faith giuen for Neutrality, by the instig. of Sackian and the I. suited his adherents, since that cloud in the Bohemian State, hee durst not only send his Army, remaining in his Diocess, into *Bohemia*, and to ioyne with the Prince of *Bavaria*, but had endeavored by all means to ruine the Protestants; which was done to no other end, but to establish the Spanish Monarchy; decreed many yeeres before, to oppress the liberty of the country and the Protestant States; and to bring in the Councell of Trent, with the tyranny of the Inquisition. These counsellors to the oppression of the Germane liberty, were not to be suffered; wherefore he could not but aduise him to desist from those practices, and to call back his Army out of the lower Palatinat; where they had committed many outrages vpon wiues & virgins: and withall that he should remember, being a Scholer, that such tyrannies were hateful to the Heathen; and that it was his duty as a Pastor, to reclaim his *flayed sheepe*, rather by milde means and faire speeches, then by fire and Sword: That this his passage into the lower Palatinat was not only contrary to equity, but to the treaty of *Wime*, confirmed by all the Princes of the Empire; That his onely end was to expell the lawfull Electoral heir, and conferre the dignity on some which were removed by many degrees; whereby they might haue more voices in the Electorall Colledge for the *Bavarian* party, and the Protestant States with the liberty of *Germany* be the more oppressed: That he had alwaies disliked the Elector Palatines meddling with the affairs of *Bohemia*, seeking to take the Crown from the Emperor; neither should hee now allow, that the Electorship should be taken from the Palatine, much lesse to cast oil into the fire with such violence; aduising him to call back his army, with this protestation, that he would do him all good offices if he gave credit to his words; if other wise he should suffer any one to bee deprived of his possessions, he would vse all means of defense for the glory of God and the liberty of *Germany*; calling God and posterity to witness, that whatsoeuer he had done or should do, was for the peace of their common Country.

The *Bavarians*, after the above-mentioned defeat at *Mingelsheim*, had their reuenge of the Marquesse of *Durlach*, who lay apart with his Army between *Wimpfen* and *Heilbrun*. *Tilly*, having sent to discover his Camp joining with *CORDOVA*'s forces, on the 25 of April he seized on a wood, and hid himselfe with great advantage. Next day morning their cannon began to play on either side about, *DURLACH*'s forces, lying in open field, were much annoyed. Their Troops encountered and maintained the fight valiantly with equall losse, the *Bavarians* still refreshing their men in the wood; which the Marquesse his souldiers could not do. After noon, sending some troops of horse to charge them, they were repulst with such fury, that they were routed and put to flight: whereupon, *TILLY* and *CORDOVA* marcht against the Marquesse his forces with 6 regiments of foot and 800 horse; who attended them so resolutely, that they were forced to retire again to the wood: but returning again with greater fury, they putte his horsemen to flight, the footmen still fighting valiantly: during which conflict, certain carts laden with powder were by chance set on fire which greatly spoiled the Marquesse his men, and was the losse of that daies battell. There was a Commander called *HILMSTADT*, who maintained the fight to the very end, and (as they write) had got the victory if he had been well seconded by the horse. This battell continued from Sun-rising till eight of the clock at night; there being slain on both sides, as the report went, 5000 men, and 800 of the Marquesse his men taken prisoners. The Spaniards opinion was of this and of some former actions, that if they had been entertained in the beginning with such encounters, they should neuer haue been able to enter so far into *Germany*.

During these exploits in the Palatinate, the Town and Fort of *Glus* seized on all the passages, repaired their Bulwarks, and fortified themselves with men and Arms against any enemies invasion. The Elector of *Saxony* aduised them lovingly to submit themselves to the Emperors mercy; promising them by his Letters, to obtain them a free pardon for all that was past: but the young Duke of *Thuringia* returned him this answer, that they could not giue any credit vnto his promises; and therefore they were resolved to defend themselves to the last gasp. After which, the Townes-men took downe the roofes of their houses, and covered them with earth, to prevent the danger of fire. And being supplied with new Troops which came vnto them after the yeelding of *Wimpfen*, they made a sallie, and spoiled the Country foure or five miles round about, carrying away all the cattell and victualles into their Fort: and by night they sur-
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prised *Beunath*, where there was a good garrison; whom they slew and set fire on the Town.

At such time as Count *MANSFELD* was busied at the siege of *Ladembourg* vpon the Ruer of *Neccar*, the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* taking advantage of the time, thinking the other busied, marcht with an Army of 7 or 8000 foot, 3000 horse, and six or seven peeces of ordinance, and set himselfe down before *Hagenau*, a Town belonging to the Bishop of *Spire*, lying very fit for his passage into the Palatinate. Having made his viual summons to yeeld, and the garrison refusing to parley, he fell to his battery, seeking to geit before they should be relieved: and for the speedier effecting thereof, he wrote his Letters to them of *Strasbourg*, requiring them to send him aid to force the Town. The Citizens (being very wary) forbore to answer him presently: yet they sent him some viuals and munition. Count *MANSFELD* had left within *Hagenau* 4000 foot & 500 horse, who defended it valiantly til they might aduertise their Generall of the danger, who vpon the first aduertisement posted out of the Palatinate with the king of *Bohemia* and almost 20000 men to relieue the siege. His coming was very seasonable: for the enemy had gotten into the Town-ditches; so as it was feared they could not haue held it about two daies longer. *LEOPOLD*, having intercepted a Letter of aduice which Generall *MANSFELD* had sent to the Besieged, and finding by his scouts that his Army was on foot the 16 of May, and seeing no possibility to take the Town suddenly, fearing to be hemd-in betwixt the Kings Army, the ruer *Rhine*, and the town-garrison, he sent 1000 Croatian horse with some foot-companies to encounter him about *Wisenberg*, that by this stay he might save the rest of his Army; with which he rose so tumultuously, that the garrison salying forth, slew 5 or 600 of his men in the trenches and rereward. They likewise who were sent against Count *MANSFELD* were overthrowne, and most of them slain or taken prisoners. The Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* fled ouer the *Rhine*: many of his souldiers were slain in the flight: six companies of horse retired into a wood; where, after 3 daies hunger, they yielded themselves to Colonel *OBERRAVER*, and serued the King. Some companies fled into *Lichtenau* which they fortified, bringing with them six peeces of ordinance from before *Hagenau*; but they were in great feare of the Marquesse of *Durlach*; who although he had receiued an overthrow, and lost his baggage and cannon, yet he drew together again his dispersed regiments, and swore the companies hee had cashiered before to the king of *Bohemia*; so as he had again an Army in field of 6000 foot & 1500 horse.

After the relief of *Hagenau*, and the overthrow of the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD*'s Army, Count *MANSFELD* retired with his Army to *Germensheim*, *Frankendale* and *Manheim*; where putting the souldiers in hope that he would bring them to good pastures, and leaue all to their spoil, so as they would abstain from firing and murder; vpon the two and twentieth of May hee with the King of *Bohemia* went with 16000 horse and foot to *Darmstat*, a Town belonging vnto *LODOVIC*, Lantzgrau of *Hesse*; and hauing encircled the Town by night, early in the morning they summoned it to yeeld. The Inhabitants, being amazed at this sudden access, opened their gates. The King's and *MANSFELD*'s guards being within the wals, the one went to the Court, and the Kings to the Castle: the rest of the souldiers, gaping for prey, spoiled the Town, Villages and the whole Country, driving away their cattell, some to *Hannou*, and some to *Frankfort*; where the Burgers were furred to buy them on this condition, that they should restore them to their owners, paying the same price. The misery and lamentation of the Inhabitants was great, the souldiers sparing no man. Having continued 7 daies in *DARMSTADT*'s Country, *MANSFELD*, hearing that *TILLY*, who had bin supplied with 6000 men from the Duke of *Bavaria*, came to encounter him with an Army of 20000 strong, he thought it not fit to make any longer stay there, but retired the same way they came, carrying the Lantzgrau *LODOVIC* with them, who had sought to escape: but being knowne; hee was brought back again, and conducted to *Manheim*. This Prince had been alwaies a professed enemy to the King of *Bohemia*, and was the chief instrument to make the accord between the Princes of the Vnion and Marquesse *SINOLA*. He had alwaies giuen passage and assistance to the Spanish forces, and dissuaded the Marquesse of *Durlach* and other Princes from taking Armes vnder a colour of desire of peace, and had perswaded the Inhabitants of *Heidelberg* from their obedience and duty to their lawfull Prince: for the which reasons, the King took him prisoner, and carried him to *Manheim*, suffering his country (which was very rich and plentifull) to be spoiled with the poore and hungry souldiers; who were well relieved and the needy garrisons supplied with store of Bees, and sheep, and other necessaries.

CHRISTIAN Duke of *Brunswick*, making preparation to march towards the Palatinate,

the brute thereof was dispersed over the whole country; which strooke such a terror into the poore inhabitants, as they carried whatsoever they had, good and pretious, into *Frankfort*: To stop whose course, the Baron of *Anhalt*, marching speedily through the Country of *Waldes* and *Hesse*, came to *Schaffenburg*, where he joyned with the Bavarian and Spanish forces; who spoiled both friend and foe. *BRUNSVICK*, leaving *Westphalia* on the 6 of May, marched to the Riuer of *Weser*, over which Colonel *KNIGHTS* had built a bridge; where he passed with 82 Cornets of Horse, and 15000 foot, leading captives with him some Jesuites, and a certain President. He was followed by the Bishop of *Cullen*, the Duke of *Neubourges*, and the Spanish forces; but having no means to overtake him, for that all the bridges were broken down; they returned, and in their way recovered *Susat*, *Alten*, and other places in *Westphalia*. Approaching neerer vnto the Elector of *Saxony*'s country, the Duke came with good troops of souldiers to *Langesfeld* vpon the Frontiers, to prevent all danger, and to preserve his subiects from oppression. The Duke of *Brandwick*, having received victuals, past quietly by the iurisdiction of *Coburg* towards the Abby of *Fuldum*, where he exacted from the Chapter 400000 dollars. The Elector of *Saxony*, having freed his Frontiers from feare, entered into *Lipsick* in great Pompe, with his royal Standard before him, bringing with him Capitaine *FISCHER* prisoner, for that hee had exceeded his Commission contrary to the Edict, and had spoiled certain villages about *Byfeld*, belonging to the Elector of *Mentz*. This Captain had many good friends which did intercede for him, especially *FREDERICK* a Duke of *Saxony*, who loved him much; yet he could not so palliate the offence, but 3 of his chiefe officers were hanged.

His Maiefty of great Brittain, having (as I said before) resolved to send the Lord *CHICHESTER*, Baron of *Belface*, into the Palatinate, to the Elector Palatine his son in Law, to dispose him to embrace this treaty of Peace now in hand at *Brussels*, and to remove all lets & obstacles that might hinder it, or a suspension of Arms, which his Maiefty so much desired; about the end of May he arrived safely at *Manheim*, wherest the king of *Bohemia* was much satisfied, & the poore souldiers greatly reioyced, hoping that the presence of such a person should supply all their wants; where, after great welcome and entertainment, the king and his General *MANSFELD*, returned to the Army; which, about the end of May, marched to *Achenburg*, a town of the Bishop of *Mentz* lying about *Frankfort*, to meet with *BRUNSVICK* who as they heard was marching into *Francia*: But ere he could get to the riuer of *Main*, which of force they must pass, *TILLY* having a very strong Army (being newly fortified with 6000 men from the Duke of *Bavaria*, and supplied with the *Infanta*'s horse-troops from *GONZALES*) had got before him; so as he must of necessity fight or retire: for, *BRUNSVICK* was not yet come to the riuer, neither had any notice of the Kings being so neer. Finally, it was not held convenient to fight vpon such disadvantages: for, the Country was very poore, and not able to feed them; and the enemy was strong and very well provided, which might endanger their Army: wherefore it was thought fit to retire, which was done in so good order, that the King himself was much commended. Notwithstanding all their diligence, yet the enemy followed them so fast, that he overtook them; and their horse made such way through and about the woods, that they were forced to skirmish, the King going from place to place to make head against the enemy. This continued about two daies, the 30 and 31 of May. During these encounters of the horse, the horse retired to *Manheim*, having lost not about 100 on either side: the horse skirmished still, wherein the King demeaned himself so brauely, as he drew on others by his example to noble performances; where many Gentlemen were much praised for their valor: among which Colonel *OBERTAVANT* (Commander of the Palatines horse) and Sir *JOHN MANSVOOD* of *Kent* (a Captain of a Troop of *MANSFELD*'s horse) were specially noted. The report was, there were not about 200 slain, besides the wounded and prisoners; so as *TILLY* had little cause to boast of his attempt, wherethey lost so few men, and no baggage, in a retreat of 30 or 40 miles, albeit the enemy made great matters off; giuing out, that *MANSFELD* lost about 2000, as both *GORDAYS* and *LONDORVS* write; and that this encounter was at their retreat from *Darmstat*: but it seems, ignorance or passion abused them.

In the beginning of May, the Emperor had caused his Letters to be set up in the 3 Townes of *Prague*, commanding all men to acknowledge honor and respect to the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, as his Lieutenant and Vice-gerent in the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and that they should faithfully obey him, as if his Majesty were there in person; and on the other side, the Prince should Minister Iustice to all men indifferently, and take them into his protection. On the next day a generall pardon was proclaimed throughout all *Prague*; but with this condition exprest, that no

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mention should be hereafter made of any former offences or transgressions; neither should death be inflicted vpon any man, yet such as during that time of Rebellion had assisted the directors of *Bohemia* and the Count Palatine, or at the least had been partakers in the *Bohemian* combusions, should within 3 weeks bring in their names to certain Counsellors appointed for that business, and attend their resolution; and then (matters being duly considered) should pay a fine: yet such were expresse excluded out of the pardon, who had bin particularly condemned before, and whose names had been affixed vpon the place of Iustice.

The Emperor this moneth made preparation for his journey to the States of *Hungary*, having resolved to leaue a garrison of 18 companies in *Vienna*. The citizens which dwelt in the high market place, refusing to receiue this garrison into their houses, and thereby shewing their small deuotion to the Emperor, the souldiers entered the lodgings which were appointed for them, by force; with the consent and approbation of the Magistrate. Hereupon the Provinciall States of *Austria* came speedily to *Vienna*, and, amongst other things, most humbly besought his Maiefty that they might hereafter live in Peace vnder the shelter of the Eagles wings: wherupon there was a new treaty propounded for the leuying of money; but by reason of his journey into *Hungary*, it was deferred. On the 18 of May, he began his Iourney with 2 regiments of foot, and 12 cornets of horse, having sent some Noble-men and Counsellors of *Hungary* before, to conferre with the States, with this expresse resolution; that if the Hungarians would not be forgetfull of the Oath they had taken, he would then shew them all grace and fauor: if otherwise, then for the loue of Iustice, he would shew them the Sword wherewith God had girt him.

About the 11 of May, certain Commissioners which had been sent to Prince *BATHLIN* returned to *Vienna*; who aduertized his Maiefty that *BATHLIN* shewed himself not only a good and deuout Imperialist, but also faithfully perswaded his Maiefty not to disarm himself of those warlike preparations, lest the Turkish Emperor should take an advantage of this treaty of Peace, and invade the one or other party: wherunto the Emperors Commissioners replied; That although his Maiefty had greater and more difficult war, yet he was resolved to conclude a firme and constant Peace with all his enemies, the which he had often fought of many but in vaine: Which declaration did so please *BATHLIN*, as he concluded; that now was the wished time that all his Maiesties subiects and rebels, for loue of their country, should ioyn with the sacred Roman Empire, and thereby breake and ruin all the Turkish forces. The Emperor parting from *Vienna*, the 18 of May after the new stile, on the 26 he came to *Edenbourg* with his Emperre and children, having a guard of 5000 horse & foot, where he was received & brought into the town by the Hungarians: two daies after, he made his propositions in Latin vnto the States. 1. His Imperial Maiefty did perswade them to forget all hostility, and to resolve on a generall Peace, for the loue of their country; to which end he came to them in person. 2. That the Crown might be presently brought back againe to *Freibourg*, & there safely kept, to which end his Maiefty would appoint certain Commissioners. 3. That a Peace should be maintained with the Turk and other neighbor Princes; which his Maiefty would endeavor to see effected, and that such as should break the league might be duly punished. 4. That a law might be made against such as should treat with the Turk or any other Enemy to the prejudice of the kingdom. 5. If any hostile inuasion should be made, then the States should take care for defence. 6. That *EMERICK LEPTAGVS*, *STEPHANVS DOTRVS*, and *IAMIS RIMAVS*, should giue an account of their Embassie to the Turkish Emperour, to the intent the Peace might be the better kept. 7. All goods taken away during the time of the Rebellion, should bee presently restored to their owners. 8. That the Germanes (necessity so requiring) should bee lodged againe vpon the Frontiers, according to the provinciall constitutions; the which hereafter should be observed with more strict discipline. 9. That they should consider by what means, the Dominions, which had beene deliuered to *BATHLIN* Prince of *Transilvania*, should be reduced to the Crowne of *Hungary*. 10. That their late Letters of confederacie with their Provinciall orders, should bee deliuered vnto his Imperial Maiefty. 11. That the houses should bee numbered, and that every one should be bound to pay six Hungarian florens, vntill the next Assembly of the States. 12. That Trees and Timber should bee fetcht out of the neereft Woods, for the re-edifying and repaying of the decayed Forts. 13. That Corne should bee sent vnto the Frontier Forts, during these turbulent times. 14. That the Articles formerly made should be renewed and duly observed against those which did ill intreate souldiers. 15. That whereas there was a generall forgetfulness of all that was past; the States; to shew their loue vnto their lawfull King of *Hungary*, should

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make a Law against such as should attempt any thing to the prejudice of the Country. 16. That a Law should be made for the restitution of such places as were fit for the keeping of powder for his Majesties necessity. 17. And whereas, during the Peace, *Vaccia* had been delivered; therefore the States should have a care of the safety of the Common-wealth, left by this avulsion, the confusions of the Provinces might be endangered. 18. That the fortification near to *Cassida* might be provided for; to which end, his Majesty promised to treat with the other Provinces. 19. That the passage of the River of *Immerin* might be cleansed, and the new Mills demolished, which otherwise would be a hindrance unto the defence of the Fort. 20. That such Officers might be appointed for the administering of Justice as should remaine in a certaine place.

During this assembly, *BETHLIN* Prince of *Transilvania* sent his Deputies, who presented unto the Emperour a goodly horse, with other rich presents; he himselfe then remaining at *Cassida*, for that his wife *CAROLA* was newly dead: Some write, that during the consultation touching the Emperours propositions, among other things it was debated, that the Iesuits should be no more admitted into *Hungary*, at least enjoy no Lands: And secondly that they would not only have a generall pardon, but a particular for the Ambassie they had sent to *Constantinople*; and in the meane time the Emperour appointed a Commissioner to fetch the Crowne from *Transilvania*.

Let vs now returne againe to the Palatinate, and obserue what successe *BAVARIAN* hath in his march thitherwards. It seeming by all circumstances that his Army approached neere unto the limits of the City of *Branswick*, there was great store of treasure brought from the neighbour villages and townes, the which might serue the owners to good purpose, many of them being fled to the City. On the fourth of Iune his Army drew neere to *Wessell*, a Towne belonging to the Arch-bishoppe of *Mentz*; the Gouernour whereof (who was busie about the fortification of the Town) holding his greatest safety to be in flight, abandoned it, to the spoile of the Souldiers: After which, Colonell *KNECHTS* marched with one thousand five hundred shotte, foure troupes of horse, two peeces of Ordinance, and some Petards to *Huesl*, a town seated vpon the Maine, a mile from *Branswick*, where he meant to make a bridge to ioyne with *MANSFELD*s forces. Having inuested the Towne by night, in the morning the Garrison fell to Armes, shooting continually at them, so as the Colonell was hurt in the left arme, where-with, being nothing amazed, he summoned them to yeeld: but seeing them resolute, having lost aboue a hundred men, he sent presently to the Duke of *Branswick* for more forces; the which the Townes-men seeing approach, they grew amazed and fled presently to the water-gate, where they all (with their wiues and children, and the best of their substance) past the Maine, some going to *Mentz*, some to *Branswick*: whereupon they entred the Towne and Castle. The next day the Army came thither: In the meane time *TILLY* and *CORDOVA*, lying at *Alsbach* with an Army of thirty thousand men at the least, they sent two hundred foot, and two troupes of horse, by night, to relieue *Huesl*, but they were met withall and defeated by *BAVARIAN*s Troupes.

On the seventh of Iune they passed the Maine towards *Branswick*: The Duke of *Branswick*, hearing of the Enemies march, sent Count *MANSFELD*, to tell him vnderstand in what posture he stood, resolving that he would continue so still, vntill he might march vnto him: for whose passage or his owne retreat (if he were forced) he prepared a bridge ouer the Maine. Count *MANSFELD* received these newes as he was marching with a designe to breake the bridge at *Oppenheim*; or (that failing) to make some other diuersion, thereby to draw *GONZALEZ*s homewards; commaunding threecore Cornets of horse to march presently towards the Duke, meaning himselfe to follow after the rest of his Army: but he was stayed by contrary newes of his overthrow, as you shall heare.

On Whitfunday, the souldiers having burned many villages thereabouts, the Bauarians marched with 15 Regiments of foote, 140 Cornets of horse and 18 peeces of Ordinance: In the meane time, the Duke of *Branswick* encamped himselfe, and sent some of his carriages ouer the bridge. The enemy approaching his Camp, the fight beganne presently, and continued six houres: the Bauarians had 18 peeces of Ordinance fitly placed, which did much annoy his horse: *BAVARIAN* had but three, whereof one was broken in the beginning, and another was made vnersueable by the enemies Cannon, so as they could not make the fight good, notwithstanding that his foote-men fought valiantly. The Duke, by the aduice of his commanders, retired himselfe: whereupon, the whole Army fell into confusion, and fled present-

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ly towards the bridge: where, by reason of the narrowesse thereof, many were turned into the river, and drowned. The Bauarians durst not pursue them which fled, fearing some stratagem. The Duke of *Branswick* waded through the river with five troupes of horse: they lost most of their baggage, and many of the souldiers in their flight threw away their Armes: which was a very great losse. The number of the dead was vncertaine, for that many both of horse and foote were drowned in the passage of the river: But the losse had bene farre greater, if the Bauarians had had any horse to pursue them on the other side of the river. They had no great cause to brag of this victory, there being three strong Armies ioynd against one, and hauing six times as much Ordinance. The Duke came to *Mainburg*, and gathering together his scattered troupes after this losse, mustered 5000 horse and 8000 foot. *TILLY*, retiring after this defeat towards *Frankfurt*, caused a bridge to be built by *Steinheim*, to pass his army ouer the river of *Maine*: which being finished, they diuided their Armies. *TILLY* went to *Schiff*, a fort which he had taken vpon the river of *Nectar*: and *DON CORDOVA* encamped at *Ladenburg*, where making a bridge, *Heidelberg* was in a manner blockt vp; without any hostile attempt.

Whilst the Emperour continued at *Edenbourg* (during the assembly of the States of *Hungary*) there arrived an Ambassadour from the King of *Denmark*, to intercede againe for the restitution of the Elector Palatine to his hereditarie Countries and dignities; intreating his Majesty, that (for his fatherly affection to the Common-wealth and his innocent subjects) hee would change his minde (preferring clemencie before rigour) and suffer the Elector Palatine to be reconciled vnto him. That he had often shewed himselfe ready, both to him and the States of the Empire, to renounce the crowne of *Bohemia* both for himselfe and his heires; and to yeeld all due obedience vnto his Imperiall Majesty; so as he might enjoy his hereditarie possessions with the Electorall dignity, and recouer that which had bene taken from him. But if his Majesty thought that his offences were such as they could not so easily be pardoned, and that he had cause sufficient to prosecute the execution of the proscription; yet he could not but let him vnderstand, that in these extremities whereas the publike safety was in danger, it was not needfull to proceede according to the rigour of the law; but, remember that worthy saying of an Antient, *It is not necessary I should doe all things according to mine owne will*. Wherefore he could not but intreat his Majesty againe (seeing that the Elector Palatine was ready vpon the former conditions to make his renunciation, submission, and satisfaction) that he would in the end vanquish himselfe, and forget his conceiued displeasure against him, for the good of the Common-wealth; whereby he should free many thousands from death and despair, hee should make an end of warre and the desolation of countries, settle peace and the publike quiet, and restore the Common-wealth to life; being now in the very agonie of death; and as it were breathing out his soule: And, to conclude, he should so bind all his Noblemen and subjects, yea and his very enemies vnto him, as they would not only be ready to employ their liues and fortunes in all causes of necessity, but would also poure forth their vovues and prayers for his health and safety.

The Emperour, in his answer to this Danish Ambassadour, made an ample relation of all the proceedings of the Bohemians, and of the combustions which had hapned there since the yeere 1618, as he had formerly done to others: That, notwithstanding the great victory which hee had got at *Prague*, he had not changed his minde, which was alwaies enclined to peace: That he had appointed diuers assemblies of the Electors and Princes, meaning to assist there in person for the settling of a general peace: the which had been disappointed by Count *MANSFELD*, who, leauing new forces in the vpper Palatinate, had entred into the confines of *Bohemia*, meaning to infect it againe, if he had not opposed the Duke of *Bavaria* against him: That both hee and *CHRISTIAN* Duke of *Branswick* had committed many outrages in *Alsacia* and *Westphalia*: That the Elector Palatine could not excuse himselfe of these proceedings, which were no signes of repentance, but of obstinate malice: yet he had sent the Earle of *Swarzenberg* to the King of great *Brittaine*, to acquaint him with the conditions whereby a suspension of Armes might bee obtained, the which he had referred to the *Infanta of Spaine* remaining at *Brussels*. Yea, he had bene content, that the Electors and Princes should meet touching this business: Yet, in the meane time, before he could receiue their conclusions, *FREDERICK* Elector Palatine, neglecting the Treaty (which his father in law had so often desired) came againe into the Empire, and ioynd with *MANSFELD* and others, to the end they might inuade the Territories of the Electors and Princes which had bene faithfull vnto him. Whereby the King of *Denmark* might well perceiue, with what patience hee had endured these affronts: final-

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An Ambassadour from the King of Denmark to the Emperour.

The Emperour answereth vnto the Danish Ambassadour.

ly, when he should receiue aduice from his Ambassador at *Brussels* what was fit to be done touching this desired treaty, he would so resolute, that the King should finde that his intercession was not in vain.

The Ambassador, seeming not well satisfied with the Emperors answer, vpon a second audience gaue him to vnderstand, that his Maesty would not make any question to the troubles of *Bohemia*, nor the punishing of such as were the mooues: but seeing that his Imperiall Maiefty had now recouered this his Kingdome with the incorporated Prouinces, part by force, part by treaty, his King did aim at nothing more than to see an end of this warre and misery, that peace and tranquillity might be restored with due obedience to his Maiefty, all offenses forgotten, and perfect loue and trust confirmed among the States; that there was nothing wanting in the Elector Palatine, who was ready to make his renunciation and an honest satisfaction, desiring nothing but his owne hereditarie Countreies and Electorall dignity, as he enioyned them before the troubles; that it was apparant to all the world, that the Duke of *Bavaria* alone laboured to expell him by force from his hereditary right, contrary to the treaty of *Vienna*. If the Palatine according to the law of nature had vsed any defense, or fought means to preferre his subjects liues, and those poor possessions which yet remained, from cruell subuersion, such as that of *Metzgergemund* (where they vsed barbarous cruelty against innocent women and children) he was not to be blamed; neither was it to be reputed a new crime of obstinacy and rebellion against his Maiefty, if in his defense there had been some wrong done (as souldiers can hardly contemne themselves within their bounds) to them of *Strasbourg*, it was that whereof the King of *Denmark* complained, that the sparks of this fire did flee into the neighbour Prouinces; and if it were not speedily quenched, all *Germany* would be on flame, and in a manner reduced to ashes. Hee did not doubt but those Prouinces, which had suffred some losse, had giuen counsell and assistance against the Palatine; that *Spinola*, General for the King of *Spain*, had been a great cause thereof, who had done great wrongs to *Mavrica* Lantgraue of *Hesse*, to the Countesse of *Hannouer*, to an innocent pupill, the Count Palatine *Lodouick* the Electors brother, and to diuerse Imperiall Towns; that he would not be troublesome to his Maiefty with a commemo- ration of those calamities, but would only intreat him not to blame the Palatine if he had sought to protect his subjects, nor to think he had done any thing contrary to the promise of the King of great Brittain; being ready to accommodate himself to any friendly Treaty, so as he might not be forced to submit himself to the Duke of *Bavaria* and the Catholick League, to the ruine of his Country, and blemish of his dignity. Wherefore the King of *Denmark* did hope, that the Emperor would giue way to so many intercessions; that hee would forget what had past in the troubles of *Bohemia*; that he would not tax the Palatine with any new crime, nor spoil him of his Country and Electorall dignity: whereby the Protestants mindes might be much dis- tempered, if, seeing all other men pardoned which had been partakers in those troubles, and that *Bavaria* (who had marched in the same steps with the Palatine, if not worse) had been admitted to a friendly composition without any intercession, and diuerse Principalities and Earldoms granted to him during his life; but to the Palatine all fauour was denied, and a cruell reuenge exercis'd against him: this might easily breed iea- lousie in the Protestants, as if there were some other matter intended to their preiudice by his oppression; and the rather, for that it was commonly spoken, that the Electorall dignity was conferred vpon the Duke of *Bavaria*, which might be the cause of new combustions; that his Maiefty should not giue credit to such turbulent men who regarded only their owne priuate profit, nor think that by the defeat at *Wimpfen* the Palatines forces were so weakened, as he should not be able to finde means to defend himself; that *Mansfeld* could not bee drawne to leaue his Maiefty by the rigor of Proscriptions, but had made head against the forces of the *Bavarians* with a good Army, and had beaten them at *Ysack*; that no enemy whatsoeuer was to be contemned; that if all hope of reconciliation were taken away, and (the tide of rebels continued) they were brought to despair, his Maiefty might well conceiue what calamities were to be feared, seeing that the warre (increasing since the Treaty of *Vienna*) seemed to threaten all estates. Wherefore he besought the Emperor, that seeing the Palatine shewed himself willing to renounce the Kingdome of *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, he would shew him grace at the request of the King his Maiefty and the Elector of *Saxony*, who did likewise intercede for him: whereby there might be hope of his restoring to his former dignity and inheritance; that the King would willingly send an Ambassador to this Treaty, with instructions whereby it should plainly appear, that whatsoeuer he had done was out of a sincere loue to settle peace, and to maintain the dignity of his Imperiall maie- sty.

ty. Touching *CHRISTIAN* Duke of *Brunswick*, the king his Maiefty had vnderstood by vulgar relations, that he had made an irruption into *Westphalia*, and had taken diuers places; but he had not hard of his Tyrannie. That what he had done was out of his meere loue and pity to the Palatine, his wife and children, being to necesse allied vnto him in blood, and dispossessed of all their States: wherefore, he intreated the Emperour not to take any seuerer counsell against this Duke; but rather to vse lenity and mildnesse in respect of his youth and other circumstances, whereby he might draw him to better counsells, and make triall of his fidelity and valour, either against the sworne enemy of Christendome, or in some other good occasion.

The Emperour hereunto made this answer; That whatsoeuer had bene attempted by force in the Palatinate, was done by his commandement, and by the verue of his Commission. That the Army which was then in the Palatinate was to be accounted the Emperours: so as whatsoeuer was attempted against it by the Palatine or his commanders, was to be held done against his person. That he persisted constant in his first resolution, touching a treaty of peace wherein he hoped all long dispartations should bee auoided, according vnto the desire of the King of *Denmark*, promising withall that hee would haue a respect vnto his intercession.

During this Embassie, The Elector of *Saxony* wrote Letters vnto the Emperour, whereby he gaue him to vnderstand, that he had bene requested by the King of *Denmark*, to be a suter vnto his Maiefty, for the reconciliation of *FREDERICK* Elector Palatine, who seemed ready to renounce the Kingdome of *Bohemia* for him and his heires; to make his submission and giue satisfaction. Having therefore found by diuers Letters and Embassies sent vnto him, that his Maiefty was wholly enclined to settle a wished peace, and had referred the whole busines to the *Infanta* of *Spain*, lying at *Brussels*, whereby all Acts of hostility might cease, or at least a cessation of Armes be concluded, that they might proceede in their treaty, and the faithfull States be freed from further danger; and seeing the King of *Denmarks* loue and affection to his Imperiall Maiefty, and the publicke peace, he thought it his duty to employ his best indouor for the pacifying of all troubles and combustions in the Empire, neither could he forbear to assist this his commendable designe by his Letters. That he held it very necessarie and high time that a peace were settled in the Empire, which could by no means be effected, vntill the Spring of all troubles were stopt and the fier quenched. Wherefore he entreated his Maiefty not to suffer this intercession of the King of *Denmark* to be without fruit, but that he would vantage himself, and as the Palatine seemed ready to make a renuntiation and submission, so in like manner he would suffer him to be reconciled vnto him: whereby he should preferre the loue and affection of the King of *Denmark*, make an end of all those miseries, settle a peace in the Empire, and purchase immortall thanks and glory with all the States of the Empire and posterity.

About this time, those of *Glatz* surpris'd the Towne of *Wunselburg*: in the which, were five companies of foot belonging to the Prince of *Liechtenstein*, whereof they slew the greatest part; some few flying to *Brunn*. In like manner, they of *Clingenberg*, being besieged by the Imperialists, made a false and slew many of their souldiers. About the same time 5000 *Cossacks* came and offered their seruice to the Emperor; they fate downe within two miles of *Glatz*, bringing great spoiles with them: of which, they of *Glatz* took a great part from them; *CHARLES* Bishop of *Nisse*, the Emperors brother, sending them word he had no neede of their seruice: yet they continued their course, and marched towards the Duke of *Bavaria*, spoiling the Towne of *Glatz* in *Bohemia* as they passed.

The vnited States hearing that the Countreies of *Tullers* and *Mounts* (which are a part of the circle of *Westphalia*, and subiect to the Empire) had giuen great assistance to the Spaniards, they sent an Ambassadour to *Dusseldorff* with these demandes following: That they should pay them one hundred thousand dollars within three weekes, or expect the like that had bene done in *Brabant*; That they should make yeerely paiement vnto the States of halfe their profits. That they should receiue no Spanish garrisons into their townes as they had done the last winter. That they vnderstood, they had maintained the king of *Spaines* forces without any charge to him; the which if they should do againe this winter, they would burne all their Townes and villages: And lastly that they should giue them as greata quantity of oates as they had done to *SPINOLA*.

TILLY hauing taken the Castle of *Ladebourg* without any great toyle, vpon the 21. of Iune he marched toward *Heidelberg*; and finding that the Towne and Castle might be annoyed from a neer place which they call the holy Hill, he presently fortified vpon it, and soon after tooke a fortification,

the Ambassador
are reply to the
Emperour.

The Emperour
answere to the
Ambassadour.

The Elector of
Saxony inter-
cedes for the
Palatine.

Demands
made by the
vnited States to
the countreies of
Tullers and
Mounts.

Heidelberg be-
sieg'd by Tilly

fortification, which for some considerations had been abandoned, and in a manner cast downe by them of *Heidelberg*: from whence they began to shoot against the Towne: and coming downe the Hill, they began to fortifie against the bridge which went over the *Nessar*, and to take in if they could, and withall to disturb the besieged if they should attempt to recover the Port upon the Hill, but they were forced to desist from their attempt, by their continuall shooting from the Castle. There were divers *salies* and Military exploits for some daies together, with losse to either side: they within having a Capitaine with thirtie seven footmen and two horsemen slaine, besides such as were wounded. The *Bavarian* lost some hundreds of his souldiers with one Capitaine, there being about 100 of them carried prisoners into the Towne. In the meane time two of *MANSELD*s Capitaines, being shut into the Towne, and having no meanes to returne vnto their Armie, had drawne together a troupe of 300 foote, and eightie horse of the *Mansfeldians* and others, who lying sicke there had recovered their healths: these menialled forth daily, and neuer returned without some prey. *TILLY*, finding hee should doe little good beyond the River of *Nessar*, on the 28 of June raised his campe, and returned to *Landsberg* with his Armie: where passing the River, he marched to the other side of the Towne, and put his Armie in battaile, shewing himselfe readie to fight, but to no effect: only he made the Towne Gardes, sometime retire, as they did his, his souldiers spending the time in gathering up the corne, and spoiling and burning the neighbour Villages.

In the meane time, *LODOVICK* of *Darmstadt* Landgrave of *Hesse* was released from his imprisonment before the coming of two Ambassadors from the Elector of *Saxony*, and from *MAVRICE*, Landgrave of *Hesse*: the conditions of his dismission were, That he should labour to procure the peace of *Germany*; That he should doe his best endeavour for the restitution of the Palatinate, and other iurisdiccions belonging vnto the Elector *FREDERICK*: That he should attempt nothing in hostile manner against the Elector or his subiects during these troubles; and that he should not seeke any revenge for that which had been formerly done. Having accepted and allowed of these conditions (so as they might not prejudice the hereditarie contracts which he had with other Electors and Princes) he presently returned to *Darmstadt* the first of July. At the same time the Marquess of *Durlach* gaue over Armes and resigned his troups to the Baron of *Helmslat*.

Count *MANSELD* and the Duke of *Brunswick*, having ioyned their forces together, left the Palatinate (being wholly wasted and not able to feede their Armies) and marching into *Alsacia*, they passed by *Straubourg*, and in the way took diuers Townes belonging to the Bishops iurisdiction, wherof they spoiled and burnt some and ransomed others, from whom they exacted great summes of money besides other supplies of corne, wine and other victuals for the reliefe of their Army.

The Lord *CHICHESTER* Baron of *Belface*, being sent by his Maiesty of great *Britanie* (as you formerly heard) to his sonne in law the Elector Palatine, to dispose him to retire out of the Palatinate, and to lay downe Armes in regarde of the present treaty of peace, being also pressed by Letters from the King of *Denmark*, who had much laboured his reconciliation with the Emperour, and had consulted with some States of the Empire, he thought good to advise him to desist from Armes and dismisse his forces, setting downe certaine conditions, whereby they hoped this difficult busines might be compounded.

The Elector (by the advice and counsell of the King his father in law, and the persuasions of the King of *Denmark*) not only raised the siege from *ELSAZ* *ABARIN*, but also freed the Army from their oath; as may appeare by this attestation which was made in the Camp, the 13 of July: He could not but confesse (said he) That his worthy Generall and Lieutenant generall, the Earle of *Mansfeld*, with his Kinsman *CHRISTIAN* Duke of *Brunswick*, with all their Colonels, Capitaines and Officers, together with the whole Army of horse and foote, had hitherto faithfully discharged their duties: but, being now destitute of all meanes to entertaine them any longer, so as they should not be able hereafter to continue in their fidelities and duty, He would not therefore blame them for that they had required an honest dismission; but did willingly graunt it, and declared them freed from their oath, and that they might now freely take what course they in their discretion should thinke fittest for their good and safety.

GOTHARDE writes, that Count *MANSELD* (having received this attestation from the Elector) wrote vnto *TILLY*, sending him a copie thereof, letting him vnderstand that both he, the Duke of *Brunswick*, and the whole Army were discharged from the Elector: so as being now their owne men & at liberty, moued out of loue and affection vnto the Emperour they were ready to serue him, if they might be sure of the remainder of their pay: or if

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his Maiesty had no need of his seruice, the proscription being taken away and a pardon granted for his former offences, he would speedily depart out of the lymits of the Empire: yet I dare not warrant the truth hereof. The Assembly of the Prouinciall States in *Hungary* continued still: in the which, they shewed themselves very willing to giue the Emperour content; and among others, they concluded these Articles following. That all persons aswell Ecclesiasticall as Secular, should be restored to their goods, which had bene taken away during the time of the rebellion. That ayde should bee giuen vnto his Imperiall Maiesty against his enemies. That the Germanes should be receiued into garrison, for the defence of the frontier townes; and that the Emperesse should be crowned Queene of *Hungary*; to which end the Emperours Commissioners should be presently sent to fetch the Crowne to *Edinbourg*, whereby the Assembly might be concluded. In the meane time, *Clingenberg*, with the Towne and Castle, was yeilded to the Emperours deuotion, vpon certaine conditions: which done, the Garrison departed with their baggage, and other troups entred for the Emperour: and at the same time the Earle of *Holsch* was reconciled to the Emperour; and the Electorall Diet, appointed at *Ratisbone* or *Raimbourg*, was deferred vntill the first of October.

The States of *Hungary*, to shew their deuotion to the Emperour, resolved to haue his Emperesse crowned Queene of *Hungary* vpon the 26 of July; for the which, there was great preparation made. The Hungarian Crowne had bene carried by *BETHLIN GABOR* from *Freiburg* to *Trentschin* (as you haue formerly heard) the which was now brought back with a troupe of 1000 Germanes and Hungarians horse and foote: it was carried with great solemnity in a Carroch, hauing many Noblemen both of the Emperours Court and Hungarians going before and after it, with trumpets in front. Being come to the house where the Crowne was to be kept, presently the Archbishop of *Salern*, the Lord Palatine *TYSO*, with many other Noblemen Hungarians, receiued it with great honour, from certaine Haydukes, and carried it into the house. Before they came vnto the said place, the citizens stood on the one side in Armes, and the Haydukes (being Armed after their manner) on the other. The next day the Crowne was brought forth into the Court and publicly shewed, being found whole and vntouched.

On the day appointed for this ceremonie, the Emperour went with great pomp vnto the Franciscan Church; before him marched the Gentlemen and Noblemen of the Court, with some Knights of the Goulde fleece: then followed fower Bishops in their Episcopall habits, and six other in their ordinarie attire: then came there fure Heralds: and then followed the Emperour with his Kingly Diadem, on his head; the Earle of *Solms* carrying the regall Ball, *BAYNO* Earle of *Mansfeld* the scepter, and the Baron of *Löwenstein* the sword. Next to the Emperour followed *STAMESLAYS TYSO*, the Palatine of *Hungary*, who carried the Hungarian Diademe, *SETSCHIVS* the regall Ball and *ESTERHASIVS* the scepter: and last of all came the Emperesse with her traine and the Emperours guard. Coming into the Church, the Archbishop of *Salern* was appointed to performe the ceremonie: who, after the ending of Masse, anoynted her vpon the right Arme, betweene the elbow and the hand, and likewise vpon the face: which done, she was conducted by the Earle of *Dürichstein* and the Countesse of *Pavia* into the Vestrie; where she was attired with rich robes: and then coming forth, the fore said Noblemen went before her with the Crown, Scepter and Ball. Coming to the Altar, and falling vpon hir knees, the Archbishop anoynted her againe. Then came there another Bishop and set her owne Crowne vpon her head, and so departed: after which, the Archbishop returned; and taking the scepter, he put it into her right hand, the regall Ball into her left; and the Crowne of *Hungary* he set vpon hir right shoulder: which as it seemes, in their manner when they crowne a Queene: the which, after some small pause, was taken off and sett vpon the Altar.

The ceremonie being ended, the Queene taking her owne crowne, and carrying the scepter & Ball in her hands, went to hir appointed seate: after which they returned with great ioy & pompe in the same maner they came, the Palatine often shewing the Hungarian Crowne to the people.

Count *MANSELD*, and the D. of *Brunswick*, having retired their forces out of the Palatinate, and being discharged from the Elector Palatine king of *Bohemia*'s seruice as you haue heard, *TILLY* and *CARDOVA* remaining still there with great forces, hauing no enemy able to make head against them, they had a faire opportunity to attempt any thing they pleased. General *VALE* hauing worke enough, to man, fortifie and munition the Townes of *Strickberg*, *Mannheim* and *Frankendale* with some few others which remained yet vtaken, and were commanded by him vnder our Kings Maiesties protection. He therefore neglected not any thing that might

either

Lodovick of
Hesse first
came to his
Country.

Count Mans-
feld and Brun-
swick go into
Alsacia.

The Elector
directs the
Army from their
oath.

Count Mans-
feld offers his
service to the
Emperour.

The Emperesse,
crowned Queene
of Hungary.

either hinder the enemy in his designs, or avail himself in his defense; and therefore commanded the Gouverneur of *Gemersheim* to seize on all the boats he could upon the river *Rhine*, and burn them, lest the enemy should make use of them for bridges or some other designe: and those Troops which the Marquess of *Durlach* had cashiered when he retired himself, the Generall entertained.

The Elector Palatine, King of *Bohemia*, having discharged his Army (as wee have formerly related) retired himself to *Sedan* to the Duke of *Bavillon*, his vncle. Count *MANSELD* and the Duke of *Brunswick* in the mean time left *Alsacia* and the Territories of *Strasbourg*, sending to the Duke of *Lorraine* to demand passage through his Country: the which was granted either for love or fear; yet it struck a great terror into the poor inhabitants, who fled with their goods into the walled Towns, fearing the insolency of disordered souldiers, which can neuer be kept in discipline where there wants pay: and therefore their Commanders are often forced to give way to their spoils and violences. This Army passing through *Lorraine* and the Bishoprick of *Metz*, they entred vpon the edge of *Champagne* in *France*, sitting down by *Mouzon* a small Town belonging to the French King vpon the river of *Meuse*, having put all the Countreies round about in alarm, and caused them to stand vpon their guard; whom wee will at this time leaue for a while.

The Marquess of *Durlach*, soon after his giuing ouer Arms, had a great disaster fallen vpon him: for, certain Troops of Croats and Cossacks, coming from the Baurian, entred his Country, spoiled where they came, and put all to fire and sword. They not onely wasted and consumed the corn in their Barns, but also that which stood vpon the ground, the husbandmen being fled, and not daring appear to reap it: they also did beat out the heads of their wine-vessels, pouring it on the ground; after which insolencies they made an incursion toward the duke of *Virtemberg's* Country: where, as many as they took of the country-people, they barbarously mangled and slue, not sparing the very infants.

The Hungarians having had many treaties in the provincially Assembly, there were these heads following offered to the Emperor by the Noble-men to be confirmed: that there should be free exercise of religion vnder both kinds, by what name soever it should be called, and that the Palatine of *Hungary* should have authority to punish the Bishops if they should attempt any thing to the contrary; secondly, that the Emperor should have power to put Germans in garrison into the frontier Towns and Forts, giuing order for their sufficient pay, and where they should receive it, lest they should be incited to fall to spoil, and thereby waste the Country; if otherwise, they would then place Hungarians vpon the Frontiers, yet vnder the Emperours command: thirdly, that the coin should be reduced to the antient value; whereby the Hungarians might traffick more commodiously with the Turks, and the subjects should not be so oppressed by the Magistrates: fourthly, that all grievances (whereof they had often complained) might be taken away and redressed.

To these foure heads the Emperor made answer, first, that they should haue free exercise of religion, were it Calenian, Lutheran, or any other: but hee had no power over the clergie in spiritual matters, that they should try if they could obtain that power from the Pope, to whom would he write touching that busines: secondly, that he could not excuse the drawing away of the Germans from the Frontiers by the Princes and States of the Empire, who supplied the charges for the defense of the Frontiers against the incursions of the Turk: yet it would be dangerous, that they being drawn away would be forsaken if the Turk should make any sudden irruption; but they should haue two Noble-men, Hungarians, resident in his Court and of his Council, who should haue a care that the contributions of the Empire should not be impleided to any other use than the defense of the Frontiers of *Hungary*: thirdly, that touching the reduction of monies to their old values, his revenues had been so miserably wasted in the charges of the Court, that they were not able to entertain the souldiers; but there should be a care taken for the restitution and reforming thereof, as soon as the troubles of the Empire were pacified: fourthly, touching the grievances of the Empire (whereof they complained) they had not been taken away; compounded nor redrest by any former King; yet if his Imperiall Maiesty should finde, that they were such as concerned that Kingdome onely, and no other Prouinces, hee would be pleased that twelve of the Nobility of *Hungary* should be chosen, who, conferring with the Palatine, all grievances (according to the constitutions of the Kingdome) should be examined by them, abrogated and compounded; promising, that he would not contradict their answers, but allow of their resolutions.

After

After *MANSELD's* departure out of the limits of the Empire; the Baurians being now Masters in a manner of the whole Palatinate, and having no enemy to cross: their designs, took *Brisselsheim*, *Winsig*, *Neuslad* and some other places, without any great opposition. The Bishop of *Spire* in like manner recovered some Townes belonging to his iurisdiction: and the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD*, being aduerted of his departure, came with his Army out of the vpper *Alsacia*, and recovered *Hagenau*, from whence he went to *Spire*: where the Bishop entring on the 9 of August on horseback with two companies of foot & one of horse, within few hours after he arrived with great troups; to whom the Magistrates of the City presented wine as they had done to *TILLY*.

After which, the Senate, submitting themselves to the deuotion of the Emperour, did put in anew garrison and discharged the olde, causing the citizens to bring all their Armes into the Court. Presently after, they went to besiege *Germersheim*: which they battered with their cannon, and the Besieged in the beginning defended themselves valiantly; yet, finding no hope of any releefe, they offered to treat: but in the mean time, the Croats, on the 14 of August, getting ouer the walls, made a cruell slaughter of men, women and children; meaning to leaue none living if the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* had not restrained their fury by a severe Edict. And, not long after, *Wormes*, which had supplied the souldiers of the Baurian and Spanish Armies with great store of victuals, was also surprised by the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD*, to the great losse of the Citizens; where the old garrison was discharged and a new brought in.

All things tending to ruine and desolation in the Palatinate, about the same time an Edict was made in *Bohemia*, and proclaimed by *CHARLES*, Duke of *Silezia*, concerning the goods of such as had been proscribed and banished: That whereas, in the year 1620, commandement had bin made in the Emperours name, to all the subjects of *Bohemia*, of what estate or dignitie soever, that were any way indebted to those Rebels and turbulent persons, by whose fault the kingdom had received an incomparable losse, and was brought in a manner to utter ruine, or that had in their possession any gold, plate, or other moueables, by way of trust, borrowing, or other title, or did know were in the hands of any other, should presently without any delay deliver in their names and discover them: and whereas many offending against this expresse Edict of his Imperiall Maiestie (not carrying themselves like faithfull subjects, but rather fraudulently consenting with those pernicious Rebels and enemies) had not bene conformable nor satisfied the contents thereof, but neglected the payment of those debts, according to the Tenor of that and other Edicts; hee had therefore good and sufficient cause to proceede to the execution of all their goods moueable or immoueable: yet, to the end no man should haue cause to complaine of wrong, he would out of mere fauour and grace forbear the execution thereof; giuing a strict command in the Emperours name, to all the Subjects of *Bohemia*, that if they had discovered any debts or goods belonging to those Rebels, and had not brought them into the Treasurie, or had dissembled them, and not discovered them to himselfe or some others who had that businesse in charge; that now, within one month after the publication of the said Edict, they should bring, or cause to be brought, the said debts or goods committed to their charge, into the Emperours Exchequer: If any one, neglecting this fauour, should continue obstinate, or presume in any sort to alienate the goods of these Rebels thus condemned, or hereafter to be condemned, hee should presently be censured to pay a Fine, thrice as much as the value.

On the fifteenth of August, the Emperour with his Emperesse returned from the States of *Hungary*, to *Vienna*, with great content: where, soone after, a cause depending betwixt the eldest sonne of *EDWARD* Marquess of *Baden*, against the Marquess of *Durlach* and *Baden*, was heard before his Maiesty; whereas the said sonne of *EDWARD*, demanded to haue the vpper Marquissate graunted vnto him in Fee. This cause had been long in question, and the parties were now coming to appeare in Court: where the Emperour sitting in his Imperiall Throne, the Vice Chanceller of *Vines* made a speech, shewing that his Maiesty was ready to discharge his duty, and to administer Iustice to all men; especially to widowes and Pupills. And whereas the cause had bene long debated before three Emperours, and the Tutors of the disposessed Pupills of the Marquess of *Baden* had bene humble suiters to haue the cause decided (diuers Kings, Electors, and Princes, hauing bene also intercessors vnto his Maiesty in that behalfe) hee would no longer deferre it; and the rather, for that the Defendant sought many delays; and would haue more time spent to informe his

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Maiesties better. He had therefore caused all the Acts to be viewed by his Councill: which done, the sentence, which was to be pronounced by the Secretarie, was concluded by all their consents. His speech being ended, the Imperiall Secretarie read the sentence publicly; which contained, That the Marquesse of *Durlach* the defendant should not onely yeeld and restore the vpper Marquisat, with all the fruits receiued & to receiue, to the heir of *EDWARD*, but also pay him all the charges of the sute, & a heauy sentence for this poore Prince after the ruine of his Countrie and so great losses: but, I doubt not but his willingness to assist the Elector Palatine in his iust defence of the Palatinate, did make the Emperour so willing to proceede vnto iudgement, whereby hee hath now in a manner ruined another Protestant Prince.

Let vs now return to Count *MANSELD*, who had incamped some weeks neer vnto *Mousson*. The world expecting what course he would take, euery man spake of him according to his fanisie. Some said he was a souldier of fortune; that he had more ambition in him then Religion: That he would serue him that should offer him the fairest conditions, and that he had offered himselfe to the State of *Venice*, to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to the Duke of *Bouillon*, and them of the Religion in *France*, to the French King and to the vniited States. It was generally giuen out, that he should serue the French King vpon very noble conditions; with which supposition, he sought to satisfie his discontented Souldiers who were ready to mutine, telling them that he expected a messenger from the King; whereof there was some likely-hood, hauing treated with some of his Ministers. This did somewhat pacifie his Souldiers; yet there were many which would not enter into the kings pay. And to make the Inhabitants of *Mousson* the more confident, he put his Ordinance into their Towne, desiring them to assist him with some victuals for his Army, for that he was to follow the King. Whereupon the Townesmen, giuing credit to his words, sent him out presently Corne to refresh his Troup; but in the meane time he contracted secretly with the States of *Holland*, and entered into their pay.

The Earle being come to *Mousson*, the *Infanta of Spaine* (doubting that he would come down to assist the vniited States) called home *Don GONZALEZ de Cordona*, with all his Army (being foureteen thousand horse and foot well Armed) who marched with great speede through *Luxembourg* and the countrey of *Liege* vpon the River of *Menfe*, to stoppe *MANSELD* in his passage; and as *LONDORPVS* writes, the Baron of *Anhalt* was sent after him with another Army into *Lorraine* to preuent his return into *Germany*.

The Earle, hauing receiued resolution from the States, soone after demanded his Ordinance from the Townesmen of *Mousson*, pretending that he would march directly to the King. And to the end they should the more credit him, he deliuered money to certain Captaines, for the leuying of Souldiers within their Towne: after which he beganne to march, discouering his intent to all his Army, shewing them his Letters-patents which he had receiued from the States, and withall telling them that they must resolve to fight more then once. Seeing himselfe out of daunger, his and the Dukes Army past *Ausnes*; and on the twenty seuenth of August attempted *Mouberg*: but, being fortified with a good garrison, they only burnt the suburbs, and so past the River of *Sambre* with their whole Army. There he and the Duke of *Brunswick* burnt most of their Carts, mounting their foote-men on the horses, getting also many other in the Countrey; whereby he might aduance with the more speede in the march. They were held to haue 14000 men in their Army, horse and foote: but it is confidently reported, his horse-men were very ill Armed, hauing for the most part no Armes at all but their Swords and Pistols. They were now in an Enemies countrey, where there was nothing to relieue them but what the Trees would afford; all the Boores being in Arms watching some opportunity to set vpon them, if *Don CORDOVA* should put them to rout. The Earle comming to *Jambours* which lyeth betwene *Haynault* and *Flamures*, his Souldiers being weary and tyred with long marches and want of victuals, he caused them to rest and refresh themselves. *Don CORDOVA* was encamped, neere vnto *Plenry*, in a strait whereas Count *MANSELD* and the Duke of *Brunswick* must of necessity passe, hauing a very good Army of Souldiers with an infinite number of Boores. Some write that *MANSELD*, comming neere vnto *CORDOVA*s Campe, he sent a Trumpet vnto him, to know whether he would giue him passage or fight: who answering that he had charge to stop his passage and to fight. The Earle presently prepared to charge (knowing there was daunger in delays) the which his men performed so resolutely, as they put *CORDOVA*s men to route and surprisid his Ordinance from the Boores, the which they kept for the space of two houres, but afterwards they recovered it againe;

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Whereupon the fight grew very cruell: the Duke of *Brunswick* (behauing himselfe most valiantly) was shot in the left Arme neere vnto the wrist; yet, notwithstanding, he would not leaue the field, but continued still fighting, so as with the losse of blood, and heate, his wound so enflamed, as afterwards hee was enforced to haue this arme cut off about the Elbow. To conclude, after a long fight, Count *MANSELD* hauing slaine many, especially of the Boores; *Don CORDOVA* was forced to found a retreat: whereupon Count *MANSELD* and the Duke of *Brunswick*, being Masters of the field, marched directly towards *Breda*, hauing taken much of the Enemies baggage and some of his Ordinance. What men were lost in this battle is not certaine: but at their comming to *Breda* they mustered, as it is written, 10000 men; besides many sick and weary, which came daily vnto them.

I cannot relate the particular circumstances of this battaile, being so diuersly reported by such as haue written thereof, nor what their particular losses were; neither doth it concerne this History, being out of the limits of the Empire: But thus much I dare boldly affirme, that it was one of the most resolute (if not desperate) exploits that hath been performed in our Age, to see a weake Army (the horse-men hauing no Armes but their Swords and Pistols) stirred with long marches in an enemies countrey, where they had nothing to friend but the Heauens which couered them; to encounter a powerfull Army, fortified with the best men, from the neighbour garrisons, and seconded with at least 20000 Boores Armed; to charge them in their own strength, to force through them, to make them retire after great losse, and then (being masters of the field) to march almost 30 or 40 miles through the enemies countrey, there being 10 or 12 strong Towns with great garrisons in their way; who no doubt, would haue cut them in peeces if they had been routed. The Prince of *Orange* (being aduertised of their march) sent them bread and other prouision to refresh their hungry Souldiers before their comming to *Breda*. At *brussels* they proclaimed a Triumph before the victory, and made bonfires with a confident assurance they were quite ouerthrown, for that certaine Ensignes of the Duke of *Brunswick*'s and Count *MANSELD*'s were brought thither; but afterwards their mirth was turned to heauinesse, when they had intelligence of the truth, how that *Don CORDOVA* had been forced to retire with great losse; that they were Masters of the field, and had burnt the corn and countrey as they past, and were safely arrived at *Breda*, where they were receiued with great ioy by the Prince of *Orange*, the vniited States and the whole Army.

Towards the end of Iuly, Count *MANSELD* and the Duke of *Brunswick* being retired out of the Palatinate with their forces, and no man left there able to make head against the Enemy; The Baron of *TILLY*, Generall for the Emperour, returned againe to *Heidelberg* with an Army of 15000 men, and laid a straight siege to the Towne and Castle. Presently after his sitting downe, he seized vpon a Fort, which had been built by *JOHN* Earle of *Nassaw*; but first abandoned by the besieged, lying too farre off to be well kept. From this Fort which lay behinde the Castle, he sought to annoy the Towne: and with the rest of his Army, he blockt vp *Manheim* and *Frankendale* to keepe all reliefe from them. Hauing fortified his Trenches, and planted certaine Ordinance, he played vpon the Towne, but did it no great harme; perswading himselfe that they would soone yeeld, being giuen to vnderstand that they wanted Salt and all kinde of victuall but *Bread* and *Wine*. With this perswasion hee spent about two Moneths before the Towne, and neuer tooke any of their out-workes or place of any importance, but summoned them often, and perswaded them to yeeld obedience to the Emperour; but finding that his perswasions preailed nothing, and that his long stay there had not yet driuen them to any extremity of hunger; he resolved to attempt some thing by force. The Towne was commanded by a Dutch-man, whose name was *MARVIN*, vnder whom were good Troupes of Souldiers of diuers Nations besides the Inhabitants.

The Castle was vnder the charge of Sir *GARRET HARRERT* with 2 Companies of English, his owne and Sir *JOHN WENTWORTH*'s, being not about two hundred strong, whereof there were not about one hundred and forty English, the rest were of other Nations. On the fift and sixt daies of September, Generall *TILLY* plaid with his Ordinance vpon their out-workes, resolving to giue a generall assault.

Those out-workes without *Spire* Port were defended by the Dutch, and might well haue bene kept against any daring Enemy whatsoever, if they had had any courage or valour in them: But presently after their approach, and before they came to the foote of their Rampart; a Dutch Captaine whose name was *GRAEY*, and had the command of the first out-work, most cowardly abandoned it, and in this amazement all the rest of the troupe

cast away their Armes and fled towards the towne, or yeelded themselves to the enemy; where wee will leaue them a while and turne towards the Castle, where the enemy had sent to assault an outwork called the Pheasant garden by 2000 men; which Sir GARRAT HARRATT defended valiantly with one hundred of his men: They came often to the Calado, and were valiantly repulsed by the defendants, where as the Gouvernor brake three pikes, having his page attending him with 6 more: but to the losse of this braue Captaine, and as we may coniecture to the losse of the place, he was shot in the head, having no head-peece, and was the first man which was slaine vpon the work: His Lieutenant was also shot in the shoulder and retired, yet the souldiers defended it valiantly, the space of two houres after, vntill that the enemy had left shooting. The Dutch being fled from the defense of the outworks and comm into the Suburbs, the Gouvernor shut the Towne gates against them, so that many of them were either slaine or taken prisoners.

The enemy comming to *Spire* Port commanded Petards to be brought to force it: but in the meane time certaine Crabats (which are aduenturing Boote-halers of *Croatia* like vnto the Colliques and liue vpon spoile) got by the riuer to the water Port, and entred; where they beganne to fier the houses and to spoile. During the which, TILLY forced the Port: and in this confusion the Gouvernor, Captaine, with many souldiers, Burgers, and women fled to the Castle; and in the meane time, the insolent souldiers fell to slaughter and spoile in the Towne. Notwithstanding all this disaster, the English still maintained their worke vntill that the gouvernour had perswaded them to retire: they also fearing that the enemy might come vpon their backs from the Towne; yet they shewed no amazement in their retreat; for they drew away their ordinance and munition, and brought off the bodies of such as had beene slaine being but 13 in all. TILLY being Master of the Towne, and having abandoned it to the spoile of the souldier, he summoned the Castle to yeeld: where the Gouvernour MERVIN, having propounded large conditions for himselfe and his troups, in the end it was concluded, 1. That he should yeeld vp to Generall TILLY, the Castle, with the Cannon, munition and all other instruments of warre, to the behoofe of his Imperiall Maiesty, with all other goods, Jewels, writings or any other thing belonging to the Count Palatine and the Princeesse his wife; onely that excepted which the General out of his grace should suffer to passe. 2. That the Gouvernor, Colonels, Captaine, and souldiers with all other belonging to them, might depart with their drums beating and full Armes, and with all their baggage, so that it were their owne and not belonging to the Castle or Towne. 3. That they should haue a safe conduct giuen them to *Frankfort* or any other place whither they would go, except *Manheim* and *Frankendall*. 4. That they should haue earriages allowed them by the Generall. 5. That all low Dutch, French, English and other strangers which were prisoners, should be set at liberty without any ranfome: As also on the other side, all prisoners should be restored vnto the Generall vpon the same termes. 6. All sick and wounded souldiers should be put into some conuenient place, and there maintained with necessaries reliefe, where having recouered their health, they should haue such passeports giuen them as they should desire: That none should be molested in body or goods for debt or any other occasion. This was the Capitulation concluded vpon the 9 of September: and the next day he gaue them a safe conduct; entreating all the Electors, Princes and States of the Empire, of what dignity or quality soeuer, to giue free passage vnto Monsieur MERVIN sometimes Gouvernor of *Heidelberg*, with his companies and baggage, through all their Principalities and Segniories, giuing them all assistance for the aduancement of their looney. The next day MERVIN went out of *Heidelberg* with seauen hundred men of all nations, but the capitulation was ill obserued: for as they marched through the streete and ouer the bridge, the enemies souldiers standing in garde on either side, stript all they could lay hand on to their verie shirts: which bred a great tumulte in the Towne. Whereof Generall TILLY being aduertised, hee came forth of his lodging to stay the souldiers furie, and conducted them three or foure miles out of towne with a troupe of 200 horse, fearing the souldiers should haue followed them to haue cut their throates. I cannot forget one inhumane act of Generall TILLY's, who would not suffer the body of that braue and valiant Knight Sir GARRAT HARRATT to be buried like a Christian in the Towne Church, but they were forced to lay him in the greene Court in the Castle; there being nothing in the Towne to embalne his bodie, which they meant to haue brought into *England*, his worth deseruing a moment of better note.

The Gouvernour with the souldiers, being (as some affirme that were present) 700 men, came safely to *Frankfort*, whereas my Lord CHICHESTER then remained attending direc-

tions from his Maiesty, either to go to the Diet appointed at *Reinsberg*, or to returne home into *England*; by whose means the English received money to conduct them into the Low Countries or home, by the hands of Master BOYLBLOCK, who was appointed Paymaster in those parts to the English and other souldiers that were entertained in his Maiesties name for the defence of the Palatinate.

Thus the cheefe place of residence for the Elector Palatine was by the base cowardize of the Dutch lost, and with it one of the goodliest Libraries in the world; a Jewell which cannot well be valued, for the many rare Manuscripts which had beene there gathered together by his predecessors. The Duke of *Banaria* did highly esteeme this prize, and committed the guard thereof to his Iesuits. The souldiers being gone, the Inhabitants were miserable spoiled by the enemy; who strip both men & women, so as they neither had clothes to couer them, nor meat to releue them; but what they got from *Heilbrim* or *Frankfort*: and yet their cruelty was such as they forced the poore inhabitants to ranfome themselves, and to pay the souldiers which were left there in garrison.

The losse of this Towne did adde much to the king of *Bohemia* other afflictions: Hee was then at *Sedan* vnder the protection of the Duke of *Bouillon*, his Vncle; desiring much to be at the *Hague* with that Noble and generous Princeesse his wife: but the difficulty was to passe. To goe through the Low Countries was not possible; all was subiect to the enemy: and to passe disguised through *France* as he had formerly done, there was little hope, he was too well knowne; but he was soone freed of these apprehensions: for the French king, either by the intercession of some others, or out of his owne princely and generous disposition commiserating the distressed state of this Prince (whose house had alwaies beene firmly allied to the Crowne of *France*, and had assisted it in the greatest extremity of their affaires) sent him a safe conduct to passe freely through his kingdom to what Port he pleased, commanding all his subiects to giue him that assistance and respect which was fit for the greatnesse of his person. Whereupon hee took leaue of the Duke of *Bouillon*, who gaue him a conuoy of 100 horse to conduct him to *Callis*: where the Gouvernor received him with much honour, and the people obserued him with much reuerence and respect. There he embarked in some of the States Ships, and so came safely to the *Hague*, where he was ioyfully received by the Queene his wife and the whole Court.

Let vs turne head a litle towards *Bohemia* and the incorporated provinces, whereas the Emperour was now absolutely obeyed, *Glax* only excepted; which had beene long besieged: yet the subiects were in no great security. For they were both questioned for their liues and states, and were in danger to lose the free exercise of religion, the which had beene promised them at the reduction of those provinces. The Emperour sent his Commissioners both into *Bohemia* & *Moravia*, to call diuers Lords and men of account in question, touching the late combustions. 1. All those were to be questioned which were present when some of the Councell were cast out of the windowes in *Prague*. 2. Those which had consented to the League against the Emperour and the house of *Austria*. 3. Those which had beene at the Emperours reiection, and such as had beene present at the Count Palatines election to the Crowne of *Bohemia*. And lastly all such as had marched in Armes against *Piena*.

In *Moravia* many Noblemen and others of note; absenting themselves, were proclaimed Traitors, their names fixed on the common gallows, degraded of their honours, and their Lands & goods forfeited, which were presently seized on to the Emperours vse; nor did they spare the dead: for the Emperours Commissioners began to examine the causes of the deceased rebels (as they termed them) meaning to brand them with infamie after their deaths; and reduce their heirs to miserie, by the confiscation of their estates, for that is alwaies the conclusion; being a great means to raise money to pay the Colliques and other souldiers. It was also giuen out, that the Commissioners in *Bohemia* would proceede criminally against all those that had borne Armes vnder the Prince of *Anhalt*, Count *Holloer*, Count *Manderslo*, or any other; his Maiesties enemies: which Article had so large an extent, and would comprehend so many of all degrees, that if they should proceed with rigour against them, the Emperour should be faine to bring in new Colonies to repeople those Provinces; but it seems they took a milder course: for diuers Lords and Knights with other Citizens being condemned at *Brin* in *Moravia* to lose their heads, their corporall punishments were turned into imprisonment; some for their liues, some for yeers; but there was no grace for their goods; they were still forfeited. And thus haue they proceeded touching the examination of some Lords and others, whom they termed rebels, in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*.

1622
the Protestant
Churches, shut
in Prague.

Touching matters of religion, it seemd the Emperor had an intent to root out the Protestants in *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces: for, the Prince or Lantgrauve of *Lichtenstein*, Lieutenant of *Bohemia* for the Emperor, had commission from him to shut vp the two Dutch Protestant Churches in *Prague*, and to presse the City and Countrey to reformation in religion; the which was put in execution: so as they were likely to lose the comfort of the Gospell by the preaching of their Ministers, and the grounds of religion which the youth learned by the instruction of their Teachers: for, both the Ministers and Preachers were commanded to be presently gon; which did much afflict the Protestants: and the Colledges where their youth was instructed, were shut vp. There was also commandement giuen by publike proclamation to all book-sellers and Stationers, to bring-in a catalogue of all their Lutheran & Caluinian books to the Secretary of State, within foureteen daies, vpon great penalties.

The Duke of Saxony writes to the Prince of Lichtenstein.

The Duke of *Saxony*, hauing notice giuen him of this alteration in *Bohemia* touching the shutting vp of the Protestant Churches, was much discontented, both in regard of his owne particular, being of that religion, and might in time be subject to the like calamity with the rest of the protestant Princes of *Germany*; as also houlding his honour to be blemished, for that, at the reduction of those Countreies to the Emperors obedience, hee had promised them by warrant from the Emperor, that the Churches should not be molested, nor they deprived of the free exercise of their religion, hauing also taken them into his protection; and therefore the Duke objected these proceedings to the Emperors Ambassador as a wrong done to him: and beeing still importuned by the petitions of the Preachers which had been driven out of their Countreies; he wrote to the Prince of *Lichtenstein* to this effect; that forasmuch as hee could not but take notice by sundry aduertisements from *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, as also by the complaints of diuerse Preachers lately banished out of those Countreies, of the restraint of the publike profession of the reformed religion, and of the shutting vp their Churches, and the putting down of their schools: yet for that men in miserie do commonly seek to moue pity by the report of their estates, and for that he had been alwaies better conceited of his Maiesties word, who had promised him, that if those Countreies could be reduced to obedience by his forces, he should by his Maiesties direction passe his word to the subjects of those Prouinces, that those of the reformed religion should still enjoy their freedom of conscience: Wherefore, relying vpon the Emperors word, he would not rashly giue credit to those informations till he might hear the certainty both of the authority of his commission, and in what manner it had been executed: wherefore he could do no lesse in fauour of the cause, and for the honour of his owne word (whereon the inhabitants of those Prouinces had much relied) than to entreat him earnestly to aduertise him of the truth of the businesse; the which if he found conformable to the Petitioners complaints, he could not but hold his own honor engaged to take care for a timely remedy, and withall imploy his credit and power with his Imperiall Maiesty for the staying of all future proceedings. Some think, these alterations in *Bohemia* staied the Duke of *Saxony's* journey to the Diet at *Regensburg*; who, continuing his discontents, gaue the Emperor to vnderstand by his Letters, that he was much grieved for the shutting vp of the protestant Churches at *Prague*, the which did not belong to the Bohemians, but to the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, professing the gospell; who had built and maintained them at their owne charges, and procured them great priuiledges and immunities: wherefore his Maiesty had not to do with the Protestants of *Bohemia*, but with the Electors and Princes of the Empire, which should not suffer them of their owne religion (contrary to his Imperiall promise and the priuiledges of the Empire) to be persecuted and oppressed: This may breed some new combustion and trouble, vlesse it shall please the Emperour to restore those Churches to their former estate and condition.

The continuance of the siege of Glatz.

The siege of *Glatz* continued still: which being resolutely attempted by the Imperialists, it was as obstinately defended by the besieged. The young Earle of *Thurne*, making many sallies vpon the Enemy, cloyed some of their Cannons and returned with good spoiles and much honour: but in September there was an accident which did much impair the state of the town; for they setting fire of their suburbs, to the end the Imperialists should not lodge in them, some sparks of it fell by chance into their powder; whereby part of the Town, and much of their provision was burnt, and likewise a part of the wall, with two peeces of Ordinance falling downe, through the violence of the fire, the Imperialists aduanced to a scallado, but they were valiantly repulsd by the Garrison.

About the middest of October, the Imperialists assaulted the Towne with great fury: and they

they within, suffering them to approach to their very walles, they hauing discharged their Ordinance, they presently set open their Ports and sallied forth with one thousand horse and foot; where they slue six hundred of the Enemy, and then retired with no great losse. During these factions of warre before *Glatz*, there was a parley between the young Earle of *Thurne*, Gouvernour of the Towne; the Earle of *Torquato*, Generall of the Emperours Army; and the Prince of *Lichtenstein*, Gouvernour of *Bohemia*; where there were many propositions made vnto the young Earle with promises of pardon and great rewards, both for himselfe and his Souldiers, in the Emperors name, if he would yeeld vp the Towne. The young Earle of *Thurne* made them this answer:

That if they could procure the King of *Bohemia* to free him from his double Oath (one as he was his subject, and the other as his Soldier) that then he would not only yeeld vp the towne and castle, but would also forsake the quarrell and lay down Armes: But, seeing they could not dispense him of his Oath, that both he and his companie were resolute to make it good against the Imperialists; and although they might haply, with great losse and charge, take the Towne, yet they had a Castle to retreat into, the which they would defend to the last man; and so the treaty brake off, every man returning to his quarter: Presently after which, they made a great salie, which was very bloody and many were slaine on either side; among the which, there were thirteen Captains of the Imperialists.

They so annoyed the Campe with their Ordinance, as the Emperour commanded all his forces in *Bohemia* to march towards *Glatz* to re-enforce the siege, and they sent for powder, bullets and munition from all parts. The siege had continued almost two yeers, and had put the Emperour to wonderfull great charges, the which could hardly be supplied; and therefore they vied a policy to make the besieged pay for their own ruine: for, by a publike proclamation in *Silesia*, they enioyned all men vpon paine of death, which ought any money, or had any goods in their hands belonging to them of *Glatz*, to bring it presently into the Towne-house at *Prague*: Whereupon, much money and goods was brought thither, which extremity hath beene often, and is still, vied against the Nobility and Gentry of those Countreies which had beene executed; yea, euen against such as were dead before they had beene called in question.

This Proclamation did nothing amaze them of *Glatz*, who held their Armes to be their greatest wealth, the which could not be violently taken from them, without the losse of their liues; and then their cares were past, and their scores paid: But, to auoide tediousnesse, I will omit the daily skirmishes which were before that Towne, and come to the yeelding of it. After a long and obstinate siege resolutely defended by the young Earle of *Thurne*, they were driven to some extremities, by reason of some casualties by fier, in the which their salt, powder, and meale was consumed, and their water cut off by the Imperialists: which daunted the Souldiers much, and made them mutine; so as the Gouvernour (although he were one thousand five hundred strong) was glad to come to a parley, and to yeeld vp the Towne vpon honourable termes on the twenty sixt day of October. The Articles were, First, that they should haue free exercise of the reformed Religion, and their Church remaine as it was, vntill the Emperour shall otherwise dispose: And if any Protestant were desirous to leaue the Towne, they should haue free liberty to sell their goods within six moneths, and goe where they pleased. Secondly, that the Gouvernour, Captains, Commanders and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foote, should freely and safely depart with baggage and baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, and their full Armes: conditionally, that all the companies should be cast and dismiss about *Swatowitz*, and there leaue their Commanders; and their Cornets and Ensignes to be borne from their staves, and all sworn not to beare Armes against the Emperour for six moneths following. Thirdly, that the Gouvernour, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, should haue a generall pardon for all offences and rebellions committed against the Emperour; and suffered to depart where they pleased. Fourthly, that all Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, which had serued his Maiesty, and now borne Armes against him in this quarrell, should haue Passports giuen them to passe freely through the Dominions of the Empire, into their own Countreies, or whither they pleased. Fifthly, the sick and hurt should remaine still in the Towne of *Glatz*, and there haue all due attendance and provision from the Citizens, for their cure and recovery; after which they shall haue free leaue to depart, and passports giuen them to goe where they pleased. Sixthly, that the Earle of *Thurne* should leaue two Captaines with the Imperialists as Hostages vntill he had dismiss his Troups about *Swatowitz*, according to the capitulation.

the yeelding of Glatz.

These Articles, being very honourable for the Earle of *Thurne* and the besieged, were very duely observed by the Imperialists, who gave them a good convey to *Swinitz*, which is five German miles from *Glauz*. It was thought that they were very rich when they left the Town, having a hundred waggons heavy laden with baggage, beside lighter carriages: of which there were fifty belonging to the young Earle of *Thurne*, which were conducted to his wife in the Marquess of *Brandenburg's* Country by 500 light horse of his owne, and a convey of 2000 Imperialists. Thus at last the Emperor hath reduced all *Bohemia* with the incorporated Provinces to his obedience; and his brother, the Arch-duke *Charles* Bishop of *Nis* or *Kisse*, liking well the ayre of the Country and the strength of the place, hath gotten the government of the country of *Glauz*, from the Emperor.

Heidelberg being lost, General *Tilly* marched presently with his Army to *Manheim*, where General *Varr* attended him, it being the place of most importance and best fortified in all the Palatinate, standing neer the point of a land where the *Neckar* which passeth by *Heidelberg* falleth into the *Rhine*, so as it commands both the Rivers, and receives the Toll of all boats which passe. The Enemy being set downe on the one side of the Towne, General *Varr*, considering that the guard thereof and of the out-works was very great, and that he was not sufficiently provided with men, having but seven companies of English, and nine of Dutch (all which were very weak in numbers, and many sick) he sent to *Frankendale*, to have Captain *Byronovs* to send him three companies more of English and as many Dutch: which he performed accordingly.

The Enemy, as soone as the opportunity of the swelling Rivers would give him leaue, intrenched his Camp, and planted severall batteries. During his approaches, General *Varr* made divers brave sallies, especially one which was generall; in all which he slew many of the Enemy with little losse of his own: yet considering that in continuance he should waste his men, he having not in all full two thousand of all Nations, sick and whole, which would hardly be able to man his out-works, which were very great, and that after the losse of *Manheim*, *Frankendale* could not subsist; He sent a Commissary againe to Captain *Byronovs*, willing him to abandon the Towne and repaire vnto him with all his Troops: which the inhabitants vnderstanding, began to murmur, fell to Arms, and due to the Ports; giuing the Governour to vnderstand, that as he had defended them valiantly the last yeere, so they would now live and die with him, and not leaue him vnlesse he would passe by force over their bellies, desiring rather to be slaine by him then by the Enemy: Whereupon the Governour advertised the General in what state he stood; who returned him an answer presently, that he should doe as he thought good, referring it to his discretion; whereupon he stayed in *Frankendale*.

General *Varr*, having no hope of any more supplies of men, was forced to abandon his out-works, suffering the Enemy to approach neere to the Wall. After some dayes, the Town being not defensible, he set it on fire, and retired with those few troupes he had into the Castle, from whence he so annoyed the Enemy, as he could hardly lodge within the Town. *Tilly* often summoned him to yield upon honourable conditions; but he found an Enemy who preferred his honour before his life, and would give care to no parley, as long as he had any means to keepe it: Wherefore *Tilly* being loth to assault a Fort defended by such resolute men, resolved to get it by Mine or Sappe. His Pioners being come to the very brim of the Moate, having with other Trenches drained away the Water, which at first was some hindrance vnto them; he then resolved to give an assault; for the which he had prepared great store of bauns to fill up the Dike: yet considering that to force this Castle would cost him much blood, and although they could not keepe the place long, yet he should hardly get it without great losse: He held it the safest course to summon them againe, and to get it by composition.

General *Varr*, on the other side, finding that he had neither men sufficient to man it long, and that he had not powder for three daies service; considering withall, that although they should lose themselves they could not keepe the Fort long, and knowing withall that dead men could doe their Prince and Country no service; he resolved to make a vertue of necessity, and not to lose so many brave men with obstinacy, whom he might bring off with honour: Whereupon, after summons made by the Enemies Drumme, General *Varr* accepted of a parley; in which, after much debating, there were six Articles concluded betwixt Mounseur *Tilly*, General for the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria* on the one side; and Sir *Horatio Varr*, General of his Majesties forces of great Brittain in the Palatinate, on the other:

ther: The Articles were, that the Governour, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, should have leaue to depart freely with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, marches light, and bullets in their mouthes: secondly, that they might take with them two falconets or small field-pieces, with munition and instruments belonging to the same: to the which, Mounseur *Tilly* (after some contestation) yielded, to do honour to Sir *Horatio Varr*, because he was a General; thirdly, that they might carry away with them thirty pipes of wine, with two hundred sacks of meal, and prouant for three daies onely; the which was to go with them by land, and the rest to be transported by water: fourthly, that they should have a convey of one thousand horse to *Frankfort*, and there to stay fourteen daies till the English Ambassadour or his Commisarie might come to conueigh them downwards: fifthly, that all goods and moveables, which had been brought into the Castle for safety, should be free, and the owners have liberty to transport themselves and their goods whither they pleased: sixthly, all Ministers and Church-men should have free liberty either to stay in *Manheim*, and exercise their function, or depart safely whither they pleased.

Vpon these honourable conditions the Castle of *Manheim* was deliuered up to the enemy on the five and twentieth of October, *stil veteri*. And so General *Varr* retired out of *Manheim* with ten companies of English, and twelue of Dutch vnder the command of Colonel *Waldbanhus*. He marched to *Frankfort* with a good convey of one thousand horse. The General with his Captains was lodged in the City; and his Troops, in the villages thereabouts. After their departure from *Frankfort*, the Dutch left them, and would go no further, notwithstanding they had promised to march with them into the Lowe-countries: and after some stay, the General with the English, being five or six hundred men, were conducted by a Commissary of the enemies, through the Lantzgrau of *Hesse* his Country; where they past down a riuer to *Breme*, there to be embarked for *England*.

After the surrendering of *Manheim*, General *Tilly* marched with his Army to *Frankendale* (it being the onely place now remaining in the Palatinate for the Elector) with an intent, by the taking of this place, to make himself absolute Master of the whole Palatinate: but he found the same Governour Captain *Byronovs*, who had so valiantly defended it the yeer before against *Don Gonzales de Cordova*; and the same resolution, having vowed to lose his life rather than any lot of that honour which he had gotten at the former siege: neither was he idle during the siege of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, but furnished and fortified it by all the means hee could, having drowned the land about it on the weaker part of the Towne; so as the enemy could neither make trenches on that side to lodge his men in, nor approach his cannon to plant his batteries: yet it seemd still he was resolved to force it, drawing souldiers from all places thither with the hope of spoil, having promised them the sack of that Town: but he was deceived of his present expectation; because the approaches were so difficult by reason of the drowned land, and the wayes so slippery and deep with the continuall rain, that he forbore to attempt anything by force, and imploied his best eloquence to perswade the Inhabitants to yeeld. Hee assured them, that they should not be molested in their religion, nor oppressed with any great garrison; that the commerce should be open and free, and that the Emperor would keepe no garrisons in the Palatinate, but in some important places. To these good words General *Tilly* added some threats, that if they continued obstinate, they must expect nothing but the rigor of warre, and the ruines which are incident to Towns besieged; whereas by their voluntary yielding they should purchase the Emperors favour, preserve themselves, their wives and children, and have fair Quarter kept with them, and be protected by his Imperial Majesty with the rest of the Palatinate. All this could not move the resolute Inhabitants; who had vowed to take the fortune of the warre, and to defend the Town with the Governour and souldiers: and therefore they gave no answer to his propositions.

The General, after all his practices to draw them to a composition, finding little means to advance any thing by force in regard of the vnseasonableness of the weather, and the continuall rain which made the waies exceeding deep, he resolved to retire his camp for a time, marching towards *Stannov* and the Lantzgrau of *Hesse* his Country, with an intent to winter his Troops thereabouts, leaving some companies of horse about *Frankendale*, to keepe them from excursions and from all relief. Thus this poor Town, the onely remainder of all the Palatinate, hath some time of rest and breaching, till that the season of the yeer will give the enemy leaue to return; who is well assured, that they haue no means to be relieved, being enuironed by their enemies garrisons which ly in the Towns round about them; and that time will waste their provisions, and

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Touching matters of religion, it seemd the Emperor had an intent to root out the Protestants in *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces: for, the Prince or Lantgrau of *Lichtenheim*, Lieutenant of *Bohemia* for the Emperor, had commission from him to shut vp the two Dutch Protestant Churches in *Prague*, and to presse the City and Countrey to reformation in religion; the which was put in execution: so as they were likely to lose the comfort of the Gospell by the preaching of their Ministers, and the grounds of religion which the youth learned by the instruction of their Teachers: for, both the Ministers and Preachers were commanded to be presently gon; which did much afflict the Protestants: and the Colledges where their youth was instructed, were shut vp. There was also commandement giuen by publique proclamation to all book-sellers and Stationers, to bring-in a catalogue of all their Lutheran & Caluinian books to the Secretary of State, within foureteen daies, vpon great penalties.

The Duke of *Saxony*, hauing notice giuen him of this alteration in *Bohemia* touching the shutting vp of the Protestant Churches, was much discontented, both in regard of his owne particular, being of that religion, and might in time be subiect to the like calamity with the rest of the protestant Princes of *Germany*; as also houlding his honour to be blemished, for that, at the reduction of those Countreies to the Emperors obedience, hee had promised them by warrant from the Emperor, that the Churches should not be molested, nor they deprived of the free exercise of their religion, hauing also taken them into his protection; and therefore the Duke objected these proceedings to the Emperors Ambassador as a wrong done to him: and beeing still importuned by the petitions of the Preachers which had been driuen out of their Countreies; he wrote to the Prince of *Lichtenstein* to this effect; that forasmuch as hee could not but take notice by sundry aduertisements from *Bohemia* and the incorporated Prouinces, as also by the complaints of diuerse Preachers lately banished out of those Countreies, of the restraint of the publike profession of the reformed religion, and of the shutting vp their Churches, and the putting down of their schools: yet for that men in miserie do commonly seek to moue pity by the report of their estates, and for that he had been alwaies better conceited of his Maiesties word, who had promised him, that if those Countreies could be reduced to obedience by his forces, he should by his Maiesties direction passe his word to the subiects of those Prouinces, that those of the reformed religion should still enioy their freedom of conscience: Wherefore, relying vpon the Emperors word, he would not rashly giue credit to those informations till he might hear the certainty both of the authority of his commission, and in what manner it had been executed: wherefore he could do no lesse in fauour of the cause, and for the honour of his owne word (whereon the inhabitants of those Prouinces had much relied) than to entreat him earnestly to aduertise him of the truth of the businesse; the which if he found conformable to the Petitioners complaints, he could not but hold his own honor engaged to take care for a timely remedy, and withall employ his credit and power with his Imperial Maiesty for the staying of all future proceedings. Some think, these alterations in *Bohemia* staied the Duke of *Saxony's* journey to the Diet at *Regensbourg*; who, continuing his discontents, gaue the Emperor to vnderstand by his Letters, that he was much grieved for the shutting vp of the protestant Churches at *Prague*, the which did not belong to the Bohemians, but to the Electors and Princes of *Germany*, professing the gospell; who had built and maintained them at their owne charges, and procured them great priuiledges and immunities: wherefore his Maiesty had not to do with the Protestants of *Bohemia*, but with the Electors and Princes of the Empire, which should not suffer them of their owne religion (contrary to his Imperial promise and the priuiledges of the Empire) to be persecuted and oppressed: This may breed some new combustion and trouble, vnlesse it shall please the Emperour to restore those Churches to their former estate and condition.

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That if they could procure the King of *Bohemia* to free him from his double Oath (one as he was his subiect, and the other as his Soldiery) that then he would not only yeeld vp the town and castle, but would also forsake the quarrell and lay down Armes: But, seeing they could not dispense him of his Oath, that both he and his companie were resolute to make it good against the Imperialists; and although they might haply, with great losse and charge, take the Towne, yet they had a Castle to retreat into, the which they would defend to the last man; and so the treaty brake off, euery man returning to his quarter: Presently after which, they made a great sallie, which was very bloody and many were slaine on either side; among the which, there were thirteen Captains of the Imperialists.

They so annoyed the Campe with their Ordinance, as the Emperour commanded all his forces in *Bohemia* to march towards *Glaz* to re-enforce the siege, and they sent for powder, bullets and munition from all parts. The siege had continued almost two yeers, and had put the Emperour to wonderfull great charges, the which could hardly be supplied; and therefore they vsed a policy to make the besieged pay for their own ruine: for, by a publique proclamation in *Silesia*, they enioyned all men vpon paine of death, which ought any money, or had any goods in their hands belonging to them of *Glaz*, to bring it presently into the Towne-house at *Prague*: Whereupon, much money and goods was brought thither; which extremity hath bene often, and is still, vsed against the Nobility and Gentry of those Countreies which had bene executed; yea, euen against such as were dead before they had bene called in question.

This Proclamation did nothing amaze them of *Glaz*, who held their Armes to be their greatest wealth, the which could not be violently taken from them, without the losse of their liues; and then their cares were past, and their scores paid: But, to auoide tediousnesse, I will omit the daily skirmishes which were before that Towne, and come to the yeelding of it. After a long and obstinate siege resolutely defended by the young Earle of *Thurne*, they were driuen to some extremities, by reason of some calamities by fier, in the which their salt, powder, and meale was consumed, and their water cut off by the Imperialists: which daunted the Souldiers much, and made them mutine; so as the Gouernour (although he were one thousand five hundred strong) was glad to come to a parley, and to yeeld vp the Towne vpon honourable termes on the twenty sixth day of October. The Articles were, First, that they should haue free exercise of the reformed Religion, and their Church remaine as it was, until the Emperour shall otherwise dispose: And if any Protestant were desirous to leaue the Towne, they should haue free liberty to sell their goods within six moneths, and goe where they pleased. Secondly, that the Gouernour, Captains, Commanders and Souldiers, both of Horse and Foote, should freely and safely depart with baggage and baggage, Drums beating, Colours flying, and their full Armes; conditionally, that all the companies should be cast and dismist about *Swatnitz*, and there leaue their Commanders, and their Cornets and Ensignes to be tome from their stauces, and all sworn not to beare Armes against the Emperour for six moneths following. Thirdly, that the Gouernour, Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, should haue a general pardon for all offences and rebellions committed against the Emperour, and suffered to depart where they pleased. Fourthly, that all Commanders, Officers and Souldiers, which had serued his Maiesty, and now born Armes against him in this quaiell, should haue Passports giuen them to passe freely through the Dominions of the Empire, into their own Countreies, or whither they pleased. Fifthly, the sick and hurt should remaine still in the Towne of *Glaz*, and there haue all due attendance and prouision from the Citizens, for their cure and recovery; after which they shall haue free leaue to depart, and passports giuen them to goe where they pleased. Sixthly, that the Earle of *Thurne* should leaue two Captains with the Imperialists as Hostages until he had dismist his Troups about *Swatnitz*, according to the capitulation.

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These Articles, being very honourable for the Earle of *Thurne* and the besieged, were very duly observed by the Imperialists, who gave them a good convey to *Swinitz*, which is five German miles from *Glaz*. It was thought that they were very rich when they left the Town, having a hundred waggons heavy laden with baggage, beside lighter carriages of which there were fifty belonging to the young Earle of *Thurne*, which were conducted to his wife in the Marquess of *Brandenburg's* Country by 500 light horse of his owne, and a convey of 2000 Imperialists. Thus at last the Emperor hath reduced all *Bohemia* with the incorporated Provinces to his obedience, and his brother, the Arch-duke *Charles* Bishop of *Ratis* or *Risse*, taking well the ayre of the Country and the strength of the place, hath gotten the government of the country of *Glaz*, from the Emperor.

Heidelberg being lost, Generall *Tilly* marched presently with his Army to *Manheim*, where Generall *V* *arr* attended him; it being the place of most importance and best fortified in all the Palatinate, standing near the point of a land where the *Neccar* which passeth by *Heidelberg* falleth into the *Rhine*, so as it commands both the Rivers, and receives the Toll of all boats which passe. The Enemy being set downe on the one side of the Towne, Generall *V* *arr*, considering that the guard thereof and of the out-works was very great, and that he was not sufficiently provided with men, having but seven companies of English, and nine of Dutch (all which were very weake in numbers, and many sick) he sent to *Frankendale*, to have Captain *B* *vrovv* send him three companies more of English and as many Dutch: which he performed accordingly.

The Enemy, as soone as the opportunity of the swelling Rivers would give him leave, entrenched his Camp, and planted severall batteries. During his approaches, Generall *V* *arr* made divers brave Salles, especially one which was generall, in all which he slew many of the Enemy with little losse of his own: yet considering that in continuance he should waste his men, he having not in all full two thousand of all Nations, sick and whole, which would hardly be able to man his out-works, which were very great, and that after the losse of *Manheim*, *Frankendale* could not subsist, he sent a Commissary againe to Capitaine *B* *vrovv*, wishing him to abandon the Towne and repaire unto him with all his Troups: which the inhabitants understanding, began to mutine, fell to Arms, and flew to the Ports; giving the Gouverneur to understand, that as he had defended them valiantly the last yeere, so they would now live and die with him, and not leave him unless he would passe by force over their bellies, desiring rather to be slaine by him then by the Enemy: Whereupon the Gouverneur advertised the Generall in what state he stood; who returned him an answer presently, that he should doe as he thought good, referring it to his discretion: whereupon he stayed in *Frankendale*.

Generall *V* *arr*, having no hope of any more supplies of men, was forced to abandon his out-works, suffering the Enemy to approach neere to the Wall. After some dayes, the Town being not defensible, he set it on fire, and retired with those few troupes he had into the Castle, from whence he so annoyed the Enemy, as he could hardly lodge within the Town. *Tilly* often summoned him to yield upon honourable conditions; but he found an Enemy who preferred his honour before his life, and would give care to no parley, as long as he had any means to keepe it: Wherefore *Tilly* being loth to assault a Fort defended by such resolute men, resolved to get it by Mine or Sappe. His Pioners being come to the very brim of the Moate, having with other Trenches drained away the Water, which at first was some hindrance unto them, he then resolved to give an assault, for the which he had prepared great store of bauins to fill up the Dike: yet considering that to force this Castle would cost him much blood, and although they could not keepe the place long, yet he should hardly get it without great losse: He held it the safest course to summon them againe, and to get it by composition.

Generall *V* *arr*, on the other side, finding that he had neither men sufficient to man it long, and that he had not powder for three daies service, considering withall, that although they should lose themselves they could not keepe the Fort long, and knowing withall that dead men could doe their Prince and Country no service, he resolved to make a virtue of necessity, and not to lose so many brave men with obstinacy, whom he might bring off with honour: Whereupon, after summons made by the Enemies Drumme, Generall *V* *arr* accepted of a parley, in which, after much debating, there were six Articles concluded betwixt Mounseigneur *Tilly*, Generall for the Emperour and the Duke of *Bavaria* on the one side; and Sir *H* *oratio* *V* *arr*, Generall of his Majesties forces of great Brittain in the Palatinate, on the other:

ther: The Articles were, that the Gouverneur, Captaines, Officers and Souldiers, should have leave to depart freely with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, matches light, and bullets in their mouthes: secondly, that they might take with them two falconets or small field-pieces, with munition and instruments belonging to the same: to the which, Monsieur *Tilly* (after some contestation) yielded, to do honour to Sir *H* *oratio* *V* *arr*, because he was a General; thirdly, that they might carry away with them thirty pipes of wine, with two hundred sacks of meal, and prouant for three daies only; the which was to go with them by land, and the rest to be transported by water: fourthly, that they should have a convey of one thousand horse to *Frankfort*, and there to stay foureteen daies till the English Ambassadour or his Commissarie might come to conueigh them downwards: fifthly, that all goods and moveables, which had been brought into the Castle for safety, should be free, and the owners have liberty to transport themselves and their goods whither they pleased: sixthly, all Ministers and Church-men should have free liberty either to stay in *Manheim*, and exercise their function, or depart safely whither they pleased.

Upon these honourable conditions the Castle of *Manheim* was delivered up to the enemy on the five and twentieth of October, *filu veteri*. And so Generall *V* *arr* retired out of *Manheim* with ten companies of English, and twelve of Dutch under the command of Colonel *Waldranhus*. He marched to *Frankfort* with a good convey of one thousand horse. The Generall with his Captains was lodged in the City; and his Troops, in the villages thereabouts. After their departure from *Frankfort*, the Dutch left them, and would go no further, notwithstanding they had promised to march with them into the Lowe-countries; and after some stay, the Generall with the English, being five or six hundred men, were conducted by a Commissary of the enemies, through the Lantzgrau of *Hesse* his Country; where they past down a river to *Breme*, there to be embarked for *England*.

After the surrendering of *Manheim*, Generall *Tilly* marched with his Army to *Frankendale* (it being the onely place now remaining in the Palatinate for the Elector) with an intent, by the taking of this place, to make himself absolute Master of the whole Palatinate: but he found the same Gouverneur Capitaine *B* *vrovv*, who had so valiantly defended it the yeere before against *Don Gonzales de Cordona*; and the same resolution, having vowed to lose his life rather than any jot of that honour which he had gotten at the former siege: neither was he idle during the siege of *Heidelberg* and *Manheim*, but furnished and fortified it by all the means hee could, having drowned the land about it on the weaker part of the Towne, so as the enemy could neither make trenches on that side to lodge his men in, nor approach his cannon to plant his batteries: yet it seemd still he was resolved to force it, drawing souldiers from all places thither with the hope of spoil, having promised them the sack of that Town: but he was deceived of his present expectation; because the approaches were so difficult by reason of the drowned land, and the wayes so slippery and deep with the continual rain, that hee forbore to attempt any thing by force, and imploied his best eloquence to perswade the Inhabitants to yeeld. Hee assured them, that they should not be molested in their religion, nor oppressed with any great garrison; that the commerce should be open and free, and that the Emperour would keepe no garrisons in the Palatinate, but in some important places. To these good words Generall *Tilly* added some threats, that if they continued obstinate, they must expect nothing but the rigor of warre, and the ruines which are incident to Towns besieged; whereas by their voluntary yielding they should purchase the Emperours favour, proserue themselves, their wives and children, and have fair Quarter kept with them, and be protected by his Imperial Majesty with the rest of the Palatinate. All this could not move the resolute Inhabitants; who had vowed to take the fortune of the warre, and to defend the Town with the Gouverneur and souldiers: and therefore they gave no answer to his propositions.

The Generall, after all his practices to draw them to a composition, finding little means to advance any thing by force in regard of the unseasonableness of the weather, and the continual rain which made the waies exceeding deep, he resolved to retire his camp for a time, marching towards *Hannow* and the Lantzgrau of *Hesse* his Country, with an intent to winter his Troops thereabouts, leaving some companies of horse about *Frankendale*, to keepe them from excursions and from all relief. Thus this poor Town, the onely remainder of all the Palatinate, hath some time of rest and breathing, till that the season of the yeer will give the enemy leave to return; who is well assured, that they have no means to be feared, being enuironed by their enemies garrisons which ly in the Towns round about them; and that time will waste their provisions, and

and necessity force the slowest courages to yield. TILLY retiring his Army, the governor of the Towne sallied forth, and slew diuerse of the enemies Rereward, and brought in good spoile. After which, he made incursions with two companies of horse, as farre as *Wormes & Spire*, bringing in what the poore wasted Country could afford. But, all this will not serue to maintain the Towne, for any long time.

The Prince of *Orange*, with the vniited States had (as you haue heard) in the yeere 1620 built a fort in the riuer of *Rhine* betwixt *Cullen* and *Bona*, which was agreed cyfcore vnto them, and did keepe the passage of the riuer, and the neighbour Prouinces in awe: whereupon this Summer, the Duke of *Newburg* one of the pretendents to the inheritance of the Duchies of *Cleue*, *Iuliers* and *Berck*, sent some forces vnder a commander of his to besiege it, being assisted by the Archduchesse *Infanta*, who sent the Prince of *Cheine* with men, cannon and munition. These forces built fortes vpon either side of the riuer and planted their batteries, hauing received some cannon from *Iuliers* or *Gulich*: they also maintained two ships of war in the *Rhine*, whereby all boates which came vp or downe with any merchandise were forced to discharge and carrie it ouer land by cart, lest the besieged should receiue any reliefe. They haue spent a long time at this siege without any great militarie exploits: onely they haue not spared their powder and shot, but yet made no great breach which might encourage them to offer an assault, for the which they haue made great preparation of *Rhine* boates, Puntis, and such like, as if they intended to force it; but the garison seemed resolute: Yet since, in the end of December, the garrison being growne very weak, they haue beene forced to yield.

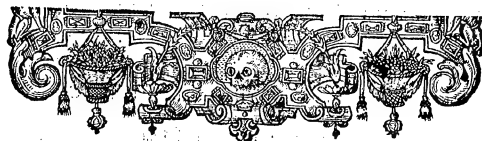
COUNT MANDSLED, after his retreat out of the Palatinate, entred into the States pay for three monthes: those being ended, and the siege of *Berghen* raised, he marched vp with his and the Duke of *Brunswick* forces towards *Westphalia*, and the Archbishop of *Cullen* countie, which is within the limits of the Empire; and there took some Townes and Castles, spoiling and ransoming the Countrey to reuenge the wrong which the Archbishop of *Cullen* had done vnto the Elector Palatine in sending the Baron of *Anhalt* his Generall with forces thither: from thence he went into *East Friesland* and the Countie of *Emden*, the Earle whereof had maintained a Regiment of foote with the Spaniard against the vniited States. Being in those parts he blocked vp *Lingen* a faire off (which Towne had beene taken by *SPINOLA* before the truce, and did belong by inheritance to the Prince of *Orange*) and he forced the said Earle to abandon his Countrey and to leaue his poore subjects to the furie of insolent souldiers; so as the Bishoprick of *Munster* and the Territorie of *Emden* were in a manner ruined and left waste. *SPINOLA* sent Count *HENRY VANDENBERG*, the Baron of *Anhalt*, with some other commanders, with forces to follow him into those parts: but *MANDSLED*, hauing seized vpon *Nippel*, *Reenen*, and some other Townes about *Lingen*, kept all victuall from them, whereby the souldiers are in some distresse: He fortifies himselfe daily with new troupes which are leuiued in those Countreies for the Duke of *Brunswick* and builds sconses vpon the passages by the which the enemy might come vnto him: so as there is no apparance of any great exploits to be done by those Armies, this winter (the way in those parts being so deepe as an Army can hardly make any faire march) but that they will passe this winter & feede their troupes vpon the poore mans pulse vntill the Spring drawe them againe into action.

The Emperour had long since appointed a Diet at *Regensburg*, for the settling of a firme peace in the Empire, to reforme abuses, and to redresse all greouances whereof there had been many complaints vnto his Maiesty, and they still referred for their answer, to the Diet; the which had beene often adiourned and put off vpon some important considerations: but now it was fully resolved, the Emperour hauing summoned all the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, to appeare there in November, and to that end both his Maiesty and all the Princes sent their officers thither to provide their lodgings. But before the Emperours parting from *Vienna* towards *Regensburg*, there arriued two Ambassadors, one from the King of *Persia*; the other from the Ottoman Emperour. The Persian desired confirmation of the League which his father had formerly had with the Emperour, and to intreate him to employ his forces against the Turk, who seemed to threaten his countrey this yeere with a powerfull inuasion. The Turk sent a *Basha* with astatefull Embassie and great Presents (an vnusall thing in them who are accustomed to receiue from all Princes which send vnto them, and not to giue to any) but it seemed, his new State was not so well settled as hee would trust the Christians, during his expedition against *Persia*; entreating the Emperour to continue the truce, or to confirme peace, fearing least something might be attempted against him vpon the frontiers of *Hungary* during

during his absence: to whom the Emperour gave no present answer, but told him that he might return if he pleased, and leaue a *Chaux* behinde him to receiue his answer after the ending of the Diet.

In the beginning of Nouember, the Emperour and the Empreffe parted from *Vienna* towards *Regensburg*, with a great train of Ladies and Noble-men. Hee made his entry on the five and twentieth of Nouember in great state; the particularities whereof I omit. There was yet a small appearance of Princes: for, there were onely comen three ecclesiasticall Electors, with the Bishops of *Salzburg* and *Virtzburg*. The Dukes of *Banaria* and *Newburg* were expected dayly; but the Protestant Princes made some stay, and it was doubtfull of their coming: namely, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquesse of *Brandenburg*, the Dukes of *Brunswick*, *Virtemberg* and *Pomerania*, the Lantzgrane of *Hesse*, the Marquesse of *Durlach* of the houle of *Baden*, with many others of their religion. The Emperour desired much to haue the Duke of *Saxony* present at the Diet, and had prest him much by his Letters: but his coming was doubtfull; being, as they write, discontented for the breach which had been made touching religion, with the *Bohemians* and the incorporated Prouinces; wherein he said his honour was engaged. Some which presume to knowe the Secrets of Princes Cabinets, haue giuen out, that one of the chief reasons for the calling of this Diet, is, To settle the Electorship of the Palatinate vpon the Duke of *Banaria*; with the consent of the whole State of *Germany*; the which the Emperour hath much desired, the Duke ambitiously affected, and the Pope with all his Clergie instantly prest: but, as I haue heard of no propositions, so I will not diuine of their conclusions; onely I will pray to God so to direct their counsels, that they may preferre the publike peace and tranquillity of *Germanie* before their private interests, and not cast oil into the fire of their diuisions, which may draw a great part of the Christian world into troubles and combustions.

Thus, with the end of the yeer and the losse of the Palatinate (one poor Town excepted) I end this work: wherein we haue seen a great Prince, the first secular Elector of *Germany*, spoiled and dispossessed of his hereditary estate, and forced to abandon his Countrey and subjects to the fury and oppression of an insulting enemy. But God I hope (who is the God of battailes) will in his due time dissolue these pinching frosts of affliction by his almighty power, and restore him, with the vertuous Princeesse his wife, to their former estate; and make those Princely Imps (sprung from so Royall a Stem) flourish like oliue-branches, to the great ioy and comfort of all which honour and respect them: for the which I will daily pour forth my vovs and prayers to almighty God; and let all good men say Amen.



*A brief Discourse of the ciuill warres
in the Valtolin.*



Had not meant to write of the ciuill broils in the *Valtolin* and the *Grisons* Country, holding it impertinent to this History which treats onely of the Emperors lues, and of those things which haue past in their dominions: but, finding that the house of *Austria* doth make a challenge to some of those Communalities, and haue by their Arms brought the *Grisons* Country in a manner into subiection & seruitude, and possessed themselves of the passage of the *Valtolin*, I haue thought it fit for the Readers better satisfaction to make a summary relation of these combussions, and to shew the motives and the euents: for the true vnderstanding whereof, I must rip it vp from the first beginning, which was in the year 1603.

The *Valtolin* is a Valley which depends vpon the Cantons of the *Grisons*; the which extends it self in length somethrty French leagues from the Lake of *Como* in *Italy* to the County of *Tiro*l which is in *Germany*. It is watered by the riuer of *Ada*, and is shut vp on either side by inaccessible mountains. In the *Grisons* Country their gouernment is Democraticall. The Generall assembly of the Communalitie hath all soveraign power. Many Boroughs and Villages make a Communality; and many Communalities, a Canton or League: and of three Cantons the Common-weal of the *Grisons* consisteth. This Assembly hath absolute power by plurality of voices to make and abolish lawes, to treat of alliances with Princes and forren States, to dispose of war and peace, and of all things belonging to Souerainty. But, to come to the first beginning of these factions, you must vnderstand, that in the year 1602, *HENRY* the Fourth, the French King, had renewed the antient alliance of *France* with the *Swissers* and *Grisons*, vpon the same articles and conditions as had been concluded with other Kings his Predecessors; against the aduice of some, who had propounded to make a new league with the *Venecians*, which might concern the passage of the *Alps*: but the *Grisons* which embraced the alliance of *France* would not yeeld to it.

In the year 1603 there was a new league concluded at *Coire* or *Chur* betwixt the *Grisons* and the *Venecians*, notwithstanding the opposition of the French Ambassador. Of 26 Communalities of the *Grisons*, two parts of them are Protestants Caluenists, contrary to the Romanists. The Protestants, which fauoured this league, gaue the common people to vnderstand, first, that the most Christian King was well pleased with it, being a matter of State, and the onely means to frustrate the Spaniard of all alliance with the *Grisons*: secondly, touching religion, that they should not doubt but by means of this league which allowed them liberty of conscience in *Venice* without exercise, the Gospell would take root in *Venice*, and from thence disperse it selfe throughout all *Italy*; and, thirdly, the yeerly pension and the Arms they should receive from the *Venecians*, with the particular pensions for their captains: for, the *Grisons* do naturally loue money.

The Earl of *Fuertes*, who was at that time Gouerner of *Milan*, grew iecalous of this league between the *Venecians* and the *Grisons*, and could by no means endure it, by reason of the importance of the passage of souldiers which they allowed the *Venecians* through the *Alps*: whereupon, he forbade all commerce with the *Grisons*, and presently built the Fort of *Fuertes* at the entry of the passage of the *Valtolin*. The *Grisons*, who could not liue without the commerce of *Milan* and *Lombardy* by reason of the barrenness of their Country, fell into faction. Some prime men and Captains, with the protestant Commons, would haue gon to Armes: and the Bishop of *Coire* and many of his partisans (fauouring the Spaniards) practised in such sort, that Deputies were sent to *Milan*, to treat vpon the old alliances between the *Milanois* and the *Grisons*, to the end that the Fort of *Fuertes* might be rased: where, they concluded vpon certain Articles, which were reicided in the Assembly of the *Grisons*; who in the mean time waivered between the doubtfull euents of war and the discommodities of peace.

The Deputies or Ambassadors, who were sent to *Milan*, were much taxed by all the *Grisons*,

to haue received Presents and chaines of gold from the Earle of *Fuertes*: with the which hee fought to fetter their liberty; they hauing accorded, first, that the Spaniard might leuie souldiers in the *Grisons* Country when he pleased; secondly, that the passage should be open for him at all times to transport his Armies through their Country, and that they should not suffer any other souldiers to passe through their Territories without the aduice of the Gouerner of *Milan*, to the end that he should consider whether that passage might any way preiudice the Duchie of *Milan*, Articles which they held hurtfull to their antient alliance with *France*, and to make their new league with *Venice* vnprofitable. The *Grisons* hauing rejected these Articles in an Assembly at *Jilant*, the Earle of *Fuertes* presently caused his Fort to bee immured, and the *Grisons* descent into *Italy* to be stopt: whereupon, the *Grisons* resolved to chuse the hazard of Armes, to maintain their liberty.

Hauing demanded succours of men and money from the Ambassadors of *France* and *Venice*, they both took time to aduertise their Masters. The like they did to the *Swissers* beeing then assembled at *Bade*; letting them vnderstand, that the Earle of *Fuertes* had taken from them the commerce which was betwixt them and the Duchy of *Milan*; requiring their counsell and aid, for that the iniurie was common to them: but they returned ill satisfied, for that the Ambassador of *Spain* had prevailed much in that Assembly.

In the year 1605, the French Ambassador, receiuing the King his Masters pleasure, gaue the *Grisons* to vnderstand, that his Maiesty did aduise them to end their differences by an accord; especially that they should not come to Armes: and although the businesse did nothing concern himself, yet he would willingly imploy himself in regard of their alliance, to the end that the oppression they receiued from the Fort of *Fuertes* might be taken away. On the other side, the Ambassador of *Venice* told them, that the proposition to make a Fort vpon the Frontier of the *Valtolin*, to the end they might keep a passage open, and free from the *Grisons* Territories vnto those of the *Venecians*, was good; and that the Segniory of *Venice* would delay the cost and charges of the building of a new Fort, and would entertain a garrison of one hundred and fifty men.

After this, the *Grisons* grew diuided into three factions. The Bishop of *Chur* or *Coire*, with many Romanists, supported the Spaniard; who cast much of his Indian dust among them, and blinded the eyes of their vnderstandings. The Protestants and others fauoured the *Venecians*; and the antient friends to *France* blamed both these factions, and the league made with the *Venecians*; as the onely cause of the confusion which took root in all the members of their Common-wealth. These men knew well, that the counsell the King gaue them, Not to come to Armes, was for the good of their Common-wealth; and that, if they opposed a Fort to that of *Fuertes*, it would prouoke the Spaniard to war.

The motions and alterations between the Pope and the *Venecians* (which ended in the year one thousand, six hundred and seuen) much augmented these diuisions; the *Venecians* seeking to draw succours from the *Grisons*, and the partisans of *Spain* labouring to hinder it. Then the corruption which the Spanish gold had bred in the Catholique Communalities, was overruled by the Captains, who had receiued twice as much money from the *Venecians* to make Leuies of souldiers in the *Grisons* Country; and such as drew pensions from *France*, desiring to settle an order in the *Grisons* liberty, in the which the basest amongst the multitude would take knowledge of the State, and discomfite thereof in tauerne and stouges (which is not the right course to manage the affairs of a Common-wealth, for that there Secrets were as soon vented as propounded) caused a secret Councell to be erected of fifteen Deputies chosen out of all the Communalities, with a certain limited power: but this was presently crost by the two other factions, who required to haue this Councell dissolved.

There was a combustion at *Coire* this yeere: in May; whither the Communalities which supported the *Venecians* came with their Ensignes displayed, and required to haue that which had been promised by the *Venecian* League, effected: but presently there comming a greater number of other Communalities, by the Spaniards practice, they demanded the contrary; as may appear by these following Articles. 1. That hereafter no stranger should bee suffered to passe souldiers through the *Alps*. 2. That they should enquire who was the Author of the putting a garrison into the *Valtolin*, and who should pay it. 3. That the Communalities had not granted vnto the *Venecians* any passage for strange souldiers. 4. That the said Communalities had not made any alliance with the Dolphin of *France*, nor promised to giue passage to the French King's friends. 5. That the secret Councell newly erected should be wholly abrogated.

D d d d

6. That

1622
The Bishop of
Coire treats an
alliance with
Spain.

1606

A new league
between the
Protestants and
Grisons.

The Earl of
Fuertes built, and
garrisoned, the
Fort of Fuertes
at the entry of
the passage into
the Valley of
Tolentino.

1604

6. That they should renew the ancient Alliances with *Milan*. 7. That the French Captains which were in the *Valtolin*, should be discharged. 8. That hereafter no man should receive any pension from a foraine Prince: and that those which were received by private persons should be distributed amongst the communalities. 9. That Church-men and Ministers should not meddle with the ciuill government, nor should be admitted to the assemblies of the communalities. 10. That the soldiers leuied by the Venetians might not goe out of the Countrey. 11. That the Criminal chamber should proceede against such as should be found traitors to their countrey. 12. That the Deputies of assemblies should hereafter bring the aduice of the communalities in writing and signed by them. Finally, the combustion was so great, that the Spanish faction seized on the Castle of *Coire*.

The subtilty of the Spanish Agents was well obserued in these Articles; who seeking to deprive the Ambassador of *France* of all liberty to giue his accustomed pensions openly to priuate Grisons, would thereby diuert them from the amitie of *France*, whilst he practised all he could by gifts to bandie against them which supported the Venetians, who had also (as was written) dispersit among their partisans about 80 thousand crowns, to maintain that they had a free passage through the Alpes. In the end of the yeere, the Iudges of the Criminal chamber (who were taxed to be pensioners to the Spaniard) were changed, upon complaint of their great couetousnesse and iniustice: but they which succeeded them in their places exceeded them in arrogance, corruption, and cruelty, which they practised against all those which they found partisans to *Spain*, as Traitors to their liberty.

The French Ambassador, who had discovered the intention of the Spanish faction, demanded Audience in a general Assembly of the communalities, where he let them see by the reading of the alliance which they had with *France*, the Imposture of those which had published, That the king his Maiesty had no free passage either for himselfe or for his friends through the Alpes: and that the Dolphin of *France* was not comprehended in the said Alliance. After the reading whereof and an exhortation made to continue constant in the League, with a promise of bounty, the whole assembly with one voice lifting their hands to heauen, cried out God saue the king, God preferre *France* and the Dolphin. Which done, the French Ambassador demanded of them a declaration of their confirmation of the Alliance, desiring to send it vnto the king: the which they all jointly promised, and afterwards euery communalitie signed. The Venetian Ambassador, to haue the like declaration vpon their new treaty of Alliance, made offer by his partisans to giue 3000 crownes to the three Grison Cantons: but his proceeding and offer was reiected; and the Garrison of 150 Grighs which was in the *Valtolin* paid by the king, was discharged: which seemed to be the subiect of some bad intelligence, which hapned afterwards betwene the Ambassadors of *France* and *Venice*, resident in those parts, the particularities whereof I must for breuitie sake omit.

In the yeere 1608 and 1609, the Grisons State was vnder the power of their Criminal chamber, whereas the Bishop of *Coire* was condemned to a pecuniary Fine; and if he would not signe certain Articles which should be imparted to him, he should be banished. Thus the Protestants held the chief places in the government: and the *Valtolin* Catholiques were much discontented to bee vnder the yoke and government of Podeslate Grisons of a contrary religion; so as it seemed by some actions, that the Earl of *Fuente*s would willingly haue given them aid to haue taken Arms.

In the yeere 1610, the French King hauing been traiterously murdered, the Magistrate of *Coire* repaired to his Ambassador; where, after many signs of great sorrow for so lamentable a death, hee protested in the name of all the Grisons, to continue constant in the Alliance which they had with the Crown of *France*: and the same yeere, the Earl of *Fuente*s, Gouverneur of *Milan*, died also. About this time the Venetians pursued a continuation of their Alliance for ten yeers with the Grisons: but they were let vnderstand, that they had sufficiently made trial of the good & harme which this Alliance had brought them; so as they desired no more: for there were many Articles obserued in that treaty which were directly contrary to the Alliance of *France*, the which I omit being very long.

In the yeere one thousand and eleuen, V. B. A. S. C. O. Constable of *Castile*, being newly made Gouverneur of *Milan*, hee sought to continue the designs of the deceased Earle of *Fuente*s, not by Armes but by Treatie. Hee promised at first to raise the fort of *Fuente*s: But the Ambassador of *France* gaue the Magistrate of *Coire* to vnderstand, that it was but a cunning practice, thinking thereby to reuine the Treaty of *Milan*. Hereupon the Agents

for *Spain*, layde aspersions vpon the said Ambassadour (to make him odious to the Catholiques) in a counterfeited Letter written in the Germane tongue, and directed to the Bishop of *Coire*; by the which they gaue him to vnderstand, That the reason why the Protestant Ministers of the Grisons were so affected to the French King and his Ambassadour, was for that they had seene in the Register of their accounts, that he gaue vnto them yearly many thousands of crownes by way of pension. And on the other side, the said Ambassadour hauing laboured by the Kings commandement, that the alliance with the Venetians should not bee contynued, their partisans called him Iesuit, and they gaue it out that hee had giuen money to P. L. A. N. T. A. and others of the Spanish faction to breake the Alliance with *Venice*.

In the yeere 1613, the Grisons hauing againe concluded that the Alliance with *Venice* should not bee continued, the next yeere they commaunded their Ambassadour to depart the Countrey. After this in the yeere 1616 and 1617 the Spanish faction got the mastery, and beganne to dispose absolutely of the government of the State; so as by their practices, there was a Treaty appointed at *Coire*, this yeere on the 9 of March to reuine the ancient Alliance with *Milan*, for the King of *Spain*. There came A. L. E. O. N. S. O. C. A. S. A. T. his Ambassadour, in the name of Don P. D. R. O. D. O. de Toledo Gouverneur of the Duchie of *Milan*, where there were certaine Articles concluded. Firstly, They promised that betwixt his Maiesty as Duke of *Milan* with the subiects of the said Duchie, and the three Cantons, with their subiects of the Countrey of the *Valtolin*, *Wormes*, and the Countie of *Chyauene* shall be true, sincere and perpetuall friendship: so as they shall not attempt aught to the preiudice one of another, nor suffer any practice to be made openly or secretly in their provinces, nor consent to any passage, nor giue counsell or ayd directly or indirectly, but should oppose themselves with all their force & power. And if the one partie should know or discouer any secret practices, attempts or counsells to the preiudice of the other, the said partie should be bound to reueale it presently, and seeke to diuert it with all fidelity. Secondly, And for that his excellencie vnderstood that the three Cantons desired much that the fort of *Fuente*s which had beene built in the yeere 1603 vpon the frontiers of the *Valtolin* might be demolished, to the end they might thereby bee assured to be restored to his Maiesties good grace and fauour, his excellencie promised to treat with his Maiesty with all sincere affection in fauour of the said three Cantons; and that after the Articles of this present capitulation shall be accepted, sealed, and sworne by his Maiesty and the said three Cantons, that with out all delay, the demolition of the said forts shall take effect; And that his Maiesty shall not suffer them to be built vp againe, so long as the three Cantons shall for their parts faithfully obserue the contents of the said Capitulation, and that hereafter no such cause of ialousie be giuen vnto his Maiesty as was in the yeere 1603. And for as much as the three Cantons knew well that the distrust which ministred occasion for the building of the aforesaid forte of *Fuente*s, did proceede from the Alliance and passage which they had graunted vnto the Seigniorie of *Venice*: they promised by this present capitulation for them and their successors not to renew it hereafter, nor to suffer the said Alliance and passage in any sort, so long as this present capitulation shall be in force. Thirdly, That both parties shall haue free commerce and trafique from one countrey to another, aswell for themselves as their subiects, without any exception of persons: with this reseruation, that touching matters of religion they should giue no scandall, nor carry with them any forbidden bookes. And touching the role of cattell and other commerce which they should bring into the Duchie of *Milan*, or transpore from thence, the three Cantons should enioy all the priuiledges the which are granted vnto the Swissers, allies vnto his Maiesty. Fourthly, If it hapned his Maiesty should haue neede of any troupes of souldiers of this nation for the defence of the Duchy of *Milan*, it shall be lawfull for him to make a leaue in the Territories of the three Cantons, not exceeding the number of 3000 souldiers Voluntaries: and the election of the Colonell and Captains shall be made by his Maiesties Ambassador, who shall agree with them for their Armes & pay: And in case his Maiesty would for the preseruation of his countreies & Seigniories cause som troupes of strange souldiers to passe through the Grisons countrie into the Duchie of *Milan*, it shall be allowed to his Maiesty & his commanders: so as euery troupe exceed not the number of 200 persons and a daies iourney one from another: Euery troupe also shall haue his captain or conductor to keep them in good discipline, and with them a Commissaire of the Cantons at the kings charge to preuent all inconueniencies: & to the end also that the souldiers may pay for their victuals & passages and carrie themselves honestly, they shall not carrie any other Armes but their

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Complaints of the French Ambassador against the Partisans of Spain.

Bad intelligence betwene the Ambassadors of France and Venice.

1622
Practises of the Spanish and Venetian politicians.

A new treaty of Alliance betwene the Grisons and the Grisons.

The Grisons promise not to renew their Alliance with the Venetians.

Liberty of Commerce.

Leaues of Gr. soldiers allowed the Spaniard.

Passage of soldiers allowed them.

1622
*side promised
 to the Grisons.*

swords and daggers, and the horsemen their Pistols: And in case it shall be sufficiently proved, that the souldiers have committed any harme and spoile in the Grisons country and their subiects, his Maiesty shall be bound to make restitution. 5. If it shall happen that the three Cantons shall be hostily invaded by any Prince, Potentate, or free State, his Maiesty shall be bound whensoever they require him, to assist the Cantons at his owne charge with 1000 foote and 200 horse, so long as the warre shall continue: and if the three cantons shall have neede of greater assistance, his Maiesty shall send it without delay. But, if the three Cantons shall thinke it more commodious to have money then men; his Maiesty in that case as long as the warre shall continue, shall effectually pay vnto them 10000 crownes a moneth; and withall shall lend them 6 fied peeces with their due munition, vpon condition that they shall be restored when the warre is ended. 6. His Maiesty as Duke of Milan, out of his royall bounty and in testimonie of his loue and affection vnto the three Cantons, doth promise to pay to every Canton yearly, at the Feast of Saint Iohn Baptist, the summe of 3000 florens, euery one being 15 Batzes of the money of Coire; the first payment to beginne on the said first Feast day, after the accord shall be sworn. Seuenthy, That this present capitulation shall no way preiudice the antient League and alliance which the three Cantons haue with the Crowne of France, the which shall remaine in full force and vigor. And lastly, that this capitulation shall be perpetuall and hereditarie.

*The Grisons
 proceedings in
 the yere 1618.*

This accord bred a great combustion among the Grisons (whereof two third parts are Protestant Calvinists) and was the cheefe and onely cause which made them to proceede criminally against many Catholique persons and of quality: that is to say, against the Bishop of Coire, the Arch-Priest of Sanderis, Rodolph, and Pompeius Planta brethren, Iohn Baptista Preuost, with an infinite number of others. And, for the iustificacion of their proceedings, they published a Protestation to the world, giuing all men to vnderstand, that certaine priuate persons had sought to vlturpe the gouernment of their State, and to appropriate vnto themselves those Soueraignties & powers which did properly belong to all the Communalities in general: the which they attempted by their great wealth and power, by corruption and presents, and by the alliances of their kindred: And this was not done at one instant; but, sometimes in one Community, and sometimes in another, as occasion was offered, to reduce them vnder their particular power. Which subtil practises had succeeded so well, as not onely the free Allies with their subiects, but also if Princes and forraigne States desired to obtaine any thing from their State, they were forced to receiue it from these priuate persons, who practised all kindes of treason, infidelities, falsehood, deceits, tyrannies and violences; whereby they brought their Estate into great contempt with all Princes and forraigne Potentates, who, by their Treacherie and rafhness, haue bene promised those things which they could not effect. These lamentable courses being observed by some men of iudgement, yea and by the common people (desiring to prevent the danger by some lawfull means) they complained in the last Assembly held at Davos in the yeere 1617, before the three Cantons, being their superiors, of these intolerable proceedings: and there, after an ample declaration of the miseries reigning in the State, had seriously insisted for anecessarie reformation, by the most convenient means. Which business, in regard of the great importance and for other vrgent causes, was sent by the Magistrate before the reuerend Iudges and all the Communalities, being the supreme power of their estate: whose intention they followed. And whereas after, in a Synode held in April in the yeere 1618, it had bene resolved that a writing of the said tenor should be published to all Counsellors and Communalities of euery parish, with instant prayers and exhortations to provide by all lawfull means without any commotion, for the restoring of the liberty of their country, freeing themselves from the fraudulent Treaties of some of their subiects with Princes and forraigne estates, to the end they might not bee brought into iust contempt; but rather to carrie themselves in such sort towards them, as their Ancestors had done; and so, their fidelity and integrity should be esteemed:

All which notwithstanding, those Authors of sedition had sought to abuse the common people, and to maintain their violent commande by their ordinary practises. Wherevpon the reformed Preachers in all the parishes had earnestly insisted for a necessary reformation of the whole State; and required, that some good men might be chosen out of the Commons (which were no way tyed or engaged to any Princes or forraigne States) to whome they might reueale certaine treacheries of some tyrannous commanders, who were no longer

to

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*The Grisons of
 simple requir-
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to be suffered, and whose reicction might be the restoring of the estate. But the people being out of hope, that in so small a number of Deputies they should euer obtaine any good successe, and finding in like manner that these tyrants could not be vanquished but by multitudes: not for any fear of their forces, but onely for plurality of voices, and to prevent all kinde of corruptions and false persuasions. In the end of Iune the year 1618, the five Communalities of Engaden and Valbajna the lower, together with those of Mustertal, assembled themselves, having sent Letters and Embassies to the other Communalities of the three Cantons, requiring them to do the like and by vertue of the Vnion to assist them as being most oppressed, for that their power and authority was taken from them, and vsurped by some priuate persons; their lawes falsified, their statutes changed, and their goods and means wrested from them, vnder pretext of publike authority; to the end these new lawes might be abolished, and the antient liberty of their ancestors restored, that also the treasures of Princes and forraigne States might no more bee wasted by priuate persons without the priuity and consent of the whole State, and that they might not be so treacherously deceived by the vain promises of such men.

At their earnest entreaties, there came to their succours in the beginning good numbers of men from some other Communalities; who willingly agreed for the restoring of the common estate, and the election of indifferent Iudges to punish criminal offenders.

In the mean time, the chief Author of these alterations, and Attempter vpon the soueraigne authority, called Rodolphus Planta, hauing as it seemed a guilty conscience, retired himself to his Castle of Pilsdenbourg in Zernus, the which he fortified and furnished with victuals and all things necessary, hauing drawne vnto him six hundred men to defend it, and seized vpon the passages, broken the bridges, and committed all acts of hostility against the neighbours and Allies. But, seeing the Troops of the Communalities approach, hee fled into Tiroll with some of his most confident friends. During these proceedings, the other Communalities of the three Cantons sent an Embassie to Engaden, offering to assist them to repaire the common estate, to restore the lawes, and to settle iustice, so as they would cause their Troops and Engages to retire; to the end that, all violences ceasing, Iustice might be administered indifferently to all men. But, answer being made vnto them, that the power of the seditious delinquents and of their adherents was so great, that without the aid and assistance of many men, their enterprise would be in vaine; therefore they prest the other Communalities to assist them with such Troops as they themselves should thinke good vpon so iust a business: which thing was granted.

Vpon this resolution, euery Community of the whole State assembled, some with their engines, some without, at Coire, and from thence to Thusis in the vpper Rhetia; where, with a general consent, for the restoring of their estate and policy, they renewed certain antient lawes, and made some new, touching the late transgressions: whereunto also their Allies which were absent, consented, with some little moderation. The tenor whereof consisted in these Articles: first, that the free exercise of both religions, reformed and Catholick, should bee allowed in all their lands and iurisdicktions, and euery man maintained and defended by the generality in his profession; secondly, that in all their Territories, euery league, Community, iustice, and particular persons, noble or ignoble, should be maintained and protected in their priuiledges, customs, dignities, goods and antient possessions; and that in all differences they should bee bound to submit themselves to the decision of a neutrall iudgement: thirdly, that their subiects should be gouerned in equity, and bee no more exposed to tyrants, as happily some had been: fourthly, that the treasure of the common estate should bee better gouerned, and that they should not suffer the common reuenues to be any more wasted and consumed by priuate persons: fifthly, that no particular man should presume to treat with any Prince and forraigne Estate without expresse commandement, vpon pain of death; but, those alliances which should be orderly made, and by a common consent, they meant to maintain with all loyalty towards all estates their neighbours, shewing them faithfull and good neighbourhood, with other circumstances, &c.

In this Assembly there was appointed a criminal chamber to proceed against certain pernicious persons; whereof some were prisoners, and others fled. To the which Court of Iustice euery Canton deputed two and twenty Iudges, nine Examiners, two Treasurers, one Secretary, and two Vthers: and finding, that by the authority of the reformed Preachers and Ministers, the people had hitherto been maintained in better order, it was also thought good, that nine of them should be admitted in this business, but not at definitiue sentences: all these were

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bound

*Erection of a criminal
 Court at
 Thusis.*

*Assemblies at
 Coire & Thusis.*

*New articles
 made at Thusis.*

*Rodolphus
 Planta prepares
 to resist the Grisons.*

bound to sweare to discover all such as had done any thing against law and equity : That they should not respect rewards, friendship, hatred, factions or any other thing which might draw them from the rule of Justice, but rather attend the honor of God, the free and prosperous estate of their country, and sacred Justice.

Among the prisoners (whose processess they were to make) the chief was **JOHN BAPTISTA** Prevost called **ZAMBER**, lying at *Vaspram*, in the vpper *Pregeil*: who (by the confession of certain persons executed some years before, the deposition of witnesses, and by Letters written with his own hand) was convicted that he and his consorts had given aide and counsell to build the fort of *Buenos* vpon the frontiers of the Grisons country : To haue received presents in money from *Millan*, and to haue been gratified with the free transportation of Corne and Wine, paying little for the custome ; and to haue taken rewardes to mediate the treaties made in former time with the State of *Millan* ; and, on the other side, to haue received money and a great pension from the Ambassador of a forraigne Prince, to disswade the Grison Communalities from that alliance : the which being testified by the witness of men of reputation, in the end he confessed it with all the circumstances, and moreover said that **RODOLPHUS PLANTA**, with some others which were dead, had resolved the designe of the said Fort of *Buenos* at *Danot*, in the year 1603, during the Assembly of the league there, to the end that they might thereby force the people to their deuotion, and create a league with *Millan* at their pleasure, the which **PLANTA** had much affected. For which crimes he was condemned (as a Traytor to his country to be quartered, his goods to be confiscate to the benefit of the Cantons, yet without prejudice to his wives portion and his creditors : His house to be rased, and two pillars set vp in the place for a perpetuall infamy, but at the intersection of his friends and kinsfol, he being 74 years old, and having 9 children, they shewed him some fauor by losing only his head, and the demolishing of his house, was referred to the disposition of the Cantons.

NICHOLAS RUSCA, Arch-Prest of *Sanders*, being a prisoner, was accused of the like crimes, both by the deposition of witnesses, and the confession of some which had been executed, and also by Letters which were found about him : All which he constantly denying, or seeking to auoid by subtle deuices, he was condemned to the rack ; the which he endured the first day, being without any waight : but, being tied vnto it again after the same manner, he grew so weak as they were forced to vnbind him, so as he presently after died, nor without suspicion of poison by some manifest signes appearing in his body. They proceeded in like manner, by way of contumacy, against such as had absented themselves. **JOHN** Bishop of *Cair* was accused for that 17 years before he had bin banished by the iudgement of certain indifferent Iudges, consisting of both Religions, chosen out of the 3 Cantons, for many perfidious actions, and obstinate disobedience against his country ; That he had taken and given money to crosse the Swissers their trusty Allies, That he had put his Bishoprick into the protection of their enemies : And, finding himself guilty, he laboured to haue the title of Legat in *Germany* ; That afterwards he had fauored their perfidious inhabitants, who had vsurped the Sate gouernment, and had returned into his Bishoprick at *Cair*, whither he was conducted by **RODOLPH PLANTA** the chief Author of the treason, and continuing in his old train, he had assited at all consultations which had been made against the liberty of the country. For these and diuers other crimes objected against him, and verified by his own Letters, and the deposition of witnesses, they confirmed his banishment for ever, and confiscated his goods, without prejudice to the Bishoprick ; They degraded him of his Episcopall dignity, commanding the Chapter to choose another, forbidding all men to lodge him in their Territories, and if he were taken, to be executed by the Sword.

This criminal Court proceeded in like manner against diuers others which absented themselves, but especially against the 2 brethren **RODOLPH** & **POMPEY PLANTA**, who had bin the ring-leaders of all these alterations. **RODOLPH**, who had been Captain generall of all the *Valtellin*, Iudge criminal of *Zernets* &c. of the neighbor Communalities, and Captain of a company of Grisons for the French kings seruice, was accused of many hainous crimes, wheron I must of force insitt some what the longer, for that he was the chief actor and procurer of all these combustions. The Arch-duke of *Austria of Inspruck*, hath certain rights and priuiledges to be criminal Iudge in the lower *Engaden* on *S. G. GOROS* day, with the approbation and consent of the Commons : Some years before the said **PLANTA** had bin chosen to that charge for the Arch-duke, wherein he had continued & neuer demanded any renewing or confirmation, contrary to all customs, hauing audaciously vsurped this authority, as if he had obtained it by purchase or inheritance, bringing in criminal Iudges at his pleasure to be at his deuotion. By which meanes he

he drew to himself the Sovereignty of all that iurisdiction, without any opposition ; that he had reinstalled the Bishop of *Cair* (who for his treason towards his Country had been banished by a general Sentence) into his Bishoprick & Castle before he had obtained pardon ; that by this means he might haue him at his deuotion, for that the Bishop hath power to create certain Magistrates, and especially those which haue the gouernment of the reuenues of the Church, Hauing good intelligence with the Ambassadors of *France*, not onely they to whom they gaue pensions were most commonly forced to attain to them by the intercession of **PLANTA** ; but also by his practices he had obtained from the said Ambassadors great summes of money, new pensions and increase of the old for his adherents ; that he vsually entertained spies in their Countries and Iurisdiccions, who reuealed to him what soeuer was said or done against his person, persecuting such as any way opposed him. Moreover, to encrease his authority, hee had changed the Statutes and lawes in his Iurisdiction, railed the amercements and fines, and for 35 years together had disposed of all things at his owne pleasure. By these and such like practices hee had growne so powerful, that for many years he had the direction of the most important affairs, and through great corruptions and presents had at his pleasure swaled their Communalities and free Countries, disposed (with his adherents) of many offices, presumed to make and break leagues, and to stir vp seditions against good men. His iurisdiction was miserably tyrannized by him, the priuiledges of the Communalities broken ; depriving them of the free election of their Magistrates, and entertaining them with vain hopes, that so all might depend on his fauour.

When the estate of the reformed Clergy opposed it self, in the year 1617, against the dangerous league practised between the state of *Millan* and the three Cantons, murmuring openly against it, he persecuted them, and threatened to deprive them of their ministeries, imprisoning them, and to vte them worse. His practices against his Country were such, that he thought to deprive them of their liberties by fraudulent and preiudiciall articles of confederacy with the duchy of *Millan*. After hee had obtained and procured by corruption the renunciation of the league between *Venice* and the Grisons, he deuised new Articles : which was called the league of *Zutze* ; by which some Communalities, lying vpon the passage, bound themselves not to suffer any one to passe through their Territories, to hinder all succours from the Venecians. But when, in the year 1617, the league and passage was solicited for the Duchy of *Millan*, he was one of the first to yeeld to a perpetuall passage for the Spaniard against the former accord ; that hee had forced the Venetian Ambassador to depart their Countries, had leuiued Troops, and made certain barbarous Articles, the which they would force the Inhabitants to obserue ; especially, that no Minister of the reformed religion should presume to reueal his intention to the Commons, nor giue his voice in any matter concerning the Country : which was allowed to the poorest man of their freestate, and that they had erected a chamber of iustice, whose principall director had treated with all affairs by the direction of the said **RODOLPH PLANTA** and his brother, as had been discovered by the Iudges themselves ; that they had bound themselves by a particular oath to the Bishop of *Cair* against the sworn customs of the country ; that they had tyrannized ouer the Ministers of the reformed religion, commanding them strictly not to meddle with the affairs of *Spain*, imprisoning some, and threatening them with death.

But in this year 1618, when as some Communalities did rise to preuent this mischief, he presently forced the Magistrates of his iurisdiction to bind themselves to him by oath, and demanded succours from others, to the end he might raise a ciuill and intestine war, and the common people kill one another ; whereby he might make himself Soueraign of the Country. When he saw his enterprises were frustrate, and that he might be called in question for his actions, he absented himself, and did not appear. Wherefore, seeing he had drawne vnto him the greatest treasures of the liberty of their Country ; that is, To make and disannull lawes, to treat and break leagues, to create and depose Magistrates, to dispose of warre and peace, and in this authority to vte all kinde of treacherie, force, tyranny and treason, he was condemned to perpetuall banishment : and who soeuer should bring him alive, to haue one thousand crowns ; and he that should bring his head, five hundred. Being taken alive, his body was to bee broken vpon the wheel, and quartered ; his goods confiscate to the Communalities without prejudice to the iust pretensions of his wife and creditors ; his house to be rased, and Pillars of infamy to be there erected. The Community which did relieue or lodge him, should pay 1000 crowns for a Fine : and if any private person did entertain him, he should lose his honour, and bee condemned in the like fine, and if hee had not meanes to satisfie it, his body should suffer for it. Whosoever should presume to treat of his liberty, write Letters, conuerse with him, or receive Letters

which he sent to them. After divers military exploits, the Spaniards not only subdued the whole *Valtellin*, but also fortified themselves in such sort in the Mountains and their vallies, as no man could safely pass. Therefore, to prevent this mischief (for that it concerned all Switzerland, if the Spaniard should give free passage by the *Valtellin* into Germany) they appointed a general Assembly at *Bade*; But, for that the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* had formerly taken some places there which had belonged to the Jurisdiction of *Austria*, and forced the Inhabitants to do him homage before the ancient rights had been settled in the former State, and to that end had levied great forces in *Alsacia*, therefore the assembly at *Bade* proceeded very slowly.

The Grisons being duly informed of the Spaniards attempts, who (under a color to restore such as had been banished, and to plant the Catholike Religion) sought to make themselves Masters of their Country, they appointed an assembly at *Luzerne*, calling the Protestants thither, with whose contents they made this decree: That whereas it was apparant to all the world, what tumults had been in their Country, and what seditions had been raised by turbulent persons to oppress their liberties; for the preventing of these miseries and dangers, they had decreed by oath, lawfully to defend their liberties with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; to leave religion free to every man, to maintain peace, and to live lovingly and quietly together; so as no other Religion should be admitted but the Catholike Romish and the reformed, the exercise whereof should be free unto them. That all vows and oaths taken or made against the liberty of religion in these two points (That is to say, the hearing of the word of God, and the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Lords Supper) should be abrogated & held voyde, neither should any man be bound to stand unto them. If any one in contempt of either religion should forbear to come to church, to hear Sermons, or to receive the Communion, the Church where he dwells shall have power to punish him. And to the end that both these religions may be truly and really exercised, it shall be lawful for every man and Church to cherish and advance his religion, to bestow costs and to give stipends by himselfe or by others for the maintenance thereof: To erect Schooles and Seminaries, and to institute ministers and Doctors in Churches and Schooles, without any distinction or difference betwixt Monks and Iesuits and Doctors of the reformed Religion, so as neither partie offend the other: That honest men and of integrity be chosen, and that they forbear to tax or slander one another: That Ecclesiasticall persons of what Religion be never shall treat one of spirituall things, and not meddle, with political affairs, upon paine of being remoued from their charges, and the losse of life & goods, being lawfully every Magistrate to punish them in whose jurisdiction they shall be found; and if he shall not doe his duty, the whole Community may question them: or if they shall neglect it, every private man may punish them and enjoy their goods, unless they shall first fly to the Bishoprick of *Caire* or to the house of *Trisacum*, where they shall have Sanctuary: All judgments given at *Thufis*, *Ciseret*, and *Damos*, and all decrees made there in the yeeres 1618, 1619, and 1620; with all conclusions made to the prejudice of the French King, shall be abrogated and every one shall have liberty to prosecute those which have any way vniufully wronged them in these iudgements: That the Authors of sedition by reason of the Venetians practices should be punished: That the hereditarie confederations and Leagues made with the house of *Austria*, the French King, and other States and provinces, should remain firme: That the French Ambassadour (so as the King would stand to his promise) should be restored to his place: That hereafter there should be no seditions raised; upon paine of the losse of life & goods for such as should be the Authors; and any States, which should attempt the like, should be excluded out of the League, subdud at their common charge, and reduced into seruitude. That no City nor villiage man should pretend any thing against the Iudges of the confederates, nor commence any Action against them, without the knowledge and consent of the Senators of most of the confederates, upon the like penalties: That all secret practices should be remoued, and iustice equally administered to all men; and offices distributed without respect of persons: That all care should be taken for recovery of the *Valtellin*, *Wormes* and other places, and reducing them to the League craving ayde from the French, the Milanois & others; and that no man should attempt to aggrauate this transaction & decree, upon paine of infamy & the losse of life & goods. This yeere 1622 the French King began to labour for the restitution of the *Valtellin*, sending Mounseur *de Lucerne* his Ambassadour to the Swislers, to prevent the danger whereunto the Realme of France was subiect, if the Spaniard should enjoy that Country and stopp the passage. The Governour of *Milan*, to disturb this Treaty, propounded certaine Articles to the confederate Grisons; That there should be a perpetuall peace betwixt them

them and the Milanois; that the *Valtellin* should be left to the Grisons, with all priuiledges and immunities; but upon the conditions, that there should no religion be vsed there but the Romish; that the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction should belong to the Bishop *Como*; that they should vse the decrees of the Councell of *Trent* and the new Calendar; that the Protestants, who had been driven away for religion, should enjoy their goods, and return twice in the yeer if they pleased, but might not stay about two months at a time, neither might they seek any occasion to dwell there with their wiues and children; that they should giue no offense vnto the Catholicks; that such as should break the ecclesiasticall constitutions, should be punished by the Spaniards, and that they should suffer the *Valkolins* and Grisons to enjoy their lawes and customs; that the Spaniards should hold the Fort at *Riva* for five yeers: which being ended, it with the Fort of *Passin* should be raised; that they should have garriisons in the *Valtellin* for eight yeers; that the ordinance should be taken out of the Castle of *Sonders*, and that the keys of *Tirano* and *Marbegno* should be kept by the confederates; that the Spaniards should haue only a defensue passage through the Grisons Country, going unarmed, and through the *Valtellin* armed; that the garriisons should forbear to meddle with any ciuill or criminal actions: that Rebels should be pardoned for their rebellion; the King of Spain on the other side should pay yearly vnto the Grisons 1500 duckets; that, desiring to haue any Leues from the Grisons, they should not be bound to send above foure and twenty companies, and not lesse than twelue; that the Spaniards should defend the confederate Grisons against all forraign inuasion; that the restitution of the *Valtellin* should be made onely to the chief of the Grisons, and to such as should imbrace these Articles: the rest that should not within one month allow of that treaty, nor haue another, should be held for open enemies.

This Treaty did not satisfie the Grisons: for, they of *Engaden*, going vp to the white hil with some troops, desired to know of the Inhabitants whether they would take their parts, renounce the Spanish capitulation, and defend religion, giuing them foure and twenty houres to resolve: who yielding to their desires, they presently ioyned their forces together, and charged the Roman confederates at the passage of a bridge, where they slue many, and put the rest to flight: who, retiring towards *Flants*, were pursued by the Engadins; but, finding themselves too weak, they slue their owne horses and fled, cloying two peeces of ordinance, leauing their arms and all their victuals and baggage behinde them, notwithstanding that 2000 Spanish foot and 300 horse came to relieue them; who, seeing the flight of their companions, and being much troubled with snowe, returned to *Milan*. There were many other military exploits performed with good successe by the Grisons, whereof I cannot insitt, lest I should be too tedious. The Spaniards had attempted *Clene* in vain, being repulsed by the valour of the Besieged. The Romanists craued more aid from the Gouverner of *Milan* against their enemies; who sent them a supply of 1000 foot and 300 horse, with good store of money and warlike preparations, vntill they should be further assisted with 6000 Germans & 4000 Neapolitans, with 40000 crowns which was promised from Spain.

The warre continuing still in the *Valtellin*, and no party willing to yield to the other and to lay down Arms, in the end there was an Assembly appointed at *Caire* to end the controuersie, whether the French King sent his Ambassadour, who propounded these following Articles to the Cantons: first, that all souldiers should be dismist out of the *Valtellin*; secondly, that there should be pardon for all offenses; thirdly, there should be free exercise of religion in all the *Valtellin*, and the Territories of *Cleues* and *Vormes*; fourthly, that the league with the Swislers and the Lords of Saint *Gal* should be inuolubly obserued; fifthly, that Ambassadors should meet at *Luzerne* for France, Spain, and the Duchy of *Clene*, to confirm this hereditary league vnder their hands and seals. Moreover, the confederate Cantons were required, that hauing forgotten all which was past, they should suffer those which were fled, to return into their possessions: but they, fearing some new treason, made answer, they would take some further deliberation; and when they of *Zurich* were admonished to call back their souldiers, they promised to do it willingly when the Arch-duke *LEOPOLD* had withdrawn his forces from the Frontiers, and the King of Spain restored the *Valtellin*. But all these Treaties could not settle a good peace, the Spaniard and the Austrian being loth to leaue what they had gotten. They fortified some Frontiers, made new Forts, and repaired *Sonein* and *Bormes*; so as the restitution was deferred. On the other side, the Swislers fortified themselves strongly against the attempts & hostile inuasions of the Spaniards, in building new Forts, raising souldiers, and preparing cannon: and although the Spaniard had

The Romanists
defeated in the
Valtellin.

A Treaty at
Caire.

New combatti-
ons in Swis-
land.

had attempted to surpris a Fort neere vnto *Cluse* by treachery, yet the *Swissers* repulled them with losse.

This yeer in October, the *Gouernour* of *Millan*, hauing seized vpon the countie of *Cluse*, he left the *Earl of Serbellone* there for *Gouernour*, sending his *Wallons* and *Neapolitanes* towards *Chianone*; who not only took the place, but seized vpon the whole valley. Soon after the *Neapolitanes* passing into the valley of *Borchiene*, they slue all they met without mercy: and although that a *Captain* of the *Grifons* attended the enemy with some troups, with an intent to fight, yet finding himself too weake, he yeelded with all his *Souldiers* to the victorie; and for that the women in the lower *Engaden* had prepared to defend themselves with stones, spits, and other like womanish weapons, and had cruelly slaine about 80 *Austrians*; therefore the other *Souldiers* fell vpon them, and put very many of them to the Sword. To end all these miseries, the *Grifons* sent a *Commissioner* to the *Gouernour* of *Millan*, to moue him to a treaty of Peace, and a suspension of Armes.

A little before, the *Arch-duke* *LEOPOLD* of *Austria*, without any effusion of blood had subdued *Pretigau*, *Meinfels*, both the *Engadens*, *Misferthal*, *Coire*, and all the inhabitants of the 3 Cantons; all which (although in former times they had been held inuincible) crauing the victors pardon, yeelded themselves; their *Captains*, commanders, with their *Protestant Ministers* and some of their Troupes, flying into *Swisser-land*, and *Germany*: After which he placed *Garrisons* in all parts of the Country. Soon after in the beginning of the yeer 1622, the *Grifon* State growing desperate, and their country in a manner wholly possessed by the *Spaniard* and the *Arch-duke* *LEOPOLD*, they were glad to sue for Peace; the which, after some difficulty, was confirmed with these Articles: 1. That the *Romish* Religion should remain firm and immutable. 2. That *Cluse* should be restored, and only the *Romish* Religion allowed. 3. That the places in *Engaden* and *Pretigau*, should remain to the provinciall Prince, the which heretofore did belong to the house of *Austria*. 4. That the king of *Spain* and the house of *Austria* should haue a perpetuall passage. 5. That there should be 30000 *Florens* of yearly pension paid vnto the *Grifons*. 6. That it should be lawfull for the *Spaniard* to leaue 3000 *Grifons* when he pleased. 7. That hereafter the *Vallois* should be a Common-weale, and the king of *Spain* haue the title of Protector, allowing no other Religion but the *Catholick Roman*. 8. That all Leagues should be made voide.

All these treaties gaue no contentment to the poore *Grifons*, which grew *Jealous* of their liberty and Religion: for they were given to vnderstand that the Articles of *Millan* had made them subiect to the yoke of *Spain*, and diuided them from the other confederats; that their Country had lost her liberties, was reduced into seruitude, and spoiled of her wealth; and which was most of all to be lamented, they were deprived of the food of their soules: whereupon the poore people grew desperate, resolving rather to die then to suffer that bondage. Wherefore, on the fourteenth day of April they (being formerly disarmed) went into the Wood, vnder colour of gathering Greene boughes, where they armed themselves with Bars and Stauies, and set vpon the *Spaniards* and the *Archduke* *LEOPOLD*'s *Souldiers* with great fury, nothing regarding their shotte; so as they slue 500 of them in severall places. *BALDERON* had a *Garrison* of a hundred in the Towne of *Schisens*, of which they slue fifty with their Clubs; the rest, flying into a steeple, were smothered and burnt: The rest of the *Souldiers* in many places retired themselves from the fury of these Clubs, vnto *Cassel*, *Mynefeld*, *Coire*, and other places.

They that came to *Castell*, being besieged by the *Prettigauers*, tooke an Oath to goe out of the Province, and neuer to beare Armes against the three Cantons; but, comming to *Guttenberg*, they forgot their Oath, and were againe entertained by *RITNAVARR*. After this these Commons went to *Mynefeld*, where they fortified themselves after their tumultuous manner. In the meantime *Ambassadors* came from the *Swissers* vnto *RITNAVARR*, entreating him to abstaine from Armes, and giue care to some honest composition, wherein they would doe all good offices. But hee, neglecting their requests, made haste to *Steiga* to fight with the *Confederats*, setting a village on fire, thinking they would runne to quench it; but the *Prettigauers*, regarding not the fire, marched against *RITNAVARR*; whose *Souldiers* seeing them, cryed out, Come ye Cow-sluckers (for so they called them in contempt) Wee will this day giue you a new God: To whom they answered, Wee are well pleased with that onely GOD which created vs, redeemed vs by *CHRIST*, and hath preferred

serued vs till this time in the vniity of Faith, by the power of his holy Spirit. For his glory wee fight; and then, like madde men, they set vpon them and slue foure hundred, forcing about two hundred of them into the Riuer of *Rhyne*, *RITNAVARR* himself hardly escaping. After which, they cut off a Mill neere vnto *Mynefeld*, forcing the towne Garrison to retire with losse.

In the meantime there came about one thousand *Neapolitane* *Souldiers* to *Coire*; who making an irruption into the valley of *Schance*, carried away their Cartell, burnt the Towne of *Mallader*, and ragged most cruelly ouer those poore wretches which were vnarmed and vnacquainted with Warre: Which the *Confederats* hearing, they fortified themselves at *Sizera*, against the *Spaniards*; and about *Seize* about nine hundred *Grifons* charging them, they forced them to abandon their Campe and retire to *Coire*, hauing slayne many of them and taken two peeces of Ordinance with great store of Armes and much Cartell: After which exploit they returned safely vnto their Campe. Soone after they seized vpon diues important passages, and prest *Mynefeld* with such violence and eagerneffe, that the Towne and Castle were forced to yeeld, vpon composition that they might depart with their Armes and baggage, on the twenty third of May.

After this they tooke a strong passage, which was held by six hundred *Spaniards*: the *Garrison* whereof was fortified with their Clubs, as they compounded to depart with their Armes and baggage. This done they went to *Coire*, where they seized vpon a Fort before the Towne, which was very commodious for them; from whence they so annoyed the Townsmen, that no body durst walke in the streets, hauing casie meanes to burne the Towne, for that they had cut away their Conduits: The *Spanish* *Garrison*, being driuen to great Streights, compounded to depart on the sixth day of Iune, vpon these conditions; That they should the next day goe away with their Ensignes, Armes and baggage; That foure *Captaines*, who were prisoners with the *Colonel* *RYNAL*, should be dismissed and let goe, putting in caution to the *Bishoppe* and *Chapter*, that none of the *Confederats* should be wronged in their going away; leauing three *Captaines* for Hostages. The *Confederats*, on the other side, should defend the liberties of the *Bishoppe* and *Chapter*, and protect them from all Iniurie; That the *Souldiers* should haue meate and drinke for their money in their going away, and release two *Captaines* whom they had taken prisoners. These conditions being accepted, *Colonel* *BALDERON* went along with the *Italians* towards *Cluse*, and the *Germanes* (which were in number nine hundred and fifty) marched another way, hauing all of them taken a solemne Oath, neuer to carry Armes eyther against these *Confederats*, or against the *Protestant* Cities.

After this happy successe, the *Confederats*, hauing giuen thanks to God, wrote Letters vnto all the States, Common-weales, and free Cities of *Germany*, to whom the recovery of their liberty, and safety of the Church was pleasing. The tenor of their Letters was this, that whereas they been vniuersally oppressed by the *Austrian* and *Spanish* *souldiers*, contrary to their liberties and priuiledges enioyed for many Ages, lost all their passages, and with them the exercise of religion, and forced with threats to imbrace another; they could do no lesse than, despairing of all reliefe, secke to recover by the sword their lost liberty both of body and conscience; that God had fauoured their endeauours with good successe, who no doubt would still assist them if they did craue it with humble hearts. And whereas those mountaine places had bene disarmed and deprived of all munition for the warre by those barbarous *souldiers*, so as they were not able of themselves to beare the charges of the warre, they were informed humbly to enreat all Common-wealthe and Cities which loued liberty and religion, to assist them with some money in this commendable designe; hoping, that they would take this their petition in good part, and consider carefully how much their preservation concerned all reformed Common-wealthe, and to haue these passages free and without danger; the which, the house of *Austria* had much affected, and now (hating the liberty of *Germany*) had brought in a manner vnder their power; that with the assistance of God they had recovered some of the chiefe, and doubted not (if so they might haue any helpe) to recover the rest: for the which they would be thankfull to their Benefactors, and pray to God to increase the spirit of wisdom, courage, and Christian charity in all Common-wealthe and free States, and protect them from all their enemies.

After the taking and fortifying of *Coire*, the *Grifons*, reuiuing their former vniion, put some prime

The Arch-D.
Leopold (suc-
cesse in the Gri-
fons Country.

A pacification
with the Grifons

The Grifons
rise against the
Spaniards and
Austrians.

Mynefeld taken
by the confede-
rats Grifons.

Coire taken by
the Grifons.

The confederats
Letters to all
free States.

prime men to death, without any forme of Iustice, for that they had set their hands to the treaty of *Millan*: and they wrote Letters to the Swissers of *Lucerne*, and the other foure Catholique Cantons, entreating them to retire their forces which they had upon the Frontiers: The Abbat of *Diserinen* promised to ioyne with them, to lay open the passage, and likewise to assist them with 20000 Florens towards the warre.

The Arch duke
pretends again
in the *Valtellin*.

The poore Grisons seemed now to be in good hope to recouer their lost liberty, and the passages which had been vsurped by their Enemies: but they were ill assisted by the French, Lorraine, and German, whom these passages did much import; so as they, being destitute of helpe, the Enemy encreased his forces: for the Arch- duke *L E O P O L D* had good meanes by the retreat of Count *M A N S F E L D*, to prosecute the warres in the *Valtellin*: whether he sent new supplies, and Colonel *B A L D E R O N* had drawne the forces of *Millan* also into the *Valtellin*, towards *Chianenna*; with whom the Earle of *Sulz* ioyning, they spoiled the Countrey of *Pretigaw*, and put all to the sword. There was an Assembly appointed at *Lindaw*; where the Arch- duke *L E O P O L D* would yeeld to no peace without the restitution of *Coire* and other places. After which, that City with the vpper and lower *Engaden*, the Commonalties of *Danov*, *Pretigaw*, and the Lordship of *Maynsfeld*, were taken by force; and many Grisons with their assistants, sent from the Swissers, slaine at Saint *M A R T I N S* bridge neere the lower *Engaden*, where *B A L D E R O N* forced his passage.

Articles agreed
upon at the Diet
of *Lindaw*.

The Arch- duke was now Master of the field; wherupon the Grisons sent vnto him to treat for their liues though they had lost their liberties: and therefore they were forced to accept of such miserable conditions as it pleased him to propound vnto them; which were, That one of the Cantons should be diuided from the other two, and after that day belong vnto the house of *Austria*, as hereditary subiects. Secondly, that the house of *Austria* should not suffer the Inhabitants to vie any other then Catholique Religion. Thirdly, that all Leagues and Alliances should be made void except those which they made with *France*; which Article included onely the subiects of the house of *Austria*: but the two other Cantons should haue leaue to keepe their old leagues. Fourthly, the Garrisons of *Spain* shall be continued for six yeers in *Coire*, *Mainfeld*, and vpon the Frontiers, as necessity shall require; but no new fortification to be made in those parts, except in *Pretigaw*, and those places which did belong to *L E O P O L D*. Fifthly, all Rebels to haue a generall pardon. Sixtly, that free passage should be granted to soldiers through their countrey according to the Capitulation made at *Millan*, Anno 1617; and that all passages should be presently opened, in regard of commerce. The Grisons murmured much against these Articles, pretending that the first made them subiect to a familie, being free States: and that in the Capitulation of *Millan* in the year 1617, they treated as free States; wherein there was no mention made of any subiection to the house of *Austria*, and that *Spain* was to giue three thousand Florens yeerly during the League. The second, they said, restrained their Consciences. Against the third, they objected that it diuided them amongst themselves, and would breed a ciuill warre and make them subiect to any potent Prince that should come to assist either party. The fourth they held very dangerous, pretending that by allowing of Garrisons, they should be still kept in fetters, hauing found by the sort of *Fuertes* what ruins the building of Forts had brought them vnto: Moreouer it had been concluded at the treaty of *Millan* in the year 1617, that the Fort of *Fuertes* should be rased, and no more built againe. They also feared that six yeers being expired, the Spaniard would be as loath to leaue the Countrey as at that present; and although their pardon was promised; yet no man of resolution would sue for it: for that whosoever fought for his countrey, would be ashamed to confesse himselfe a Rebelle to the vanquisher, whose subiect he doth not yet acknowledge himselfe. And vnto the sixt they affirmed, that to giue a strange soldier free passage through their countrey, were to lee- in an Enemy; and so to be subiect to the insolency of souldiers, how kind and louing foucer the Prince which sends them be vnto them. Thus the poore Grisons were ouer-mastered at this Diet at *Lindaw*, and forced to submit to the house of *Austria*, and to acknowledge part of their countrey to be the inheritance of that family; so as Arch- duke *L E O P O L D* resolved to put a Governor into the countrey vnder him. Vpon the ratification of these Articles, there was a surcease of Armes, and the Spanish and Imperiall forces were to depart the Countrey, all but such as should be left in Garrison. But it seemed neither party was contented with this Capitulation: for neither did the souldiers retire as they should haue done; but continued still in the Countrey, and committed great insolencies, contrary to the agreement at *Lindaw*: Neither were the

Objections to the
Articles.

the Grisons in shew well pleased, finding little ease by this accord, being also prest by the Confederate Swissers, and by the French kings Ambassadors, to demanda better conditions: touching the which they had a conference at *Coire*, where the French Ambassadors told them, that if they accepted those Articles, and subiected themselves to the house of *Austria*, the King their Master would hold them for Enemies; seeing that whereas he had entred into League with them as free States, they now acknowledged themselves subiects to that house. Wherefore to free themselves from the feare of this bondage, they must be forced to sic for ayde vnto such Princes as the passage of the *Valtellin* doth most concern; namely the French King, the Duke of *Saoy*, the State of *Venice*, *Lorraine*, *Germany*, the Swissers and others, who it is thought will assist them for their own interest: for if they enioy the *Valtellin* quietly, the Emperor and *Spain* shall haue easy passage for their Armies to ioyne together and assist one another; there being no obstacle, they hauing got these Vallies, wherby they will be fearefull to all the neighbour Princes of Christendom:

But you must attend the euents of these Combuitions, vntill the next yeere.

(* *)

Wants escaped, correct thou.

Folio 571: line 18: they, they, 774: 55: & 54, 579: 55: Plus 1, Plus 2. & 56: who, hoe. 582: 41: Plus 1, Plus 2. 584: 22: scarcely, scarcely. 613: 36: Piccolomini, Piccolomini. 640: 141: getting, going. 641: 11: Florisco, Florisco. 642: 3: Olorio, Olorio. 642: 14: Meados, Baidos. and line 25: Grinaices, Grinaices. 644: 41: yet, it. 645: 6: Bonquet, Bonquet. 645: 40: change charge. 646: 24: in, into. 651: 11: Laudiano, Landiano. 652: 46: being in, being received: and line 49: godly, goodly. 660, 67: souldiers, Souldiers. 670: 53: bataille, batteries. 751: 22: doubted, doubled. 766: 11: Emperour, Cardnall. 767: 33: direct, diuert. 771: 33: employ, undertake: and line 71: Bauria, Bohemia. 782: 41: referue, preserve. 784: 4: Capitane, Capitane. 786: 9: your, their. 801: 8: 21, 1035, 106: 33: go by, go to the, 107: 10: Philip third, Philip the third. 809: 31: obiect, obiects: and line 33: his, this. 812: 6: 12000, 1200: and line 34: Princes, Princes. 813: 35: with, which. 814: 31: houle, houle. 817: 23: Palatine, of Saxony. 826: 23: cup, cap. 828: 1: to yeeld, not to yeeld. 834: 46: the rest, with the rest. 841: 42: the march, his march. 850: 11: Cheine, Chime. and 35: Neppel, Meppel. 165, 38: they been, they had been.

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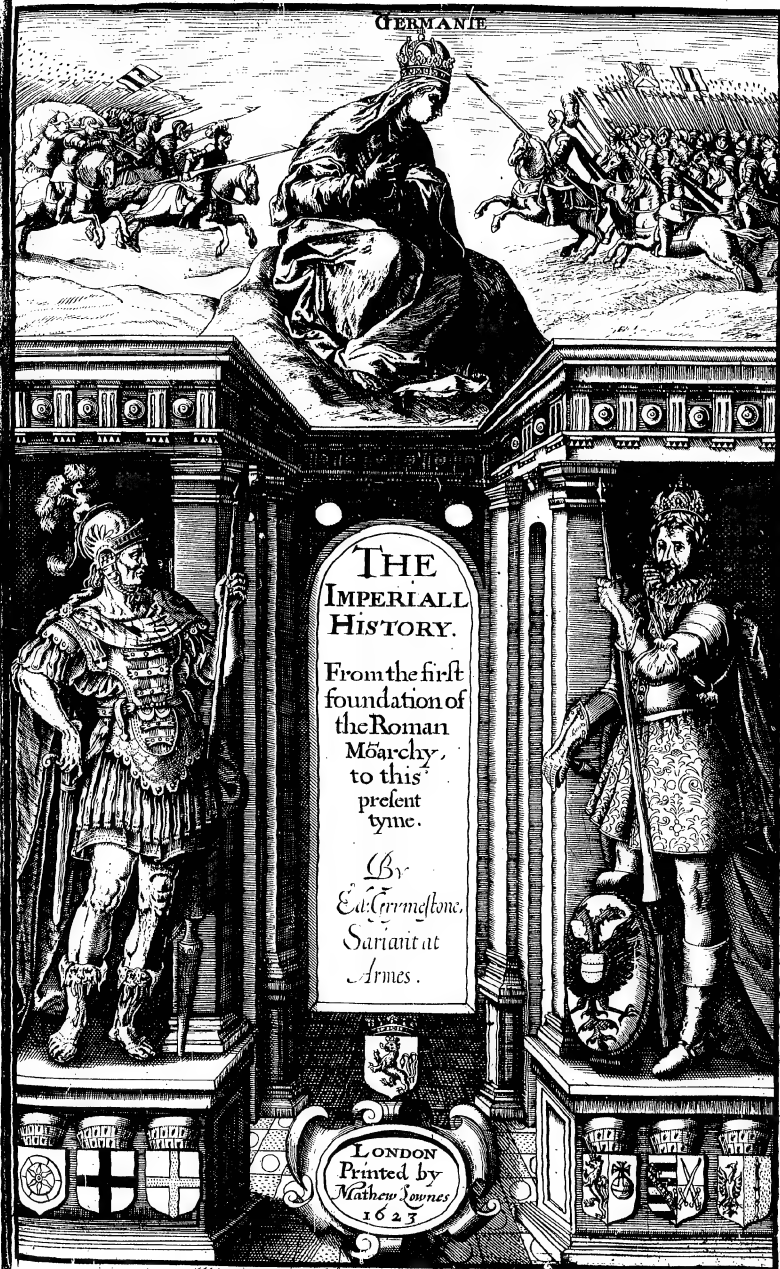
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The names recorded by

Q. You can see the time will not allow
you can say he happened without a second word



THE IMPERIAL HISTORIE:

OR

THE LIVES OF
THE EMPEROVS, FROM
IULIVS CESAR, THE FIRST FOVN-
DER OF THE ROMAN MONARCHY,
VNTO THIS PRESENT
YEERE:

Containing their Liues and Actions,
with the Rising and Declining of that Empire; the Originall,
and Successe, of all those barbarous Nations that haue
inuaded it, and ruined it by peece-meale : With an
ample Relation of all the memorable Accidents
that haue happened during these
last Combuſtions.

First written in Spanish by PEDRO MEXIA : And
ſince continued by ſome others, to the death of MAXIMILIAN
the Second; Translated into English by W. T. : And
now Corrected, amplified and continued to theſe times by
EDWARD GRIMSTON Sergeant
at Armes.



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at the ſigne of the Biſhoppes head in PAULES Church-
yard. 1623.



TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE, LIONEL LORD
CRANFIELD, EARLE OF MIDDLESEX,
 Lord High Treafurer of *England*, and Master
 of his Maiesties Court of Wardes and
 Liueries.



THE treasures of Emperors themselves in their
 stil-preserved Actions, Counsailes and Lines
 (transcending farre their transitory treasures)
 In all Humility I present to your Lordshippes
 preservation and protection; as proper, and pe-
 culiarly due to the Honors of your Office and
 Title, for the most apt correspondency of your
 Iudiciall habilities, to husband and dispose as
 well the Treasures of Counsailes and Actions,
 as of Offices and Reuenues. Of all these Im-
 periall Lines (my truely honoured Lord) most
 of the first Edition I have only weeded, ordered,
 and amplified: The last six are the fruits of
 mine owne Labours. Three of the first I haue
 cast into new Mouldes: And the later I haue faithfully collected according to the most
 Authentick and Impartiall-reputed Authours now extant, together with the confident
 relations of such as haue been eye-witnesses of some of the late Accidents, here offered
 as a Sacrifice to Immortall Memory. Notwithstanding which sufficient acquittall (and
 discharge from blame) of my well-intended Industries, I can no more assure nor promise
 their Approbations, then all other ingenuous and laborious Treasurers of example and
 vertue; though therein they cannot but be commended for cordiall restorations, to redou-
 ble Lives, if not to eternize them. But, in these moderne times, Endeours that profit
 not, receiue acceptances that please not. Yet such was the Bounty and Nobility of all our
 ancient Presidents of Times, that whoeuer committed, to the Monuments of writings;
 eyther the prayes of Cities or singular Men, were euer adorned with Crowns, or Honours.

But in these degenerate yeers of ours; As many other excellent and ornamentall Merits: so these, especially, are left utterly prayselesse and exolette. For since men cease to doe praise-worthy deeds: To be praysed, likewise they thinke thriftlesse and idle. Notwithstanding, what Presents more precious can possibly bee giuen to Men, then Prayse, Glorie, and Eternitie? All which I intentionally and effectually present and ascribe, with all Worthinesse to your Lordshippe, in entitling them to you, in these supremest Personages. For, Whosoever protects and maintaines Vertue and Nobilitie, must necessarily be himselfe both Vertuous and Noble. To the Protection therefore of all the Vertue and Nobility herein made sacred to Eternitie, I only select and inuoke your Honour, in these my humble Dedications; Abiding ever

Your good Lordshippes most

humbly vowed, in all true Duty

and Seruice,


Ed. GRAYSTON.



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THE



THE LIFE OF IVLIVS CAESAR. FOVNDER OF THE EMPIRE AND MONARCHIE OF ROME.

THE ARGVMENT.

Ivlivs Caesar was of a Noble Family, and, returning to Rome from the Pretorship in Spain with great renown, entred into friendship with Marcus Crassus & Gneius Pompey, who were the mightiest Citizens in Rome: and, pacifying the contrariety between them, he obtained the Consulship: which he executed with such gravity and reputation, that his fellow-Consul would not endure to be with him, but retired. Afterwards, giving his daughter Iulia in marriage to Pompey, he went into France; which he subdued, and overcame the Germans. He went afterwards also into Britannie, and by force subdued it to the Roman Empire. Iulia afterwards dying, and Marcus Crassus being slain by the Parthians, mortal discord grew between Caesar and Pompey: the occasion whereof was, for that the second five years of Caesars government of France being expired, it was propounded by Pompeyes faction, that a successor should be sent him: and Caesar desired, that his command in the French Wars might be prolonged, and that in his absence he might demand the Consulship: which being denied him, he made another proposition, that he would give over his army in France, upon condition that Pompey should do the like by his in Spain. Which being also denied, and being enioyned to leave his army, he passed the River Rubicon (limits assigned him which he was not to passe) and, taking the city of Ariminum, he went with such fiery directly to Rome, as Pompey abandoned Italie; and he, following him, in the end overthrew him in Pharsalia. Whereupon Pompey, for refuge repairing to Ptolomey King of Egypt, was in a small Barke, by that Kings direction, slain by the hands of Septimius and Achilla: whose head being (by Ptolomeys command) presented to Caesar, he wept. Afterwards, bending his force against Ptolomey, and overcoming him, he passed into Egypt, and tamed the pride of the Egyptians. Thence he went into Africa, pursuing the remainder of Pompeyes faction; all which he overcame: and Cato being in Utica, unwilling to fall into Caesars hands, slue himself. Caesar, returning to Rome, triumphed: and afterwards going into Spain (after a most cruell battell, wherein he was in danger to have been lost) he overthrew Sextus Pompeius, eldest son of the great Pompey: and, returning to Rome, he took upon him the Dictatorship. Where, finally, Decius, Marcus Brutus, Gaius Cassius, Gaius Calpa, Attilius Cimber, Quintus Ligarius, Marcus Spurius, Cornelius Cinna, with many other principall Romans, conspiring against him, he was slain in the Senat, being of the age of 56 years, upon the fifteenth day of March, with 23 wounds; many prodigious signes of his death appearing both before and afterwards: which hindered his passage against the Parthians, and many other high designs, which he refused to have undertaken.

Being to write the liues of the Roman Emperours, which held the Monarchie of the world; or, to speak more properly, to reduce them into a brief *Compendium* (a work in truth of waight and troublesome, requiring an active spirit, and a more eloquent pen than mine) I should it no small difficulty to begin with IVLIVS CAESAR, of whom I am first to treat. Who although he were but Dictator, and not stiled Emperour, in that sense of Lord and Sovereign, as his Successors afterwards held it, yet he was the fore-runner, and made the way to this Monarchie: and all succeeding Emperours have held it a glory to be called CAESARS after his name. His exploits were such and so many, and Historics are so fraught with them, that I should it as great a difficulty to relate them briefly, as to write them confusedly. Wherefore, out of so large and copious a field, I will only collect that which I shall hold

All Emperours
sooke the first name
of Caesar.

fitst for the Subject of this Work; yet handling it with convenient brevity: notwithstanding (he being the *basis* and foundation of this stately Building) it will be needfull I should extend my self much more in this, than in the rest which shall follow. As for his other braue achievements, I will refer the Reader to those many books which make honourable mention of CÆSAR, and to the content which is generally conceiv'd of his virtues and worthy endeavours.

Among all the glorious actions of IVLIVS CÆSAR, the greatest in my opinion, and which breeds most admiration, is, how he durst project, then put it in practice, and lastly bring it to effect, to make himself Lord of the Roman State (the which was Lady and Mistress of the greatest and most habitable part of the world) and of all that shee had subdued during the space of 700 years: for, so long it was from the first foundation of Rome, vntill that IVLIVS CÆSAR seized vpon the government of the Common-weal: whereof there were 240 yeeres vnder the absolute command of Kings, and the rest vnder the government of Consuls, who were chosen by the people, except some fewe yeeres, in which the Tribunes and Decemviri bare the sway. Doubtlesse, a short time to raise and get so great an Empire as the Romans had obtained, whereas CÆSAR, of a free State, made it subject to the command of One, whose Empire without doubt exceeded all others both for continuance, extent and power: the which is confirmed by many approved Writers. Wherefore, omitting all other Kingdoms and Common-weals, we are not to bee paralleld with this, I will make mention onely of the greatest and most famous which at the first were called Monarchies; namely, the Assyrians, Persians and Macedonians: all which the Roman Empire did far exceed. As for the Assyrians and Babylonians, which is the most antient of all Monarchies, during the space of 1240 yeeres (for, so long it continued, according to the computation of Saint AVOSTINE) it never extended it self out of the bounds of *Asia*, nor had any footing in *Affrick* or *Europe*. Neither were the Medes more powerful: of which Kingdome ARBATES was the first Founder; by the ruine and death of SARDANAPALVS King of the Assyrians, overthrowing the first Monarchie. Then the Persians extinguished the Medes by the powerful hand of CYRVS; and this shall bee accounted the second Monarchie: who although they made some irruption into *Europe* (as that of XERXES and others) and in *Asia* grew more powerful than those which had gone before, yet it continued not above 200 and odd yeeres; and they were ruined, with DARIVS their King, by ALEXANDER, the Great, King of *Macedon*. We cannot deny, but that his Empire was of a greater extent than any of the above-named: for, he had vnder his obedience a great part of *Europe*, and hee subdued in a manner all *Asia*: and this is held for the third Monarchie; but it was like a flash of lightning, burning all it encounters, and is soon extinct: for, with the death of ALEXANDER, his power decayed. Then grew factions, and diuerse Kingdoms were erected; so as it is apparant, that the Roman Empire exceeded them all both in time, greatness and power. In time, being not much lesse than 2300 yeeres since Rome was built, and yet the name of the Roman Empire continueth vnto this day. For the space of 1300 yeeres it still increased, and hath neuer since been held the most predominant power of all others. In extent of dominions & power; for, it is most certain, that, vnting whatsoever the others held, it will scarce equal the one half of the Roman Empire. For, laying aside whatsoever the Emperours did adde vnto it, before that IVLIVS CÆSAR did seize vpon the State, they had subdued the best part of the world. In *Europe* they were Masters of all *Italie*, and *Gallia Cisalpina* or *Lombardie*, *Austria* and *Illyricum*, now called *Sclavania*; and they extended themselves as farre as the river of *Danubius*: they had subdued all *Greece* (some yeelding voluntarily; others, by force) the States of *Athens*, *Lacedæmon*, *Thebes*, *Corinth*, and all *Peloponessus*, now called *Morea*, with their Territories; the Kingdoms of *Macedon*, & *Epirus* now *Albania*, and in like manner *Thracia*. They held the Ilands of *Sicilie*, *Sardynia*, *Crete* or *Cande*, *Cyprus*, *Rhodes*, *Eubæa*, now *Negropont*, with many other Ilands in the Mediterranean Sea. They also subdued *Spain* (but with more difficulty and opposition than any of the rest) and in like manner all *France*, with that part of *Germanie* which lies on this side the *Rhine*, called the Lower, or *Gallia Belgica*, which was the work of CÆSAR himself; and in like manner that of *Britannie*, vnder which are comprehended *England* and *Scotland*. They were Masters of all *Affrick* (which is the third part of the world) that is to say, of the fruitfulllest and most habitable parts, having ruined proud *Carthage*. In *Asia* they had subdued the greatest and best Prouinces, and made them their Subjects and Tributaries: among the which were *Syria* called *Soria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestina*, *Iudea*, *Phrygia*, *Caria*, *Cilicia*, and *Bithinia* by the last will and testament of King NICOEDRUS. The Kings of *Egypt* and *Cappadocia* were their friends and confederates; and they had a commanding power in *Armenia*, *Colchos*, and other Prouinces. *Albania*, *Iberia*,

Iberia, and some other Countries, did them homage, and paid them tribute: which Countries had been vanquished by them, and many Kings and valliant Captains slain. Finally, they were Lords of so many Cities and Prouinces, as it were an endlesse labour to set them down in particular; and their power was so great, as no forces but their owne were able to annoy them. But afterwards, discord and ambition creeping into this State which was so free and powerful, what forren force could not effect, they wrought with their owne Arms, and triumphed ouer themselves. The cause of all this grew through the discord between POMPEY and IVLIVS CÆSAR, which two were at that time the most eminent and powerful men in Rome; and yet at the same Instant there were other Citizens of great esteem. But, the root of this hatred grew from a further cause, that is, from the factions and ciuill war between SCILLA and MARIVS: in which, MARIVS being slain, SCILLA made himself Dictator, and seized vpon Rome; yet before his death hee gaue it ouer, and left the City at liberty. POMPEY had followed SCILLA's faction, and done braue exploits for him: but CÆSAR had sided with MARIVS, being his kinsman, and at that time very young. This was the seed from whence sprung the ciuill war between them. But, it shall be needfull to relate some former matters, for the better vnderstanding of the occasions which went before, and the success which followed; the which wee will describe briefly after this manner: The warr and power of SCILLA being ended, GNEIUS POMPEIUS and MARCVS CRASSVS (who had also followed that partie) remaining in great reputation, the one sought to supplant the other, so as there grew some jars between them, which began during the life of SCILLA. CRASSVS grew very powerful: for, besides his Wisdom, Nobility and Eloquence, he was very rich beyond all the other Citizens of his time. POMPEY also became famous and much esteemed, besides the succession he had by SCILLA, for his great victories and valliant exploits in Arms performed in SCILLA's time and since, both by sea and land, in *Affrick*, *Spain* and *Asia*, the which are so many and so great, as I dare not relate them. The deeds of these two eminent Persons being growne to this height, and their quarrels increasing daily as the heads of factions (and yet at the same time there were others of great note within the City, as CATO, CICERO, LENTVLVS, and others) during these alterations, IVLIVS CÆSAR returned to Rome from his Pretorship in *Spain* with great reputation; yet his ambitious thoughts aimed at greater matters, both in regard of the greatness of his house (for, by the fathers side, hee was of a Noble and very antient Family; and by the mother hee descended from the Kings of Rome, who were extracted from *Æneas* of *Troy*), and for his many allies and friends, being also very witty and eloquent. He had also purchased great credit and authority in the managing of those charges which had been committed vnto him. He had bin Questor in *Spain*, Tribune of the souldiers, *Edile*, high-priest and Pretor; having gotten victories in *Spain* against the Inhabitants of *Galitia* and *Portugal*; adding to all this, his merits and vertues, being bountifull, wise and learned in all good Arts, most active in the managing of Arms both on foot and horse-back; very valliant and strong, whereof he made great proofs before he had any command in the wars of *Asia*, vnder the Pretor MARCVS TERMO, and SERVLIVS the Proconsul; where hee obtained a Ciuitall Crowne. He was, moreover, of a good constitution of body, tall of stature, fair, strong of his members, and very patient of labour. For all which considerations and many others, hee was in great esteem; but neither by his authority nor placeable to equal MARCVS CRASSVS or POMPEY, for that the roots of their greatness had been of long continuance.

CÆSAR being come to Rome, with a secret intent to make himself greater than either of them; CRASSVS and POMPEY affected his friendship, by whose help they might supplant one another. But CÆSAR, being discreet and wise, would not follow any party, nor tie himself to defend their actions; but, carrying himself indifferently, he laboured to reconcile them, having a conceit, that, if he carried himself as a Neuter, they would both yeeld vnto his will: and this his cunning practice (as PLUTARCH reports) was onely discovered by M. CATO. In the end, by his endeavours a peace was concluded between them, being both bound vnto him: yet, being still jealous one of another, and fearing to lose CÆSAR, they both sought to gratifie him: and in this sort he made himself equal to either of them; and that power which two had formerly sluped, was now diuided between three; and in the end wee shall see who got the sole command. This league and attornment being made, CÆSAR demanded the Consulship, which is the greatest ordinary dignity. He carried himself in this charge with such reputation, as his fellow Consul BIVLVS neuer accompani'd him, but kept himself retired during his Consulship. CÆSAR, the better to maintain the credit and authority which he had got, and

and to attain to the greatnes whereunto he aspired, he himself took to wife CALPHURNIA, the daughter of L V E I V S P I S O, who was to succeed him in the Consulare; and hee gave I V L I A his daughter in marriage to P O M P E Y, rejecting her former spouse S E R V I L I V S C E P T I O, by whose help he had a little before crost his Colleague B I B V L I V S C Æ S A R S consullship being ended, these three Confederates being equally greedy of honour, they easily made a match to invade the Common-weal. C Æ S A R made choise of *Gaul or France* for his Province; C R A S S V S, of *Asia*; and P O M P E Y, of *Spain*: whicher they went with three puissant Armies. And thus the whole world was to be held by three Princes in partnership. The exploits of C Æ S A R in his Province, what battels he fought, what victories he won, what cities and people he subdued, what stratagems, policy and valour he used (this warre continuing little lesse than ten years) I cannot relate, my meaning being to observe brevity. He left excellent Commentaries of his owne deeds, and full of truth; the which were approved by his very enemies, and much commended by C I C E R O. Yet A S I N I V S P O L L I O (envying C Æ S A R S vertues) doth in some things tax him. They are also written by P L V T A R C H, S V E T O N I V S, A P P I A N V S, A L E X A N D R I N V S, L V C A N, P A V L V S O R O S I V S, L V C I V S F L O R V S, E V T R O P I V S, and many other: to whom I refer the Reader. C Æ S A R got such reputation in this war, as he was held the greatest Captain of his time, yea, or of those that were in former Ages. He subdued all *France*, from the *Pyrene* Mountains vnto the *Alps*, and all the remainder vnto the river of *Rhine*. Hee first vanquished the *Swissers* and *Tigorins*, who (as P L V T A R C H affirms) were 300000 men, wherof 190000 were well trained vp in Arms. He conquered the *Germaines*, with A R I O V I S T V S their Leader, who had invaded *France*, from whence he expelled them. He subdued the *Belgii*, the *Ambiani* and *Neruii*, with other warlike people of *France*, and he spilt more blood than euer was in any wars in the world. Then, passing the *Rhine* vpon a bridge of wood which he built, he subdued the *Germaines* to the Roman Empire; and, finding no more opposition there, hee past with his Army into *Brittanie*, which was inhabited by a fierce Nation, not till that time knowne by any traffick or commerce: these hee forced to subiect themselves to the Roman State. During the continuance of these warres, in which C Æ S A R got great spoils and wealth, he neuer left to purchase to himself friends, both in *Rome* and in all other places, both by letters and gifts, and in like manner with the Kings and Cities of *Asia*, *Greece*, and other Countries; sending them aids of men, without any leaue or authority from the Senate: the which he might safely do, as long as the league continued betwixt him, P O M P E Y and C R A S S V S. He won men vnto him, and was much beloued of his souldiers, giving them double pay, and bestowing honours vpon others: by which means (P O M P E Y not foreseeing it) he grew to such power and reputation, as he began to fear him when hee was not able to suppress him. But now that strict league of friendship, which had been betwixt these two, began to dissolue, for that the pawn which maintained it was taken away; so as there grew a mutual fear & jealousy betwixt them; first, by the death of I V L I A, C Æ S A R S daughter, who marrying to P O M P E Y entertained concord between the son and the father-in-law, by the league of nuptiall loue; secondly, by the death of M A R C V S C R A S S V S, the third man in this company, who was slain by the *Parthians* in *Asia*, whither he went to make war (as some write) more to heape vp riches, than to win honour; whose reputation notwithstanding was a support to their good agreement. So as the chief causes, wherupon their friendship was grounded, being taken away, their emulation presently brake forth. P O M P E Y was jealous of C Æ S A R S greatnes; and C Æ S A R hardly endured P O M P E Y S supereminency; the one brookt no equal; the other, no superior. Whereupon they fell to warre, which was the greatest and most generall that euer was: for, in it there were engaged the Senate, all the Roman Legions, all their friends and subjects, Kings and Cities, for the one or the other partie. On the one side were eleuen Legions, on the other eighteen; all Roman and Italian souldiers, with all the forces of *Rome*, besides the aids of their confederates. This war was managed in *Italie*, *France*, *Spain*, *Epirus*, *Thessalie*, *Egypt*, *Asia* and *Africk*; by themselves or their Lieutenants; and in the end, after five yeers, it died in *Spain*. Some Authors set down the causes of this ciuill war, although they vary in some points: but the truth is, the chief reasons were enuy, ambition, and desire of command, wherewith they were both infected: and the one jealous of the others greatnes (as if the Roman Empire had not been sufficient for them two) the one sought to ruine the other. That P O M P E Y had any intent to vsurp the State, and become a Tyrant, it doth not appear: but it is apparant, he would not haue C Æ S A R attain to that dignity whciin he was. Of C Æ S A R some write, that being forced through fear he came to Arms, lest he should see himself called in

question, and condemned: for, C A T O had threatned to accuse him whensoever hee should giue-ouer his Province. Others object, that he had alwaies a desire to vsurp the State, and therefore, balancing his power with P O M P E Y S, he thought it behoouefull to entertain friendship and contract an alliance with him. C I C E R O saith, that he had alwaies in his mouth that verse of E V R I P I D E S, that If it were lawfull to infringe the lawes, it was for a Kingdom; and that C Æ S A R, being greedy of command, could not endure to be without an Army: but, in my opinion, the reasons were such as haue been related; and these, the occasions.

This being the last of the second five yeers of C Æ S A R S gouernment in *France*, L E N T V L V S and M A R C E L L V S being Consuls, and of P O M P E Y S faction; it was propounded in the Senate, to send a Successor to C Æ S A R, and that hee should giue-ouer his gouernment and the Army; and if he would (as he had written) demand the Consulship, he should com to *Rome* in person. C Æ S A R demanded, that his command in the war might be prolonged, and the gouernment which he had, and that he might demand the Consulship being absent, before he gaue-ouer his Armie, which honoret Tribunes had formerly granted him, with P O M P E Y S good liking. But now P O M P E Y would not yeeld vnto it, as being against the lawes, which did not allow any man to demand the Consulship but present; forgetting, that he had been made Consul before he came to lawfull age, and had attained to other dignities, contrary to the ordinarie course of law. But it is the common condition of men, To blame that in another which they allow in themselves.

This being denied to C Æ S A R, he made another proposition; that hee would leaue his Army, and come to *Rome* as a priuate man, so as P O M P E Y would giue-ouer his which he held in *Spain*. This was put to the question, and did cause a great distraction in the Senate. C I C E R O interposed himself, labouring to reconcile them, and to conclude their jars with peace. P O M P E Y would haue been tractable, had not those of his faction, being of the prime men of *Rome*, stood proudly vpon teams; who (notwithstanding any iust and reasonable conditions propounded by C Æ S A R) were inflexible. It was therefore decreed in Senate, that C Æ S A R, by a certain time prefixed, should leaue his Army, and that hee should not passe it ouer the river of *Rubicon*, which did bound in his Province; declaring him an enemy to the Roman State if he did otherwise. L V C I V S A N T O N I V S and Q V I N T V S C V R I O, Tribunes of the people, fauouring C Æ S A R, opposed themselves to this decree: but they were disgraced, ill-treated, and thrust out of the Senate. Whereupon, they fled out of *Rome*, and went to C Æ S A R: the which was a great help to him to win the hearts of his souldiers, for that the office of the Tribunes was held sacred and inuiolable.

C Æ S A R hearing how matters had past, seeing himself deprived of all future hope of peace; he marcht speedily from *Ranenna*, onely with 5000 foot, and 300 horse, commanding his Legions to follow presently after, and to ioyn with him. Coming afterwards to *Rubicon* (which if he should passe, there would be no hope of peace remaining) some say that he staid there a good space; considering with himself, of what importance this passage was, and what miseries would ensue. P L V T A R C H writes, that he discoursed thereof with A S I N I V S P O L L I O, and other his friends which did accompany him. A P P I A N V S A L E X A N D R I N V S reports, that hee used these words, Doublelesse, if I forbear to passe this river, it will be the beginning of my ruine; if I passe it, the ruine will be generall. And S V E T O N I V S writes, that turning towards the river, he said, It is yet in our power to turn back; but, passing the river, wee must make our way with our weapons. He writes, moreover, that C Æ S A R standing thus doubtfull and irresolute, he was animated by the apparition of a man of an extraordinary stature & shape, fitting neer vnto his Army, piping vpon a reed. Besides the shepheards and herdsmen, many souldiers left their guards, and went down to hear him, and with them some Trumpeters; so as hee caught hold of one of their trumpets, and leapt forth to the river, beginning with a mighty blast to sound the battell, and so went on his pafte to the bank on the other side. Then, with a furious resolution, C Æ S A R cried out, Let vs go whither the gods, and the injurious dealings of our enemies, do call vs: The dice are cast. I haue set vp my Rest, come what will of it. After which words, he set spurs to his horse, and past the river, the whole Army following him. In this manner he resolved: which was the beginning of the ciuill war, and of *Romes* seruitude, and the first step to a Monarchy and the foueraigne command of one, as I will briefly set it down.

Whoso desires to haue a full view of this History, let him read A P P I A N V S A L E X A N D R I N V S, S V E T O N I V S, P L V T A R C H in the liues of C Æ S A R, C A T O, and C I C E R O; Saint A V G V S T I N A lib. 3. de ciuit. Dei, I V L I V S C Æ S A R himself in his Commentaries, L V C I V S

FLORVS, *hijf. 4.* TITVS LIVIVS his Abbreviats, PAVLVS OROSIVS, EVTROPIVS, 6. *hijf.* LVCAN, PLINIE *de viris illuſtribus*, VALERIVS MAXIMVS, with diuerſe others.

CÆSAR having paſt the river, and drawn his whole Army together, where (as SVETO- NIVS writes) the Tribunes of the Commons came vnto him, in baſe and diſhonourable garments, with the which they had fledde from *Rome*; there hee made an excellent Oration to his ſouldiers, ſhedding ſome tears, and tearing his garment down the breaſt, laying before them the equiry of his cauſe, and craving their helps and aſſiſtance. To whom hauing with a generall applauſe and conſent made anſwer, that they were ready to obey his will, he parted preſently, and the next day came to *Ariminum*, whereon he ſeized: the like hee did to all the Towns and Caſtles where he paſt. DOMITIVS, who in a ſaſcious tumult had been nominated his Succeſſour in *Gaul*, held *Corfinium* with a gariſon of 30 Cohorts: which being taken, he pardoned the ſouldiers and inhabitants, and intreated DOMITIVS kindly, giuing him leaue to depart (who went preſently to POMPEY) which was an act of a Noble and generous minde: the which, CÆSAR obſerued in all his victories during the ciuill war; by which clemency he purchaſed to himſelf as great honour, as by his victories.

CÆSARS reſolution being knowne at *Rome*, it troubled POMPEY, amazed the Senat, and terrified the common people; and it would be tedious to relate what pious ſions they made. POMPEY was much deceiued, for that hee could not beleue that CÆSAR would thruſt himſelf into ſo great a danger, or that hee ſhould be able to raiſe ſufficient forces to reſiſt him: but the ſucceſs proved otherwiſe. For, notwithstanding that he had authority from the Conſuls and Senate to leaue ſouldiers, to call home the legions, and to ſend Captains for the deſenſe of diuerſe cities of *Italie* whereas CÆSAR ſhould paſſe, yet all this was not ſufficient to reſiſt CÆSARS fury, and the power he brought with him. The fame of his coming increaſing daily, POMPEY with the whole Senat abandoned *Rome*, going to *Capua*, and from thence to *Brundifium*, a ſea-town vpon the confines of *Italie*, ſeated at the mouth of the gulf of *Venice*; where he gaue order, the Conſuls ſhould paſſe to *Durrachium*, now called *Durrazzo*, a ſea-town of *Macedonie* (whereof a great part is now called *Albania*) to vntie all their forces; being out of hope to be able to reſiſt CÆSAR in *Italie*, who had already taken *Corfinium*, as I haue formerly ſaid: where, hauing drawn DOMITIVS Cohorts to ſerue him, hee marcht on; and, hearing that POMPEY and the Conſuls were together at *Brundifium*, he went towards them with his Legions with all the ſpeed hee could. But POMPEY had fortified himſelf ſufficiently to make deſenſe; yet vpon CÆSARS approach, beginning to inueſt the Town, he imbarke himſelf in the night time, and ſo paſt ouer to *Durrachium*, where the Conſuls attended him. And thus CÆSAR remained in *Italie* without reſiſtance; being very doubtfull what to reſolve: for, although he would gladly haue followed POMPEY, yet he had no prouiſion of ſhips: and, by reaſon that it was winter, ſhipping could not come ſo ſoon as was requiſite; and conſidering withall, how much it imported, not to leaue any enemy behinde him, which might cauſe any alteration in *France* or *Italie* by his abſence, he reſolued to deſerre the purſuit of POMPEY, and to take his way towards *Spain*, which held for POMPEY: where he had his beſt legions, and two captains, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS. SVETONIVS TRANQVILLVS ſaith, that when hee had thus reſolued, he ſaid to his friends, Let vs firſt go againſt an Army which is without a Captain; and afterwards let vs return againſt the Captain that hath neuer an Army: for, the ſouldiers that POMPEY had in *Spain* were valiant, and had been long trained vp in Arms; but their Commanders, PETREIVS and AFRANIVS, were not held for politick or expert in the wars. And, on the contrary, POMPEY was moſt wiſe, and a very valiant Captain: but the ſouldiers which he had with him were newly leuied, and of ſmall experience.

Returning from *Brundifium*, in ſixty daies, without blouſhed or battell, CÆSAR became Lord of all *Italie*; and coming to *Rome*, they were in very great fear, remembering the cruelties committed in the time of SYLLA: But CÆSAR, vſing his accuſtomed clemency, did hurt no man of any degree, high or low; but called to the Senate thoſe Senators which remained, and which came with him, comforting euery one with milde and good words, and laying the whole fault vpon POMPEY, in accuſing him of all things which had hapned, and of this diſcord. He ſought by all means to juſtifie his owne cauſe, and declared how much hee did then and euer had deſired peace, and therewith requeſted that Embaſſadors might be ſent to POMPEY to procure the ſame; and, cauſing himſelf to be preſently choſen Conſul, he opened the Roman Treafury, notwithstanding that METELLVS, one of the Tribunes of the people, was deſirous and went about to hinder the ſame. The treafure which hee took from thence he diuided among
his

his ſouldiers: which, as PLINIE in his three and thirtieth Book reports, was very great; the which LVCAN alſo affirmeth. Theſe things being ended, and CÆSAR deſirous to go from *Rome* into *Spain* (like a wife and diſcreet Captain) firſt took order aſwell for the ciuill government, as for the wars; and, making choiſe of the legions which were to go with him, hee left part of his troops in *Brundifium* and *Oſtiano*, and in other ſtrong places vpon the Sea ſide, to keepe POMPEY from landing if he ſought to return into *Italie*. He alſo nominated HORTENſIVS and DOLABELLA for his Captains, to make prouiſion of ſhipping to be brought to the port of *Brundifium*, there to bee in a readineſſe againſt his return from his journey. QVINTVS VALERIVS hee ſent with a legion to *Sardinia* againſt MARCVS COTTA, which held the ſame for POMPEY. To *Sicilia* he ſent CVRIVS againſt MARCVS CATO, with direction, that hauing taken the ſame, hee ſhould paſſe ouer into *Africa*. LEPIDVS hee left in *Rome*, as Prefect of the city; and MARCVS ANTONIVS, for Gouernor of all *Italie*: and, determining to leaue LICINIVS CRASSVS in *France*, with his accuſtomed celerity he went on his journey, and found no reſiſtance, neither in *Italie*, nor in *France*, but onely at *Marſelles*, which held for POMPEY: who (in my opinion) more like bould and aduenturous friends, than wife men, would not receiue nor lodge him in their city, but put themſelues in Arms againſt him for their deſenſe. CÆSAR coming thither beſieged the City; and, to avoid loſſe of time, left DECIVS BRVTVS and CAIVS TREBONIVS with ſufficient forces, who continued the ſiege, and endured much: he himſelf followed his way into *Spain*, where his coming was already knowne; and AFRANIVS and PETREIVS attended him, with the aid of their friends, and foure Roman legions; between which and CÆSAR the warres continued many daies, and chiefly neer the city of *Lerida*. In the beginning, CÆSAR was in great danger and much diſtreſſed, aſwell through want of victuals, as by reaſon of the winter being com, which annoyed him with the ſwelling of rivers: before and after which, there paſſed many great ſkirmiſhes and conflicts between the two Armies, and other accidents and adventures too long to bee recounted. Finally, CÆSAR knew how to make war in ſuch ſort, as, without giuing them opportunity to come to a battell, he brought his aduerſaries to ſuch extremity and diſtreſſe, as periſhing with hunger they came to a compoſition; which was, that to the legions (who now were able neither to offend nor defend) ſhould be granted liberty to depart & to go whither they would: which was performed accordingly; and PETREIVS and AFRANIVS went to POMPEY; and part of the legions, which would not abide with CÆSAR, had leaue to do as they liſted; CÆSAR ſtill perfeuering in his clemency and mildneſſe.

This war being ended, and the ſpring come (not to leaue any thing in *Spain* to be ſubdued) he paſſed forwards, and came into the prouiſe of *Beſica*, now called *Andaluſia*, with part of his forces, leauing commandement with the Armie to march whither hee had appointed, and there to ſtay for him, becauſe that MARCVS VARRO, being POMPEY'S Lieutenant in that prouiſe, held it for him, with one legion of good ſouldiers: but not daring to oppoſe himſelf againſt CÆSAR, he peaceably yeelded vp vnto him both the country and the legion; and ſo all was pacified, and at his command. Thence hee went to *Cordona*, where hee called a parliament, and an aſſembly of all the eſtates of that prouiſe: wherein, among other things which there were treated of, hee highly commending the Cordouneſe and Seullians which had taken his part (as himſelf writeth) marched forwards, and viſiting the prouiſe hee came to the Iſle and city of *Cales*; and, prouiſing there certain neceſſaries, hee took the ſhippes and gallies which MARCVS VARRO had there in a readineſſe, and ſuch other as hee could get, and imbarke himſelf. And, leauing QVINTVS CASSIVS with foure legions in that prouiſe, hee took his paſſage by ſea to *Tarazona*, lending commandement by land to his legions to march thither: where hauing in few daies taken order for that prouiſe, hee departed with his Army towards *Narbona*, and from thence to *Marſelles*: which yeelded vnto him, hauing in the ſiege and assaults endured many calamities. CÆSAR, nothing reſpecting the ſmall regard and ingratitude of that city, but the antiquity and fame thereof, would not permit any violence to be offered to the citizens & inhabitants; but, leauing a ſufficient gariſon to guard the ſame, hee commanded his legions by appointed journeys to march towards *Italie*: himſelf, with a neceſſary guard for his perſon, and others in his company, took paſſage for *Rome*; all things ſucceeding proſperouſly with him, although that ſome of his Captains had ill ſucceſſe. For CAIVS ANTONIVS, whom (we ſaid) he left with DOLABELLA for Captain of his Nauie, was ouerthrowne and taken priſoner in the gulf of *Venice* by OCTAVIVS, POMPEY'S Lieutenant. At this overthrow there was an Act don worthy to be recommended with honour to poſterity. ANTHO-

Cæſar going into Spain againſt Petreus and Afranius.

Cæſar ſubdued all Spain.

The taking of Marſelles, and Cæſar's return to Rome.

NIE was constrained to ship his souldiers in long boats for want of feruiceable ships; the which were taken by a stragem as in a toyl, by the Pompeians, who tied ropes vnder the water. One of them, which carried almost a thousand Opitergins, young men and valiant, was intangled in this snare, and was assaulted by the power of the whole Armie, they making resistance from morning vntill night: but, in the end being opprest by the multitudes of their enemies, and seeing no means to escape by their valour, by the encouragement of VVLTVS their Colonel they flue one another. And DOLABELLA was likewise overcome neer to the Ile of *Cœyra*, now called *Corfu*; and CVRIVS, who (according to CÆSARS commandement) went into *Africa* with two legions, hauing in the beginning good successe, was afterwards ouerthrowne, and the most part of his people slain by POMPEY'S friend, IVBA King of *Mauritania*, which is now the Kingdom of *Fez*: hee might haue fled away, but shame perswaded him to dy with that Armie which his rashnes had cast away.

CÆSAR being comen to *Rome*, and made Dictator (as PLVTARCH and APPIANVS testifie) new Consuls were chosen; and he, being one of them, deposed himself from his Dictatorship, and so, changing and prouiding Pretors for the prouinces at his pleasure, sending MARCVS LEPIDVS into *Spain*, and AVLVVS ALBINVS into *Sicilia*, SEXTVS PEDVCEIVS into *Sardinia*, and DECIVS BRVTVS into *France*, and taking such further order as he thought good, he departed from *Rome* in the month of December towards *Brundisium*: whether hee commanded all his Forces to march, there to take passage for *Macedonia*, the greatest part whereof (as I said) is now called *Albania*; where he knew that POMPEY staid with his Armie. Who, all one whole yeer, which CÆSAR spent in his journey into *Spain*, busied himself in prouiding a Naue to return into *Italie*, and in gathering treasure, and in leuying souldiers for that purpose, and had made ready a wonderful great prouision of all things. For, there came vnto him ships, mony and men, from many kingdoms, prouinces and cities of *Asia* and *Grecia*, from *Syria*, *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cilicia*, *Phœnicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Pamphilia*, *Armenia* the lesse, *Egypt*, *Grecia*, *Thessalia*, *Boëtia*, *Achaia*, *Epire*, *Athens*, *Lacedæmonia*, and the Iles of *Creta*, *Rhodes*, and many other parts and countries: there came also to his aid, in person, the Kings, DEJOTARVS and ARIOPARZANES. Of which people, and of those which he brought with him from *Italie*, POMPEY had drawne together a great Armie by land, and an exceeding great number of ships and gallies by sea; which I do not set down, by reason of the diuersity of opinions between Authours touching the number of his souldiers and of CÆSARS: for certain, they were very mighty Armies, but the greatest number were of POMPEY'S side. Who imagining (because that it was in the hart of winter) that CÆSAR should not be able, nor haue time, commodiously to passe the seas; and hauing (as indeed he had) aduertisement that CÆSAR was in *Rome*, he diuided and lodged his people in *Macedonia* and *Thessalia*, retiring himself from the sea, commanding and charging his Captains by sea (of which, MARCVS BRVTVS was chiefe) that they should guard and defend the coast. But CÆSAR knowing, that in the speedy execution consisted the principall point of his victory, and that occasion once let slip is seldom recovered; being departed from *Rome*, and arriued at *Brundisium* (as we haue before said) notwithstanding that all his legions were not yet come, yet he embarked aboard those ships which hee had there in readinesse, so many as they could contain, which were seuen legions of his choise men (as he himself recordeth) and sent commandement to those which were comiing, to make haste, to the end they should join with the rest which there remained, whom he would speedily send for. And so hee departed from *Brundisium*, now called *Brindes*, in the beginning of Ianuare: and, crossing the seas with prosperous weather, the third day after, he arriued vpon the coast of *Macedonia*, before that POMPEY had any intelligence of his embarking; and, letting his people on shore in the despite of POMPEY'S Captains, hee commanded the ships and gallies presently to returne to *Brundisium* to fetch the rest of his Armie which hee had there left and commanded to come. And the wars beginning, hee presently seized vpon the cities of *Apollonia*, which is now called *Bellona*, and *Erico*, diuising from thence LVCIVS TORQVATVS and LVCIVS STRABERIVS, which held the same for POMPEY: who as soon as he was aduertised of CÆSARS landing, with the greatest speed possible sending for his troops (such as were neere at hand) hee marched towards *Dyrachium*, where lay all his victuall, munition, and prouision for the warres, doubting that CÆSAR would come to surpris the same, as in truth he did; but in vain: for, the situation thereof made it inexpugnable.

POMPEY being come, their Camps were lodged within few forlongs one of the other, a river running between them: there passed many aduentures, skirmishes, and also some treaties of peace,

peace which CÆSAR offred; the which were not accepted by POMPEY, so much he assured himself of his power: and CÆSAR daily expecting the coming of his other legions, who staid longer than he thought they ought to haue done, without the which hee thought it no wisdom to come to a battell, being much grieved, and very careful for the same, hee resolved in person, with three confident seruants onely, secretly to embark himself in a Brigandine, and to passe that freight of the sea to fetch them, thinking to be able to perform the same without the knowledge of any. And, putting it in execution accordingly, hee passed down the river to the sea, which hee found so troubled and tempestuous, as the Master of the Brigandine (not knowing whom hee carried) nor daring to passe any further, would haue returned. Then CÆSAR, discouraging his face, as it is reported, said, Be not afraid, Friend: for, thou carriest with thee CÆSAR and all his fortune. The Master, heere with encouraged, strived to hold on his voyage: but, at length, the force of the tempest was so great, and the winde so contrary, that (notwithstanding CÆSARS courageous words) they were constrained to return, vnable to passe anie further forwards. Which being vnderstood in his Armie, they much wondred, grieved, and murmured thereat; praising him more for a valiant Knight, than a wise Captain: and so VALERIVS MAXIMVS recounts it for a rash aduenture; which, in my opinion, was the occasion why IVLIVS CÆSAR records it not in his Commentaries.

This being past, within fewe daies after, ANTONIVS arriued with foure of those legions which were left behinde in *Italie*, presently returning the ships back again for the rest: and (after some aduentures which hapned) joyning with CÆSARS Armie, and all things set in good order (and the like being done on POMPEY'S side) there passed some things between them, which for breuitie I omit, vntill that neer to the city of *Dyrachium* (whither CÆSAR went, with a determination to haue surpris the same, and POMPEY to relieue it) the two Armies lodged themselves the one so neer the other, as there were daily skirmishes and slaughters of men of either partie; and that one day the skirmish waxing hot, and rescues coming from either Armie, it came to a battell: wherein the successe was such, that CÆSARS troops began to flee, and could not be made to stand by any intreaties or threats, till they came to their camp which they had fortified; and yet some abandoned the same, and durst not defend it. But POMPEY, either for that (as some thinke) hee imagined their flight to be feined, and that there was some deceit or ambush, or that he supposed there was no more to be done, and that CÆSAR had bene ouerthrowne with small toill, so as he should bee no more able to recover himself, did not prosecute the victorie, neither followed the charge, but rather caused a retreat to bee founded, without assailing his enemies camp. Whither when CÆSAR came, he took such order as was most convenient, being no lesse courageous and polittick in time of aduersity, than of prosperity: and it is reported that he said to his friends, Truly, this day had ended our warres, if our enemies had had a Captain which had knowne how to haue ouercome. This day, IVLIVS CÆSAR lost a great number of his souldiers, amongst which were foure hundred Romane Knights, ten Tribunes, and two and thirty Centurions; and his enemies took from him two and thirty Ensignes. This battell ended, POMPEY sent the newes thereof to diuerse parts of the world, houlding himself for absolutely victorious: And IVLIVS CÆSAR hauing blamed some of his Captains and Ensigne-bearers (notwithstanding that his whole Armie grieved, and were ashamed of their late loss) again desired the battell; yet he would not then fight, his Armie being timorous, against those which were in heart & victorious, but rather took a new course: and, sending his sick and hurt men to the city of *Apollonia*, hee departed by night, with the greatest resistance that could be, from the place where he was, and took his way towards *Thessalia*, with intent to refresh and encourage his Armie, and to draw his enemy further from the sea-coast, where his chief force lay, and where his camp was fortified and victualled; or, at the least, to go to meet and ouerthrowe SCIPIO, who (as hee was aduertised) came to join with POMPEY.

POMPEY, seeing CÆSARS departure, after that hee had followed him some fewe daies, took counsell, and (as APPIANVS testifieth) was determined (leaving so sufficient a Naue at sea, as CÆSAR should not be able to make any benefit thereof) to passe into *Italie*, and to recover the same, with *France* and *Spain*, and then afterwards to return against CÆSAR: but, being importuned and ouer-ruled by the Roman Lords which came with him, he altered his determination, and presently departed to pursue CÆSAR, who made a stay in the fields of *Pharsalia*, which are in *Thessalia* (making his retreat with such discretion and in so good order, as in all occasions that were offered hee had euer the better) vntill that at length, seeing his men full of resolution, force and courage, hee resolved no longer to forbear the fight; and therefore cared not

any more to refuse the battell, but rather daily presented the same to POMPEY. Who knowing (as indeed it was true) that CAESAR began to want victuals, and that his Armie began to weaken and diminish, he deferred the same, and would not fight; and, as a wife and well-experienced Captain, would have prolonged the war, defeating his enemy without putting his own Armie in hazard: and although that POMPEY had thus resolved; yet the opinions, murmurings, and importunity of those which were with him prevailed so much (as LVCAN, PLVTARCH, and CAESAR himself, report) that they made him yeeld to give battell, euen contrary to his owne opinion and will: wherein joined, of the one side and the other, all the flower and force of Rome. And although that CAESAR'S Forces were fewer in number (for, all Writers affirm, that POMPEY'S Armie was twice as great) yet his men were more active, and better trained. How many there were of the one side and the other, I cannot certifie; the Authors doo so much differ among themselves therein. APPIANVS setteth down the diuerse opinions which are held thereof. Some raise the number to three hundred thousand men, whereof LVCIUS FLORVS was one; others, to three score and ten thousand: and some set down somewhat lesse, among which is PLVTARCH; who saith, that POMPEY brought to this battell 45,000 men, whereof 7,000 were on horseback, and I V L I V S C A E S A R, two & twenty thousand Foot, and of horse fewe more than one thousand. But APPIANVS vnderstandeth, that this lesser number of these Armies was to be vnderstood of Romans onely, who were the force and hope of both these Generals: for, it is not likely, that of all nations there should be so small a number in a war so long preped, and of such importance: and, in my opinion, this is most likely to be true. But, howeouer it was, this battell was between the best captains and best fouldiers, aswell for experience, as for force and valour, that euer were in the world; and yet being so, it was not much fought, neither did it long continue. So strange and variable are the adventures which happen in wars and battels: for, where there seemeth to be the greatest force and assurance, oftentimes is found the greatest weaknes; and that which is least feared, doth sometimes annoy most. Before the battell there were many signes of an eminent downfall: The running away of beaſts appointed for the sacrifice, swarms of Bees, the sky darkened in the day time, POMPEY'S fearful dream ouer night of mourning in his Theatre at Rome; and in the morning early he was seen in the head of his main battell in a black Robe.

Either of these two great Commanders, hauing resolved to giue battell, ordered his battalions and squadrons as to him seemed most expedient, making speeches and orations to animate their fouldiers; and, the accustomed signe being giuen, the battell presently beganne on either side: In the beginning whereof, POMPEY'S horse-men (wherein he reposed his greatest hope) who were all of the Roman Nobility, and of the Order of Knighthood, and who alwaies had the better; began to come where CAESAR'S Caualery was, and forced them to forsake the Field. Which, CAESAR perceiuing (losing nothing by ouersight) he made a signe to a battalion, which for that purpose he had left a-part from the other squadrons, to charge POMPEY'S Caualery: who charged them with such fury, wounding them (according to CAESAR'S direction) no where but in the face, that POMPEY'S horse-men either vnable or vnwilling to endure it, began to retire, in such sort, as from that part whence POMPEY thought to haue obtained the victory, from thence sprang the beginning of his ouerthrowe. For, notwithstanding that they had broken the first squadron, and were entred into the second, and the other battalions continued still fighting, and that they maintained the same with great resolution; yet, seeing that POMPEY'S Caualery fled, and that CAESAR'S came to charge them afresh; they all did the like; in such manner, as in short space the victory plainly appeared for CAESAR: and POMPEY, hauing lost all hope to preuaile, fled to his camp, leauing the field and victory to his enemy. Happy had POMPEY been in this misery, if he had runne the same fortune with his slaughtered Armie: but he out-liued his owne glory, that with dishonour he might flee for life through Thessalia, be chased from Larissa, and vpon a forlorn rock of Cilicia studie whether to flee; to Parthia, Affrick, or Egypt: Finally, that vpon the Pelusian thoe, by the command of a most vnworthie treacherous King, by the counsell of gelded men, he should be murdered by the sword of SEPTIMIUS his Fugitive, in the view of his sorrowfull wife and children. CAESAR, letting slip no occasion, seeing that hee found no resistance in the field, assembled his Forces to assaile POMPEY'S camp, which with small difficulty hee entered: which POMPEY perceiuing, leauing his ensignes and robes of Generall, and putting on other apparall, vpon the first horse that he could get, with foure on horse-back onely that accompanied him, which (as VELLIVS PATERCVLVVS saith) were his son SEXTVS POMPEIUS, and the two LENTYLII, and

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FAVONIUS of the Pretorian order: he fled so fast as he could, as you haue heard, and neuer Pompey's staid vnill he came to the citie of Larissa; where ioyning with some thirtie other horse, which he had fled, without any stay he continued his flight, vnill he came vnto the shore-side of the Egean sea; where, finding a certaine Merchants ship of Rome, he embarked himselfe therein, and sailed to the Ile of Lesbos, which is in that sea which now is called Archipelago, to the citie of Mytilene in that Iland: For, in that citie were his wife and familie, which he tooke with him: and, gathering together such ships and men as he was able, he departed from thence very doubtfull, and notable to resolve whither to go. Some counsell'd him to sail into Africa, for that King Iuba was his friend, and very mighty. Others were of opinion, that hee should retire himself to the Parthians. Finally, he resolved to go into Egypt, for the friendship which hee held with King PTOLOMY, father of that PTOLOMY then reigning, and did so. Hauing first touched in the prouince of Cilicia in Asia, and in the Ile of Cyprus, sailing into Egypt, and arriuing at the city of Alexandria, he had such an end as we will presently declare.

I V L I V S C A E S A R hauing obtained so great a victory, as is aforesaid, vsed therein his accustomed clemency, not suffering any Romane to be either slaine or hurt after the battaile was ended, and pardoning all those which were taken therein, or found in the Campe; among which was MARCVS TVLLIVS CICERO. And although that in the battaile were slaine of POMPEIUS side fifteen thousand men, and of the Conquerors lesse then two thousand, as CAESAR himselfe writeth: yet vnderstanding which way POMPEY fled, to the end to giue him no place or meane to returne and repaire himselfe; without losing any time, he pursued him with the lightest and swiftest of his Army. And coming to the Sea side, bringing to his obedience in his way all the Cities whereby he passed, and gathering together such Ships and Gallies as hee then could, together with those which CASSIVS had, who was at this time receiued to his grace and seruice, he therein shipped such troups as he was able, and passed into Asia the lesse, where being aduertised that POMPEY had been in Cyprus, he presumed that he tooke his way towards Egypt. For which cause he tooke the same course, taking with him two whole legions of old fouldiers onely; and arriuing in safety at Alexandria in Egypt (where we said that POMPEY had lately taken port) he vnderstood that POMPEY was arriued there: who presuming of the benefites and good entertainment which this King PTOLOMIES father had receiued in his house, he sent to request PTOLOMY to harbour and assist him. But as with men which are fallen from a high fortune, few men hold faith and friendship; and in their aduercities, the benefites and good turnes receiued are commonly forgotten: so this King sent him his promise to perform what he required: and coming vpon safe conduct, in a small boat towards the shore, hee was murdered before he came to land by the Kings commandement, by the hands of one called SEPTIMIUS, and another ACHILLA; thinking by meanes hereof to winne CAESAR'S friendship. This was done by the perswasion and counsell of POTOIUS an Eunuch, who was of great authority in the Court, and by whom the King was much ruled. He vnderstood also that CORNELIA, POMPEIUS wife, and his sonne SEXTVS POMPEIUS were fled from that port in the same ship, wherein they came. CAESAR being landed and receiued into the City, they presently brought him for a present, the great POMPEIUS head; which hee would not see: and his ring and scale of Armes being presented vnto him, he wept for pity, considering the end and successe of the great adventures and prosperities of POMPEY, who with such honour and fame had three times triumphed, and bin so many times Consul in Rome, and had gouerned the same, and had been the most eminent man there for so many yeers, and had in like sort obtained many victories and dignities.

When I V L I V S C A E S A R landed in Egypt, he found the countrey infested with ciuill wars, and great discord between yong King PTOLOMY and his sister, the fair CLEOPATRA, about the diuision and inheritance of that Kingdome: wherein I V L I V S C A E S A R (as a Roman Consul) took vpon him to intermeddle. For which cause (as CAESAR himselfe writeth) or because that their guilty conscience, for the treacherous murder of POMPEY, made them to fear, as PLVTARCH affirmes; the before-named POTOIUS which had been the practicer of this murder, and ACHILLA who had been the actor thereof (both which were in great authority in Court and with the King) imagining that CAESAR inclined to fauour CLEOPATRA'S faction, sent for the Armie which the King had neere the city, consisting of 20,000 good men, purposing to do by I V L I V S C A E S A R as they had done by POMPEY: and so within few daies there beganne between CAESAR and the small forces which he brought with him, both within the city and in the harbour, between the ships and gallies, the most cruell war and

incounters that he euer had; which I cannot distinctly set down, for the many adventures that passed. But let this suffice, that IULIVS CÆSAR fought therein many times in his owne person, both within the city (whereof his enemies held the greatest part) and also in the harbour with his ships; and was sometimes in such perill and danger, as he was driven to leap out of the boat wherein hee was, into the water, and by swimming to flee into one of his galleies: and, as SVETONIVS writes, he carried his Commentaries in the one hand out of the water, lest they should be wet; and his Robe in his teeth, to the end it should not fall into his enemies hands. But at length his forces and aid being comm from *Asia* and other parts, he at the end of nine moneths (for, so long lasted these wars) remained victorious, as in all others hee had been; and the yong King PTOLOMEY was slain in Fight. In this warre CÆSAR did such exploits, and shewed such valour and wisdom, that for the same onely hee did well deserue the fame and renown of a most excellent Captain.

CÆSAR hauing taken the pride of the Egyptians, and put to death the murderers of POMPEY, and established CLEOPATRA for Queen and Gouernesse in that Kingdome, whom during his staie there he entertained for his friend, and she conceived and had a sonne by him, called CÆSARIO; all things being quietly settled, he departed from *Egypt* towards *Asia*, traueiling through *Syria*, now *Seria*, by reason that he was giuen to vnderstand, that while hee was busied in the warres of *Egypt*, King PHARNACES, some of the mighty King MITHRIDATES, thought it now a fit time (seeing the ciuill discord between the Romans) to recover that which his father had lost: and hauing ouerthrowne DOMITIUS, whom CÆSAR had sent to gouern those parts, and also hauing taken by force of Arms the provinces of *Bithymia* and *Cappadocia*, expelling thence King ARIOBARZANES, a friend and subiect to *Rome*, and beginning to doe the like in *Armenia* the lesse, which King DROTARYS had made subiect to the Romans: IULIVS CÆSAR coming with his Armie sooner than King PHARNACES imagined, although hee had expected him, and had intelligence of his approach; within fewe daies they came to a battell: in which (without any great resistance) the King was ouerthrowne and put to flight, with great slaughter of his people, from which hee escaped by flight. Great was the joy CÆSAR conceived of this victory, for the desire hee had to return to *Rome*, where he knew that many scandalls and insolencies were committed, by reason of his absence: he knew also, that POMPEY'S eldest son had seized on a great part of *Spain*, and had raised great forces of those which M. VARRO had there left, and of his fathers troops. Hee also vnderstood, that in *Africa* many principall Romans, which had escaped from the battell at *Pharsalia*, were gathered together, wherof M. CATO (called VTICENSIS, because that in *Vtica* hee flue himself) was the chief, and SCIPIO, POMPEY'S father-in-law; and that these went thither with a great part of the galleies and ships of POMPEY'S Nauie, and with the greatest power they were able to leuie; joyning with IVEA King of *Auritanian*, which hee had subdued all that countrey, and had a great Armie in readinesse against CÆSAR, hauing chosen SCIPIO for their Generall, because that CATO would not take that charge vpon him, and for that the name of SCIPIO was very fortunate in *Africa*. CÆSAR, hauing intelligence of all these things, within fewe daies, with great celerity and diligence, recovered all that which PHARNACES had vnderput: and, chasing him out of *Pontus*, he recovered all those countreies: and leauing CÆLIUS METIVS for Generall, with two legions to guard that province, pacifying the contentions and controuersies in the rest, rewarding the Kings & Tetrarchs which had continued firm in league and amity with *Rome*, without any longer abroad he departed from *Asia*, and in short space passing into *Italie*, came to *Rome*: within little more than a yeer after that he departed thence; a short time in truth, for the performance of so great matters and so long a journey.

Within fewe daies after his coming to *Rome*, he made himselfe to be chosen the third time Consul, and reforming (the best that he could in so short a time) all disorders in *Rome*, being grieved and not able to endure that his enemies should possesse *Africa*, with great expedition he prepared all things necessary, and from *Rome* tooke his way thitherward, commanding his forces to follow him. First he went into *Stetia*, and there shipped himselfe, and thence passed into *Africa*: and notwithstanding that neither his Nauie nor Armie arrived with him: trusting in the valour and goodnesse of his souldiers, and his owne good fortune, he tooke land with those small forces which he brought with him, neere vnto the cite of *Aduentum* in *Africa*; and from thence marched to another cite called *Leptis*, where hee was receiued: and after those conflicts which passed, his legions being come, and certaine troopes both on foote and horseback; he began the warre, which lasted foure moneths, viz. from the beginning of Iannarie till

till the end of Aprill, beginning first against PETREIUS and LABIENVS: afterwards it was continued against SCIPIO and King IVEA, which stilled the contrary faction with 8000. men, the one halfe whereof were horsemen, whereof the province of *Africa* did then, and to this day doth abound; among all which were leuied against CÆSAR eight legions of foote-men and 20000. horse: In this warre were many encounters, skirmishes and batailles, which HYRTICUS in his Commentaries, PLVTARCH, LVCAN, LVCIVS FLORVS & others write of at large, in which CÆSAR was in great danger: but at the last with his force and good fortune, hee overcame them all in a great battaile; wherein, of the enemies, were slaine 10000. men, and CÆSAR remained master of the field, and in fewe daies after of all the Countrey. SCIPIO and all the principall Captaines which were his aduersaries, died sundrie deaths within fewe daies; and king IVEA by flight escaping from the battaile, and finding no place of refuge, in despair, hee and AFRANIVS determined to die fighting, the one against the other, till they were both slaine, in which combat King IVEA being of greater strength then AFRANIVS, slew him; and afterwards commanded a flane of his own, to kill himselfe, and so hee died desperately.

The good MARCVS CATO who was in the cite of *Vtica*, knowing that CÆSAR marched thitherwards, and although hee knew that he would not put him to death, but had rather a desire to pardon him, and to doe him honor; yet to the end that hee would receiue neither life nor honor from his enimie, he flue himselfe: in whose death passed many notable accidents recorded by many authors both christian and heathen. CICERO did write in commendation of the death of CATO, against the which CÆSAR did write another discourse: both which are lost. And FLORVS writes his death after this manner: Hearing of the decease of his partners, hee dallyed not at all, but (as it became a wife man) did ioyfully hasten his owne death: for after hee had embraced his sonne and friends and bidden them good night; he rested a while vpon his bed, hauing perused PLATO'S booke of the immortallitie of the Soule; then about the first relieving of the watch, he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe into the bodie: After which the Physicians sought to wrong this resolute man, by applying some salues, the which hee endured vntill they were out of the roomes; but then hee pulled them away: and, the blood following abundantly, hee left his dying hand in the very wound. SCIPIO, who had been Generall in this warre, escaped from the battaile by flight, and shipping himselfe in certaine galleyes, wherein hee fled, was met withall by CÆSAR'S nauie, who, to the end hee would not be taken, giuing himselfe some wounds, cast himselfe into the sea, and so was drowned. CÆSAR, hauing obtained so great and absolute victory, spending some fewe daies in ordering the provinces of *Africa*, reducing the kingdome of king IVEA into a province, hee came to the cite of *Vtica*, where hee embarked himselfe the third of Iune, and came to the Ile of *Sardinia*, wherein hee stayed some fewe daies, and arrived at *Rome* the sixe and twentieth day of Iuly. At this coming (as SVETONIVS, APPIANVS, and PLVTARCH record) there were granted vnto him foure triumphs. The first triumph was for his conquest and victories in *France*, where were the portraictures of the riuers of *Redanus* and the *Rhine*, wrought in gold: and in the second triumph of *Egypt*, and of King PTOLOMEY, were set the riuers of *Nilus* and the *Pharus* of *Alexandria* burning. The third triumph was of the province of *Pontus* and of King PHARNACES, wherein for the speede wherewith hee prosecuted the victorie, was placed a bricfe writing which signified as much; which was, *veni, vidi, vici*, which is to say, I came, I saw, I overcame. The fourth triumph was of the province of *Africa*, wherein was placed King IVEA his sonne, as a captiue: and in this triumph (as SVETONIVS writeth) were giuen iewels and armes to OCTAVIUS, CÆSAR'S Nephew, who afterwards was Emperor, as we will declare, notwithstanding that he was not present in those warres by reason of his yong age: for he was not then fully sixteen yeares old. As for the battaile which CÆSAR wanne against POMPEY, he would not triumph for it, because it was against Citizens of *Rome*.

These triumphs being ended, giuing great rewards to his souldiers, and entertayning the Roman people, with feasts, gifts and other great bountie, hee caused himselfe to be chosen the fourth time Consul, and to the end that there should be no place in the world wherein hee would not be obeyed, hee resolved to goe into *Spaine*, where hee vnderstood that GENVS POMPEIUS (POMPEIUS sonne) with the remainder of the armie which had escaped out of *Africa*, was gone to ioyne with his brother SEXTVS POMPEIUS, who already was there, as I have said, and was in possession of a great part of *Spaine*, with the cities of *Senil* and *Cordoua*, and many others in that coast, and many Spaniards were come to their ayde. CÆSAR, departing, carried with him his most experienced and chosen souldiers, and made to good speede, as within fewe

Hyrticus lib. 2.
Appian lib. 5.
Lucan lib. 5.
Lucius Florus lib. 4.
Tus Livius lib. 114.
Plutarch in his lives.

Cato Vticensis
flew himselfe.
S. Aug. in his
booke de ciuit.
dei. 1.
Scipio flew and
drowned himselfe.
Lactantius
Christianus.
Aulus Gellius
in his twelfth
booke.

Cicero in the 3.
epist. ad Brutum.
Valerius Max.
xi. 1. 1.
Cæsar in his
triumph.

Veni, vidi, vici.

Cæsar would
not triumph for
his victory
against Pompey.

dayes he arriued in *Spaine*, and in this iourney (as *SVETONIVS* and *VELLEIVS PATERCVLVS* recorde) his Nephew *OCTAVIVS* followed him.

CÆSAR, being entred *Spaine*, came into the province of *Betica*, which is *Andalusia*, where *SEXTVS POMPEIVS* and his brother *GNEIVS POMPEIVS* were with such legions and fouldiers as they had gathered together, and so there began betwene them a cruell and bloudie warre. The end whereof was, that neere to the citie of *Munda*, *CÆSAR* and *GNEIVS POMPEIVS* (for *SEXTVS POMPEIVS* was in *Cordoua*) ioyned battaile; which was one of the most obstinate and cruell, that euer was in the world. For *CÆSAR* being the most excellent Capitaine, and the fouldiers which he brought with him, the most valiant and accustomed to overcome; the resolution and courage of *POMPEY* and his men was such, and they fought in such manner, as *CÆSAR*s esquadrons began to giue ground and were ready to forsake the field, and at the very point to haue been wholly ouerthrowne. And the matter came to this issue, that (as *SVETONIVS* and *EVTRUPIVS* do write) *CÆSAR* was about to haue killed himselfe, because he would not see himselfe overcome; and that he took a target from one of his fouldiers and rushed in among his enemies, slaying with a loud voice (as *PLVTARCH* reporteth) If you be not affamed, leaue me and deliuer me into the hands of these boyes: for this shall be the last day of my life and of your honour. With which words, and his example, his fouldiers took heart in such manner, that, recouering the ground which they had lost, the battell became equal, which (as *AFRIANVS* affirmeth) lasted the most part of one whole day, without any signe of victory; sometimes seeming to incline to one partie, and sometimes to the other, vntill that at length *CÆSAR* and his men did so great exploits, as the evening being come his enemies became faint, and began to flee, and the victory was apparently *CÆSAR*s. There died of his enemies about 30000 men in this fight; and of *CÆSAR*s part, were slaine a thousand men of account, besides many other of lesser note. *CÆSAR* esteemed this victorie so much, and so gloried in the danger wherein he had been, that after the victorie he vfed to say, that only that day he fought for his life, and in all other battailes euer for honour and victorie. He then remayning master of the field, his aduersarie *POMPEY*, who in nothing had failed of the office of a valiant and good capitaine (after that he saw no other hope) escaped by flight, and wandering through many places was afterwards taken and slaine by *CÆSAR*s friends, whose head was brought vnto him; the like hapned vnto *LABIVS*. His second brother *SEXTVS POMPEIVS* fled from *Cordoua*, & in the end forsook *Spain*: hereafter more mention shall be made of him. *CÆSAR* recouered the cities of *Seuill* and *Cordoua*, & all the rest; and disposing of all things in *Spain* at his pleasure, returned to *Rome*, & entered in triumph for the warres in *Spain*, which was his fifth and last triumph: in this place *LVC. FLORVS* and *PATERCVLVS* speak of all his triumphs.

CÆSAR came to be the most mightie, the most redoubted, and most highly esteemed man that euer had been in the world, hauing subdued and conquered the greatest part thereof, with an Armie and by force, in as little time, as it might seeme that another man might be able to traual those countries by reasonable iourneys. All which being in subiection vnto him, he made himselfe perpetuall Dictator of *Rome*; and so without contradiction he finished the making of himselfe foueraine Lord and Monarch of the *Romane Empire*, within little lesse then five yeeres after that he began the same. And this was the originall and beginning of the *Romane Emperours*: for *I V L I V S CÆSAR* would not be called King (for the name of King was odious to the *Romans* about all things, euer since the *Kings* were chased from *Rome*) but contented himselfe to be called perpetuall Dictator and also Emperour; although not with a name of such power and dignitie as his successors haue done since, but as by a name well signified he had been a conqueror in the warres, which in this sense was giuen to the *Romane Captaines*, when they had obtained any notable victorie; but after *I V L I V S CÆSAR*, all his successors took that name, glorying to be called Emperours, which was held for the highest title and dignitie in the world.

I V L I V S CÆSAR hauing attained to that absolute power which he so much desired, he shewed in all things great clemency and magnanimitie, honouring and rewarding his friends, and easily forgiving, and very cheerefully pardoning all those which had been his aduersaries; and so he not only pardoned *BRVTVS* and *CASSIVS*, *CICERO*, *MARCIVS*, and many others: but also some of them he admitted to his companie and priuate familiaritie, and to offices and dignities. It is certaine that among all the many vertues wherewith *CÆSAR* was endued, his clemency and liberalitie were most glorious. But this sufficed not to quench the desire of their lost libertie, neither to assuage the hatred and malice conceiued against him by his aduersaries, as in time did appeare.

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And notwithstanding that many were grieved: yet some for the loue which they bare him; others for feare and dissimulation; the Senate and people of *Rome*, and finally all, gaue him names, preheminencies and titles of honour, such as neuer had been giuen to any other, neither ought he to haue accepted the same, as *PLVTARCH*, *AFRIAN* and others doe report: But *CÆSAR*s minde and ambition was such, and his thoughts so eleuated and so high, as he held nothing so great, but he was worthe thereof and had deserved the same: and so he not only accepted that which they offered him; but many more were offered, because they knew that he desired the same. Whereupon they gaue him the name of Emperour, Father, restorer and preseruer of his country: He was created perpetuall Dictator, and Consul for ten yeeres, and perpetuall Censor of their customes. His statue and image was erected among the *Kings* of *Rome*, and a chayre and throne of Iuorie in the Temples and Senate, and a high pulpit and throne in the Theatre, and in the place where the Senators did vse to sit, his pictures and statues were set vp in all the Temples and publike places. I passe ouer some titles which they gaue him, and he accepted, which only, to those whom they held for God, ought to haue been attributed. The moneth which they called Quintill, they called *I V L I V S* after his name, as March of their god *MARS*, and Iune after the goddesse *I V N O*: they did also consecrate and build Temples vnto him, as vnto *I V P I T E R*, and their other gods: and gaue him certaine honours which they held particularly for their gods, which they call *Thensas*: and so they did many other things to his honour, which exceeded all measure.

I V L I V S CÆSAR enioying such honour and power, so as he had no equal or second in the world with whom he might contend; it seemeth that he would contend with himselfe, and attempt something wherein he might excell himselfe: for he was not contented with all the victories which he had obtained, neither (as *PLINIVS*, *SOLINVS* and other report) to haue fought in fiftie seuerall battailes (in all which he overcame) sauing in that one at *Dyrnachium* against *POMPEY*; where, as we haue already said, he was not wholly ouerthrowne, neither (according to the same authors) to haue slaine in the warres and battailes which hee fought, a million, ninetie and odde thousand men; and yet they say that they reckon not those which died in the ciuill warres: but that as he was of a most haughtie minde, he sought to doe greater matters, if greater might be. For, first he resolu'd to passe into the East, there to conquer and subdue the fiercenation of the Parthians, and to reuenge the death of *MARCVS CRASSVS*, and to passe through *Hircania* and other countries, vntill he should come to the *Caspian sea*, and so through all the prouinces of *Sybilias Asia*; and passing the riuer *Tanais*, to returne through *Scythia* in Europe, and in this retreat to come into Germany, and other prouinces bordering thereupon, conquering and subduing them all to the *Romane Empire*; for the which conquest hee presently caused to be leui'd in sundrie places, ten thousand horsemen, and sixteene legions of chosen footmen, and appointing the time wherein he thought to depart, he commanded them to march towards their Rendezous. And besides all this, he sought not only to subdue all the nations of the world, but to correct and reforme nature it selfe: for he purposed to haue made an Iland of *Peloponnesus*, which now is called *Morea*, by cutting the neck of the land which is betwene the *Egean* and the *Ionian Seas*.

Of the Riuer *Tiber* and the Riuer *Anien* (as *PLVTARCH* saith) he purposed to haue altered the courses, and to haue opened new channels, through which they should run into the Sea, making them to leaue their naturall course, and capable to bear great ships. He commanded, and already began to dig down and make plain many hills and high mountains in *Italie*, and to dry vp and dreine some of the great lakes and marishes which are therein: and, in this manner, hee thought to haue done other things more than a man, which seemed to bee possible to none but to God alone. He corrected (as many Authors affirm) the computation of the year, conforming it with the course of the Sun, and brought it to that rule which is yet held: for, before that time it was much out of order. He did the like in the course of the Moon, and the conjunctions and oppositions of her and the Sun: and this was attributed to him for tyrannie, by those which did hate him. For, one day, in a discourse in the presence of *CICERO*, it was said, that the next day there should be an Eclipse of the Sun; yea, quoth he, it is so: for, *CÆSAR* hath so commanded. Many other things *CÆSAR* began, which were very great, in reforming the lawes, customes and offices, which for breuitie I omit: among which, the redifying of the ruined city of *Carthage* by *SEPTIO* (as all the world knoweth) was one, and he sent thither Colonies and *Roman citizens* to inhabite: the like hee did by *Corinthe*. But all these works and these so high conceits and resolutions were abridged by death, which within fewe daies ensued: and this

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